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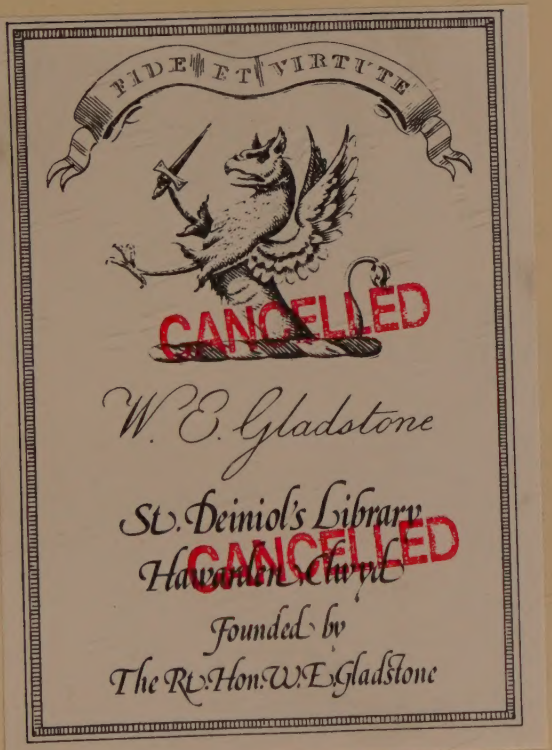
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S. AURELII AUGUSTINI

EPISCOPI HIPPONENSIS

DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA PAGANOS

LIBRI XXII

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DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA PAGANOS

LIBRI XXII

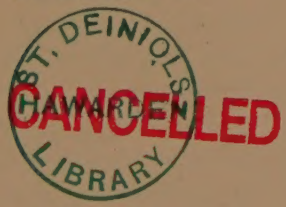
EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND APPENDICES,

BY

J. E. C. WELLDON, D.D.
DEAN OF DURHAM

"Quid habet orbis Christianus hoc scriptore uel magis aureum uel augustius, ut ipsa uocabula nequaquam fortuito sed numinis prudentia uideantur indita uiro?"—ERASMUS.

VOLUME I.



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PREFACE

THIS edition of Augustine's great book, the *De Ciuitate Dei*, has cost me not a little time and pains; but it supplies, I hope, a fairly sufficient commentary upon the book as a whole, with an Introduction showing the nature and the process of the argument contained in it, and some Appendices such as may serve to elucidate a few points arising out of the book and needing more consideration than it is possible to give in footnotes. I would gladly, if I could, have added a criticism of the text and a translation; but the expense of publishing the book would then have been prohibitive; and, after all, the text does not lie open to serious ambiguity, except perhaps in half a dozen passages, and Hoffmann's "Apparatus Criticus" is pretty well exhaustive, and Dr. Dods' translation, although it fails here and there in exact scholarship, and the notes subjoined to it are little more than suggestions, yet is adequate for the ordinary purposes of English readers. It is because I have so often been put to inconvenience in verifying quotations from Augustine's writings, and because I have wished to let the *De Ciuitate Dei* illustrate itself as far as possible, that I have divided the text in each chapter into sections denoted by letters of the alphabet. The difficulty of steering a course between excess and defect in a commentary upon such a book as the *De Ciuitate Dei* has been always present to my mind. For sometimes the commentaries which I have consulted seem to exhibit the wide reading of the commentators rather than to interpret the true meaning of the author himself. Whether my own explanatory notes are too many or too few, at least I may claim to have read all the writings of Augustine, and to have verified all the references which I have made to him and to other ancient authors, whether classical or Christian. It is perhaps not necessary to offer an excuse for occasional repetitions in the footnotes. Students of a work in no fewer than twenty-two books do not always wish or need to read it as a whole; and they experience a good deal of trouble if they are

frequently driven from one page to another or others for the information of which they are in quest.

I began this book as a Canon of Westminster, and I have finished it after many interruptions as Dean of Durham. I could wish I had been better qualified for doing justice to it; but my studies during the main part of my life have lain elsewhere than among the Fathers of the Church; I can only plead that I have done my best; and I shall be fully satisfied if the result of my labours can be regarded as not altogether an unworthy fruit of those deaneries and canonries which will, I hope and pray, always be maintained as homes of study in the Church of England.

It has been my good fortune at Durham that I have enjoyed access to two excellent libraries. In the University Library I have constantly made use of the collection of books which were bequeathed to the University of Durham by Dr. Routh, the famous President of Magdalen College, Oxford; and I would bear my emphatic testimony, if it were not superfluous, to the wide range of Dr. Routh's literary interests. It is, I think, true to say that among the books which I have wanted to consult in the study of Augustine there is only one which, if it were published in Dr. Routh's lifetime, had not found a place in his library, and all the books in his library he seems to have read.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of offering my heartfelt thanks to the librarian of the University Library, Mr. E. V. Stocks, who, in his unvarying friendship, has never spared himself when I have sought his help, but has taken almost infinite pains in helping me to make the many references in the book as accurate as it is possible to make them.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

January 10, 1924.

P.S.—The few abbreviations in the notes, such as A. for Augustine and *D.C.D.* for *De Ciuitate Dei*, will easily explain themselves. But I ought perhaps to say that, while in the text I have sometimes given the strictly classical form of a name—*e.g.*, Vergilius—I have in the notes given the familiar English form—Virgil.

INTRODUCTION

AUGUSTINE has himself told when and why he conceived the idea of writing the *De Ciuitate Dei;* he has told, too, how he essayed to carry his idea into effect. In a well-known passage of his "Retractationes" he writes: "Meanwhile"—*i.e.*, A.D. 410 —"Rome was destroyed by the invasion of the Goths under Alaric. It was an overwhelming disaster. The votaries of the many false gods, or the pagans (to give them their usual name), in their effort to make out that the Christian religion was responsible for the overthrow of Rome, began to blaspheme the true God with even more than their habitual bitterness and virulence. This circumstance it was which led me in my zeal for the House of God to set about writing my treatise on the City of God, as a reply to their blasphemies or their errors. The work occupied me during several years; for there were many other claims which came in the way, and, as it would not have been right to postpone them, the task of satisfying them made a prior demand upon me. However, the great work on the City of God was at last completed in twenty-two books. Of these books, the first five were occupied with the refutation of such persons as believe that human prosperity depends upon the worship of the many gods whom the pagans have been in the habit of worshipping, and who maintain that it is the prohibition of pagan worship which accounts for the origin and the diffusion of evils in the present day. The following five books are directed against those who, while they admit that these evils have been, and always will be, the attributes of humanity, and that the amount of the evils varies with places, times, and persons, yet argue that the worship of many gods and the sacrifices offered in worship to them possess a value in relation to the life after death. In these ten books then those two futile opinions, which are antagonistic to Christianity, find their refutation. But as I did not wish to be accused of having merely controverted the doctrines of other people, without enunciating my own, this is the

object of the second part of this work, which is contained in twelve books. It is true indeed that, when necessity occurs, I do enunciate my own doctrines in the ten earlier books, and do controvert the doctrines of my adversaries in the twelve later books. In the second half of the work the first four of the twelve books contain the origin of the two cities, the City of God and the city of this world; the second four contain their process or progress; the third four, the final books, their appointed ends. It is so that, while the twenty-two books are all occupied with the description of both cities, yet they derived their title from the better city, and were called by preference, "The City of God."*

There is no doubt, then, that the *De Ciuitate Dei* did not in its execution wholly correspond with its original design. Augustine conceived it not as a general apology for the Christian faith, but as a defence of Christianity against the charge that it had brought about the destruction of pagan Rome. All that he says about the evils which fell upon Rome in the centuries preceding the birth of Jesus Christ, and about the difficulty, or, in fact, the absurdity, of regarding the misfortunes of Rome in his own time as the consequences of the encouragement given to Christianity and the prohibition of pagan worship, is agreeable to his main purpose. But circumstances led him to amplify the range of his treatise until it became a work of a general apologetic character for Christianity.

The *De Ciuitate Dei* is addressed to Marcellinus.† Upon him and upon his mission to Africa and his interest in the City of God Augustine's correspondence throws a good deal of light. Marcellinus, as the commissioner sent by the Emperor Honorius into Africa not long before Alaric's conquest of Rome for the purpose of deciding the ecclesiastical controversy between the Catholics and the Donatists, had been naturally brought into

* "Retract.," ii. 43, 1 and 2. Saisset observes that the *De Ciuitate Dei* ought to be called "Le Livre des Deux Cités" (Introduction to Translation of *D.C.D.*, p. iii).

† *fili carissime Marcelline*, 1 "Praef.," A. Marcellinus is described by A. as *amicus mihi carissimus et diuinarum studiosissimus litterarum* ("Epist.," cxc. 20 [vi.]); and as *nobis in Christi caritate gratissimus Marcellinus* ("Epist.," clxvi. 7 [iii.]). For A.'s high opinion of his character see "Epist.," cli. 8; and for his participation in the *collatio* or conference between the Catholics and the Donatists "De Gest. c. Emerit.," 5. A.'s whole *Breuiculus Collationis cum Donatistis* deserves to be studied.

close association with the pro-consul of Africa, Volusianus. Marcellinus was a Christian; Volusianus was still a pagan, but a pagan who was anxious to learn and weigh the evidences of Christianity. Marcellinus had set his heart upon the conversion of Volusianus.

There are among Augustine's letters four—numbered CXXXV.–CXXXVIII. in the Benedictine edition—which bear directly upon the parts of Marcellinus and Volusianus in relation to the *De Ciuitate Dei*. Letter CXXXV., written apparently at or near the beginning of A.D. 412, is an appeal from Volusianus to Augustine for the solution of certain difficulties which had occurred to him and to some of his friends in their study of Christian evidences, especially the difficulty of understanding how the Almighty Governor of the universe could have become incarnate in a Virgin Mother's womb. The next letter, CXXXVI., is a request made to Augustine by Marcellinus, who had seen his letter or letters to Volusianus, that he would reply to the questions of Volusianus not only upon the Incarnation, but upon other subjects affecting Christianity, and in particular upon a subject which had even then been freely discussed in the Church, as it has been all through the Christian centuries—viz., the relation in which the Sermon on the Mount stands, as a code of ethical doctrine, to the actual conditions and exigencies of human life. Letter CXXXVII. is a lengthy exposition of Augustine's views upon the questions propounded by Volusianus. He enters first into a philosophical defence of the Incarnation; but he soon expands his argument into an apology by dwelling upon such evidences of Christianity as the fulfilment of prophecy, the rapid acceptance of the Gospel, the wide expansion of the Church, and, above all, the supremacy of Christ's moral law. One especial sentence of the letter shows how the correspondence of Augustine with Volusianus contained in itself the germ of the *De Ciuitate Dei*. For speaking of the two precepts, the love of God and the love of one's neighbour, upon which our Lord declared all the law and the prophets to hang, Augustine says: "It is here that the safety of an admirable State resides; for a State can be neither ideally founded nor maintained unless upon the basis and by the bond of faith and strong concord, when the object of love is the universal good, which is in its highest and truest character God

Himself, and men love one another with complete sincerity in Him, and the ground of their love one for another is the love of Him from whose eyes they cannot conceal the spirit of their love." There follows a letter, almost equally long, in which Augustine exhibits for the benefit nominally of Marcellinus, but practically of Volusianus, to whom it is addressed, the superiority of the Christian religion to paganism. He replies in it to the theory, which had more or less commended itself to Volusianus, that the Christian religion had brought disaster upon the Roman Empire. He defends and explains the moral law of Jesus Christ. As by his repudiation of the charge that Christianity had been the source of social and political evils, so by his invective against stage-plays and by his discussion of the evidences adducible for a belief in miracles, he anticipates some of the points which emerge into prominence in the *De Ciuitate Dei*. The letter, in fact, demonstrates the impossibility of separating a rejoinder to an attack upon any one part of Christian doctrine or practice from a general defence of the Christian faith.

The whole correspondence, bearing so closely as it does upon the composition of the *De Ciuitate Dei*, follows an earlier letter, CXXXII., in which Augustine exhorts Volusianus to study the whole Scriptures, and promises to solve, as far as possible, the difficulties or ambiguities which may occur to him in his studies. That letter in its opening words suggests not only that Volusianus might become a Christian, but that his mother was already a Christian. At all events, the feeling excited in Augustine's mind by the disposition of Volusianus towards Christianity was the origin of the correspondence, which became itself the origin of the *De Ciuitate Dei*. Yet the *De Ciuitate Dei* stands in a historical relation not so much to Volusianus or Marcellinus as to Alaric. Alaric at the head of his Gothic army entered Rome A.D. 410. The capture of Rome profoundly affected the mind of the Roman Empire, and beyond it, of all civilised humanity. "Men's hearts" were literally "fainting for fear and for expectation of the things which are coming on the earth." "The powers of heaven" were almost literally "shaken." The alternations of fear and hope in the pagan world had sunk in despair. The gloom which had long hung over paganism had darkened into

night. It was natural, nay, it was inevitable, to ask whether the social system would not be utterly submerged, or, if it survived, by what means and to what extent it could be reconstructed. It was then that Augustine pointed the eyes of the world to the Christian religion as the moral force which alone was capable, and, indeed, had proved itself to be capable, of creating and consolidating a new society. If there are books, as there are men, of whom it may be said that they are great either in themselves or in the circumstances in which they make their appearance or in both, the *De Ciuitate Dei* is a book great in itself, but still greater in the occasion or opportunity which inspired it. For it stands, so to say, at "the great divide" between the old and the new worlds, between the pagan and the Christian societies. It reflects both the darkness and the light of the convulsion which must have seemed to people living in the first quarter of the fifth century after Christ as overwhelming as the convulsion of the world-wide war has lately seemed to people living in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Augustine began the *De Ciuitate Dei* A.D. 413. He published it in parts between A.D. 417 and 426. It occupied, therefore, thirteen years of his life. He wrote the first lines of it at the age of fifty-eight, and the last at the age of seventy-one. As the passage already quoted from his "Retractationes" indicates, he composed it amidst a good many distractions; but upon the whole it was his *magnum opus*, the mature product of his ripe and full experience, the final deliberate utterance of his conclusions upon the problem of most solemn and vital interest to the age in which he lived, and, above all, to himself.

Two facts then deserve to be remembered in an estimate of the *De Ciuitate Dei*—viz., that it was a treatise composed at intervals during a period of thirteen years, and that it was, as its full title declares, a treatise controversially addressed to the pagans. The former of these facts explains in some degree its defects of method or order,* and particularly its not infrequent repetitions. For Augustine is fond of reverting at different points of his treatise to topics of which he may be thought to have sufficiently disposed — *e.g.*, the immorality

* "La mode de publication nuisit beaucoup à l'effet de l'ouvrage." (Beugnot, "Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident," ix. 8, vol. ii., p. 121.)

of stage-plays. The other fact explains his invectives against certain beliefs and customs as being positions which, although they have long since surrendered to Christianity, yet still remained strongholds of paganism at the time of his writing.

The judgments of various competent authorities upon the *De Ciuitate Dei* have not been uniform. Dr. Dods refers to some of them in the Preface to his translation. In France, where the study of the *De Ciuitate Dei* has been more continuously pursued than in Great Britain, certain critics have spoken of it disparagingly—*e.g.*, Beugnot, who says that a careful examination of "The City of God" shows it to be such a book as would exercise very little influence on the spirit of the pagan world,* and Du Pin, who, while he calls it "a most excellent book," yet objects that Augustine "discusses" in it "very useless questions, and sometimes employs arguments far too weak to persuade those who would doubt what he intends to prove."† Yet this same book is described by Ozanam as "the greatest work undertaken for the refutation of paganism."‡

It may be worth while to quote some few typical sentences in appreciation of the *De Ciuitate Dei*. Thus Saisset refers to it as "the book which passes and rightly passes as the final word of Augustine's genius . . . and the compendium of all his labours."§ Troeltsch describes it as "the last great work of apologetics, the supreme point in the spiritual warfare of letters between the old and the new religions, between the old and the new societies."‖ Among English writers all, or practically all, who have spent much time and thought upon the *De Ciuitate Dei* freely emphasise its merits. Almost the only exception is Dr. Figgis, who, while he quotes numerous opinions in the notes appended to his posthumous book, "On the Political Aspects of St. Augustine's City of God," is himself half-hearted in praising it. For in his view the two cities, the City of God and the city of earth, are "vague enough and ill-defined in thought and imagination," and the whole book itself is "sketchy and incomplete."¶ But

* "Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident," *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 122.
† "A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers," tom. vii., vol. iii., p. 191.
‡ "History of Civilisation in the Fifth Century," vol. i., ch. 4, p. 114.
§ Introduction to his Translation, p. ii.
‖ "Augustin, Die Christliche Antike und Das Mittelalter," pp. 20-21. The whole passage, pp. 7-21, is an illuminating criticism.
¶ Lecture ii., pp. 38 and 39.

even Gibbon, who criticises Augustine's learning as too frequently borrowed, and his reasoning as too frequently his own, although it is difficult to understand why a scholar should not derive his learning from external sources or should not make use of original arguments, yet allows that "the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously and not unskilfully executed."* Milner, among other historians, speaks of the *De Ciuitate Dei* as "one of the greatest efforts of genius and learning in any age";† Milman as "unquestionably the noblest work, both in its original design and in the fulness of his elaborate execution, which the genius of man had as yet contributed to the support of Christianity";‡ and Merivale of "the manifestation of the City of God by Augustine, the explanation of God's divine appointments from the creation to the redemption of man," as "a full and final appeal to the conscience of the inquiring heathens, the stricken and despairing votaries of the discredited city of the Romans."§

But the *De Ciuitate Dei*, if it is briefly analysed, will speak for itself.‖ It is a treatise both destructive and constructive, and the destruction necessarily precedes the effort at construction. For before Augustine can defend and uphold Christianity as a substitute for paganism, it is necessary to condemn paganism. Before he can depict the virtues of the City of God, he must depict the vices of the city of earth. There can be little doubt that, when he speaks of the city of earth, it is primarily the Roman Empire which is in his mind. The city of earth does indeed surpass the bounds of human society; for it includes not men and women only, but dæmons or evil spirits, as the City of God includes the good angels. But the Roman Empire was, so far as any human institution had been or could be, the visible embodiment of the city of earth in the world.

When the enemies of Christianity asserted that the Church of Jesus Christ should be held answerable for the calamities

* "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," ch. xxviii., vol. iii., p. 211 note (Bury's edition).

† "History of the Church of Christ," vol. ii., ch. 5, p. 217.

‡ "History of Latin Christianity," book iii., ch. 10, vol. iii., p. 182.

§ "Conversion of the Roman Empire," Lecture vii., p. 146.

‖ There is no better summary of the general line of argument in the *De Ciuitate Dei* than Fleury's in his "Ecclesiastical History" bk. xxiii., 7-11 (J. H. Newman's translation).

which had befallen the Roman Empire, and at last for its overthrow at the victorious entry of Alaric into the city of Rome, they uttered a challenge which Augustine was ready and eager to accept as a gage of battle. He did not content himself with refuting the theory that the Roman Empire had flourished under the pagan gods, and that, as the Church spread over it, it had succumbed to its enemies. He was writing at a time when Christianity was winning the day, but had not yet won it. He carried his attack therefore within the lines of paganism itself. How is it reasonable, he exclaimed, to suppose that the pagan deities could protect their worshippers when they could not protect themselves? Minerva (Pallas Athene) had been impotent to save her own image, the Palladium, at the sack of Troy.* Juno had been impotent to prevent the Trojans in their voyage over the seas from landing in Italy.† Troy itself, the mother city of Rome, had wholly failed to deliver its pagan sanctuaries from fire and sword.‡ Scornfully but cogently Augustine bids the pagans realise how numerous and grievous had been the disasters which had afflicted Rome before the Incarnation of Jesus Christ and before the evangelisation of any part of the Roman Empire. If the worship of the pagan gods were advocated as a guarantee of temporal prosperity, it had, so he argues, signally failed; for Rome, while still it was pagan, had come to disaster, and had come near even to destruction. So far was Christianity from being the cause of Alaric's invasion that it was the spirit of Christ which had moved Alaric's soldiers, as being Christians, to act in a way in which no pagan soldier had ever acted, by reverencing the character of churches as sanctuaries and sparing the lives of their vanquished enemies.§

Augustine dilates upon the tragic lessons of Roman history, the crimes which the Romans had committed and the penalties which they had suffered for the crimes. The rape of the Sabine women, the war against Alba Longa, the fate of so many of the kings, the hostility between the first consuls, the Gallic invasion of Rome when the Capitol itself was saved not by the gods but by the geese, the unhappy fate which befell the city of Saguntum for its loyalty to Rome, the humiliation of the Caudine Forks, the disaster of Cannæ, the political and

* i. 2 A. † i. 3 B. ‡ i. 4 B. § i. 2 B; i. 6; ii. 2 A.

agrarian schisms of which the Gracchi were the authors,* the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, of Julius Cæsar and Pompey, of Augustus and Antony—these events and many others were ample proofs that paganism at the height of its power could as little ensure the supremacy or the stability as the morality of Rome.

Had not Sallust† (whom Augustine frequently quotes) spoken of dissension, avarice, ambition, and the other vices which are born of prosperity as increasing more than ever after the Punic wars, of primitive manners as being swept away by a torrent of evil, and of the fair and virtuous city as sinking into depravity? Had not Cicero‡ spoken of the Roman Republic as becoming actually extinct through the failure of public and private morals?

The impotency of the pagan divinities to bestow and to sustain prosperity had been fully attested by history; but it lay in the nature of the pagan religion itself. Augustine, relying principally upon Varro, brings two main charges against the paganism of the Roman Empire. One is the contemptible insignificance of the gods and goddesses themselves. Polytheism, he argues, which is the essence of paganism, necessarily creates a subdivision of offices among a multitude of divinities. Thus there is not one divinity who presides over land; but there is one divinity of the farms, a second of the mountains, a third of the hillsides, a fourth of the valleys.§ There is not one goddess of the crops; but one of the seed while it lies beneath the soil, another of the seed as it rises above the soil to form the stalk, a third of the seed when it is stored as golden grain.‖ The earth itself under various aspects is worshipped as Terra or Tellus or Tellumo, not to say that the earth is sometimes identified with Ceres or Vesta, or that Vesta is sometimes identified with Venus.¶ The custody of the sexual relation itself is distributed among several divinities.** Where, again, is the good of worshipping Fear and Dread, Fever and Ague, if it is possible to worship the one goddess, Felicity?†† where the good of worshipping a number of gods and goddesses in the ether, in the air, in the sea and on the earth, if Jupiter is worshipped as the universal

* ii. 17; iii. 13 *sqq.* † ii. 18 A and B. ‡ ii. 21 L. § iv. 8 B.
‖ *Ibid.* ¶ iv. 10 E and F; vii. 23 H and I. ** vi. 9 G. †† iv. 23 C and H.

god?* The multiplication of gods and goddesses is as irrational as it is humiliating. Varro himself has taught that one God alone is the proper object of worship;† yet the Romans have established a whole hierarchy of divinities, ascending from the lowest to the highest functions.

The other charge on which Augustine insists is the gross immorality of the pagan gods and goddesses. He is never weary of pressing home this charge. It is the keynote of his invective against the stage-plays which were celebrated in honour of the gods and goddesses. He points with bitter and angry scorn to the obscenities displayed in the worship, not only of Saturn and of Liber (Bacchus), but of the so-called mother of the gods, Cybele, and of the so-called virgin goddess, Caelestis.‡ No pagan divinity, he protests, has attempted to inspire human life with moral principles. How, indeed, could gods and goddesses teach moral principles, when they themselves, according to the testimony of their own worshippers, indulged in every evil habit of life? No allegorical interpretation of the acts attributed by the poets from Homer downwards to the pagan divinities can avail to counteract the effect of the immorality which these gods and goddesses habitually practised. It was impossible that they should exhibit indignation at acts, however culpable, when these acts were notoriously less culpable than their own.§

In contrast with the insignificance and the immorality of the pagan divinities Augustine sets the sublimity and the purity of the one true God. It is He who bestows earthly kingdoms, whether upon the good or upon the evil. If the Roman Empire endured a long time, as the pagans alleged, under the patronage of their divinities, the Assyrian Empire endured a still longer time.‖ More remarkable in character than the Roman Empire was the kingdom of the Jews, if only because it was the repository of the divine oracles.¶ It is ridiculous to suppose that the fate of the Roman Empire depended, or could have depended, upon the position of the stars.** The will of God, and His will alone, has been the dominant power in human history.†† He gave the Romans their success, not because of the worship which they paid to their divinities,

* iv. 11 D. † iv. 31 E. ‡ ii. 4 B; 5 B and C. § ii. 4 B.
‖ iv. 6 C. ¶ iv. 34 A-C. ** v. 1 C. †† v. 11.

but because of the virtues which they exhibited, in spite of their worship, by their private and public characters.* The love of honour and glory, and the self-sacrificing spirit of patriotism were Roman virtues, not indeed the highest of virtues, but virtues which acted at least as preventives of certain vices. Men like Torquatus, Camillus, Mucius, Curtius, and Regulus† would shed lustre upon any State in any age. But the one true God, if He does not spare His saints the ordeal of personal suffering, by which they are disciplined for eternity, yet vouchsafes them the hope and the love of eternal felicity. A great empire, if it is founded upon injustice, may be no blessing to the imperial people itself. Apart from justice, says Augustine, what are the kingdoms of the world but robberies on a large scale ?‡ The happiness of the Roman Christian Emperors, such as Constantine and Theodosius, has itself been a foretaste of the felicity reserved in the eternal kingdom for the children of God.§ "Incomparably more glorious than Rome is the celestial city, in which there is for victory truth, for dignity sanctity, for peace felicity, and for life eternity."‖

It is still, however, necessary to discuss the theory that the worship of the pagan divinities would find its reward not in the present but in the future life.¶ But what can such divinities have to do with eternal felicity ? All the logical and moral arguments which tell against their influence upon earthly welfare tell with tenfold strength against the possibility of their conferring eternal life. For the pagan divinities, as Varro himself admits, are the creatures of the State which worships them.** They are inferior, therefore, to the city of earth, and *a fortiori* inferior to the City of God. Varro, in his half-hearted defence of paganism, seeks to draw a distinction between three theologies or three kinds of theology—viz., that of the poets which he calls mythical, that of the philosophers which he calls physical or natural, and that of the people which he calls civil or political.†† It is to the physical or philosophical theology that he awards the palm. But he fails to show that these theologies can be kept distinct; they pass one into another; and the objections adducible against one can be

* v. 12 B and E; 18 P and Q. † v. 18 D-K.
‡ iv. 4 A. *Remota iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia ?*
§ v. 25 B; 26 B-H. ‖ vi. 29 F. ¶ vi. 1 A. ** vi 4 B. †† vi. 5 A.

equally adduced against them all. It is impossible to allegorise the myths of paganism. If Varro himself criticises the mythical theology, Seneca criticises with no less vehemence the political theology.* The one true God is the sole Author of happiness, whether in the present or in the future life. To Him, and to Him alone, should worship be paid.

So far Augustine's attack upon paganism as a religion is triumphant. It has been easy for him to show that paganism cannot satisfy the mind or heart or soul of humanity. But there remain certain interpretations of paganism which must be disproved before the ground can be laid clear for the vindication of Christianity. It has been argued upon Varro's authority that worship is due not to the pagan divinities generally, but to certain select divinities.† Augustine enumerates twelve select gods and eight select goddesses in all.‡ But he argues that they are indistinguishable in their nature or their functions from the other gods and goddesses, and that, if any distinction exists, it lies in the more notorious infamy of their lives.§ He proceeds to demonstrate the inconsistency of paganism. Sometimes one god is many persons or things, at other times one person or thing is many gods. Jupiter himself is known by a plurality of surnames.‖ There are gods, too, who are identified with the heavenly bodies or with other parts of the world —the sky, the air, the earth, the sea.¶ Varro confesses the ambiguity or inconsistency of his own doctrine in relation to the divinities whose worship he commends.** But the impurity and the obscenity which characterise the sacred rites of paganism are indisputable. Augustine inclines to the view, known as Euhemerism, that the pagan divinities were human beings who received apotheosis after their deaths.†† Even the religious books of Numa Pompilius were burnt at Rome, for fear of the effect which the immorality contained in them might produce upon the Roman people.‡‡ How different is the sanctity of the worship which Christians offer to the one true God! §§ How different the glory of Christ's revelation and redemption! ‖‖

Augustine then comes to the physical or philosophical

* vi. 10 A. † vii. 1 B. ‡ vii. 2 A. § vii. 4 B.
‖ vii. 11 A. ¶ vii. 15. ** vii. 17 A. †† vii. 18 A.
‡‡ vii. 34 B-D. §§ vii. 30. ‖‖ vii. 31.

theology. He passes in review the Seven Wise Men of Greece,* Socrates and his pupils,† Plato and the Platonists.‡ The Seven Wise Men, so far as they did not confine themselves to practical rules of life, believed that some element, whether air or water or fire, had been the source of all created things. Socrates brought philosophy down from heaven to earth by converting it to the study of morals. But he raised many more questions than he settled. He uttered many sage teachings about the purification of the mind and the immortality of the soul. But he defined no system of faith and worship; and his pupils varied in their doctrines as widely as Plato, Antisthenes, and Aristippus. Plato enunciated the threefold division of philosophy as moral, physical, and logical, according as it was concerned with action or observation or ratiocination.§ But he followed the example of his master Socrates in criticising opinions, whether advanced by himself or by others, without defining or apparently conceiving a creed of his own. Yet of all philosophers the Platonists, and still more the Neo-Platonists, approached most nearly to the Christian faith.‖ For they recognise the one true God as the Creator of the universe, the Author of life, and the Giver of blessedness; they teach the value of dialectic as a means of attaining truth; they preach the love of the Highest—*i.e.*, of God Himself. To imitate, to know, and to love God is in Plato's view the definition of wisdom. Yet his followers, or many of them, approve or do not resent the rites of paganism; and they do not support their master Plato in his expulsion not only of stage-players, but of poets, from his ideal republic.¶

Augustine proceeds to consider the nature of dæmons, as they are portrayed by Apuleius and, after him, by Hermes Trismegistus. Apuleius held that the dæmons were beings intermediate between God and men,** that they dwelt in the air, as the gods in heaven and men upon earth. But why should the dæmons be objects of worship, if they are imperfect beings who are subject to the same mental perturbations as men, and who take pleasure in immoral performances such as stage-plays?†† How, if they are such imperfect beings, can they be the bearers of men's supplications to the gods and of the

* viii. 2 B-E. † viii. 3 D and E. ‡ viii. 4 and 5. § viii. 4 C.
‖ viii. 8 D; ix. B; 11 A. ¶ viii. 13 C. ** viii. 14 A. †† viii. 14 F.

gods' replies to men ?* Above all, they are associated with the notorious evil of magic.† Hermes was an Egyptian who entertained the strange idea that some gods were actually manufactured by men.‡ He knew that the superstitions of Egypt would some day be abolished, yet he dreaded the decay of idol-worship.§ The Egyptian worship of the dead is far removed from the honour which Christians pay to the martyrs. In the one there is much that is debasing and degrading; in the other there is nothing which is not elevating and sanctifying.‖

Augustine goes on to set certain aspects of pagan worship in contrast with the correlative aspects of Christianity. He discusses the theory that, if some dæmons are bad, others are good.¶ Apuleius defines dæmons as animal in nature or kind, emotional or passionate in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body, everlasting in time. It is admitted then that they are emotional beings. Their hearts are tossed by passions, as the billows of the sea by storms.** They are impossible mediators, therefore, between God and men; for they are inferior to God, if they are superior to men; and if they possess but few qualities in common with men, they possess still fewer in common with God.†† It is by the inferior part of their personality—*i.e.*, the body—that they approximate to the Divine Nature, and by the superior part—*i.e.*, the soul—that they approximate to human nature. In other words, the gods enjoy a bliss which is eternal, and men a happiness which is temporary; but the lot of the dæmons is an unhappy eternity or an eternal unhappiness.‡‡ The truth is that man cannot of himself arrive at true blessedness, nor can the dæmons procure it for him. The Platonists themselves have declared that the gods refuse intercourse with human beings and contact with earthly things.§§ Always and everywhere the word "dæmon" is a word of sinister meaning. Jesus Christ in His human life evoked the opposition of the dæmons to His Divinity. In Holy Scripture angels and even just men may be called metaphorically "gods," but the pagan deities are in no sense gods. Jesus Christ, as both God and man, is the sole Mediator

* viii. 18 A; 21 A.
† viii. 19 D.
‡ viii. 23 B.
§ viii. 24 L.
‖ viii. 26 H; 27 A, C and D.
¶ ix. 8 A.
** ix. 3 B; 6 A and B.
†† ix. 13 B and D.
‡‡ ix. 13 C.
§§ ix. 16 A.

between God and men.* For He alone is united to mankind by the mortal nature of His body; but by the immortal righteousness of His spirit He proves Himself to be the Purifier and Deliverer of mankind.†

Augustine presses home the uncertainties and inconsistencies of the Platonic theology. The Platonists assert that God alone is the Giver of happiness; yet they allow the worship of many divinities, and even of dæmons.‡ Is it then the will of the dæmons that worship should be paid to them as well as to God, or that it should be paid to God alone? Worship or sacrifice is the prerogative of the one true God; it cannot be rightly offered to any other beings.§ God, it is true, stands in no need of human worship or sacrifice. The true sacrifice is every work that is done for the union of man with God in respect of the absolute good, wherein felicity resides.‖ It is offered to God through Jesus Christ, the great High Priest, who is Himself the supreme Sacrifice. The dæmons may desire worship for themselves, but the angels desire no worship save the worship of God.¶ So Augustine passes censure upon such practices as dæmonolatry and theurgy. The worship of the one true God has been historically confirmed by miracles.** The angels have been the ministers of His miracles. Invisible as He is, He has revealed Himself in Jewish history to mortal eyes.†† To Him worship is legitimately paid both for eternal and for temporal blessings. Augustine insists upon the reasonableness of Jesus Christ's atoning sacrifice.‡‡ Of His sacrifice the sacrifice of the Church is a daily sacrament or sacramental witness. It is through Him that human nature is purified, not by such principles as the Platonists advocate, but by Christ Himself as the Principle of the Christian faith.§§ There have been saints before as well as since the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; but all alike were justified through holy living by faith in His Incarnation.‖‖ He is the Truth, the Virtue and the Wisdom of God. There is no periodic revolution of souls passing away from earth and then coming back to their earthly estate, nor is there any co-eternity of souls with God.¶¶ The

* ix. 15; 17 C.
† ix. 17 B.
‡ x. 1 C.
§ x. 4.
‖ x. 6 I.
¶ x. 7 I.
** x. 8 A; 12 C; 17 A-C.
†† x. 13 A.
‡‡ x. 20 A.
§§ x. 24 A, C-E.
‖‖ x. 25 A. Cp. the Seventh Article of Religion.
¶¶ x. 30 F; 31 A.

one only universal deliverance of souls from evil is the saving grace of Jesus Christ.*

The first ten books of the *De Ciuitate Dei* are essentially, if not exclusively, destructive. They contain Augustine's victorious assault upon the uncertainties, contradictions, absurdities, and immoralities of paganism. He succeeds without difficulty in proving that the worship of pagan divinities was not, and could not be, a satisfaction of human spirituality. But he shows at once that, in attacking the pagan divinities, he cannot avoid the subject of the reconstruction which would follow the collapse of paganism. It was his object to destroy the pagan religion, that he might establish the religion of Jesus Christ. Accordingly, in the ninth and tenth books he enters upon his argument for the Christian doctrines of the true angelic nature, of the worship of the one God, of Christ's Incarnation and Mediation, and of the sovereign grace by which alone the souls of men can be made inheritors of eternal life. He has now suggested the thought of two rival systems, two opposing religions; and the time has come when he can proceed to the portraiture of the two cities, the city of earth and the City of God or of Heaven, in which these rival systems and opposing religions are incorporated.†

The origin, the history, and the destiny of the two cities become, therefore, the natural subjects of exposition. According to Augustine, the two cities may be traced backwards to the creation. For the world and all that is in it were created by the Will of God.‡ The creation took place in time, but it did not therefore involve a change in the eternal divine purpose. It is probable that the creation of the angels is signified in the first chapter of Genesis by the words, "God said, Let there be light: and there was light"; and again, "God saw the light that it was good."§ The difference between the light and the darkness is the difference between the angels who remained in their original state and the angels who declined from it.‖ There is no such thing as natural evil. The angels who fell fell through their own fault. For God made all natures good; but He gave them the power of choosing evil as well as good.

* x. 32 M.

† An anticipation of the contract between the two cities occurs in "De Catechiz. Rud." (31 [xix.])—a treatise written probably A.D. 400.

‡ xi. 4 G. § xi. 9 F. ‖ xi. 19 A.

It was through the abuse of the will that the angels fell, and this abuse of the will was owing to a wrongful affection. The Holy Trinity in all its glory constitutes the beatitude of the City of God.* In the eternity of God lies the strength of the City of God, in His truth its light, in His goodness its joy.† The good angels know God in His essence; but between them and the angels who know Him not, because they have lapsed from their proper knowledge of Him, spreads a gulf as wide and deep as the gulf between heaven and hell !‡

Augustine insists that the nature of the good and of the bad angels was originally one.§ But the blessedness of the good angels lay in their cleaving to God;‖ the misery of the bad angels in their not cleaving to God. God's purpose is unchangeable, but the angels who changed their affection fell from heaven. The good angels remained good in virtue of "the love of God shed abroad in their hearts."¶ Not nature but volition was the cause of their fall. To men no less than to angels was given by God the power of choice. The creation of man took place at a definite point of time. Man was made in the image of God. He might have continued in his original virtue and happiness; but he yielded to temptation; he fell away from God. He was made by God, not by any angel or being lower than God. There has been no such thing as a periodic cycle of worlds or of souls.** In the fall of the first man the whole human race was involved. But God ordained one part of it, *i.e.* the City of Heaven, for honour and glory; the other part, *i.e.* the city of earth, for judgment and punishment.††

Death was the consequence of the first man's sin. But there are two deaths—the death of the body which takes place when the soul forsakes it, and the death of the soul which takes place when God forsakes it.‡‡ These are the first and the second deaths. Death, which in itself is an evil, is by the fidelity and piety of the good converted to a blessing.§§ It is by suffering the first death that the saints are delivered from the second.‖‖ The first man's sin was the death of his body as well as of his soul. But Christian theology teaches that

* xi. 10 A-C; 24 E.
† xi. 24 E.
‡ xi. 29 A; 33 A and C.
§ xii. 1 A.
‖ xii. 1 C; 6 A.
¶ xii. 9 C.
** xii. 18 (17) B; 21 (20) A and B.
†† xii. 28 (27) D.
‡‡ xiii. 2 A.
§§ xiii. 6 B.
‖‖ xiii. 8 A.

the earthly body is not incapable of an eternal, incorruptible life.* There is a spiritual as well as a natural body. There is a perfection of the saintly body or flesh, and it is a perfection unattainable upon earth.† Man was made a living soul when God breathed into him the breath of life. He was declared to be a spiritual being when Jesus Christ breathed upon His disciples, as He spoke the words, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit."‡

The sin of the first man would, but for the grace of God, have entailed not only the first, but also the second, death upon all humanity. For there are two lives corresponding with the two cities, the life after the flesh and the life after the spirit; or, in other words, the life which is according to man and the life which is according to God.§ It is by the will that the right or the wrong character of the affections is determined. In a good life the affections are right; in a bad life they are wrong.‖ Man, although his nature had been originally good, became corrupted; the evil will preceded the evil act by which he violated the express commandment, and incurred the just anger, of God.¶ His punishment, although eternal, was not unjust. Before the fall there was no lustful emotion in man; but since the fall he has been subject to lust as well as to other wrongful emotions.** True blessedness is now the prerogative of the righteous, but of the righteous not so much in the present as in the future life.†† The city of earth and the City of God are two cities created by two different affections, one by the love of self reaching to the contempt of God, the other by the love of God reaching to the contempt of self.‡‡ It becomes important then to trace the two lines of descent in the human family, one from Cain, the other from Abel. The children of the flesh and the children of promise have always been rivals and adversaries. Unceasing conflict, both eternal and external, is the mark of the city of earth.§§ Cain, like Romulus, was the murderer of his brother. But the citizens of the City of God are redeemed by Divine grace from weakness and wickedness. The good so use the world as to enjoy God; the wicked would, if they could, so use God as to enjoy the world.‖‖ All through

* xiii. 17 B-D.
§ xiv. 1 C; 4 A.
** xiv. 17 A and B; 21 A.
‡‡ xiv. 28 A.
† xiii. 18 F; 20 B and C.
‖ xiv. 6.
§§ xv. 4 A and B.
‡ xiii. 24 A, G-I.
¶ xiv. 15 B.
†† xiv. 25 A.
‖‖ xv. 7 E.

the book of Genesis the sons of God and the sons of men appear side by side. The ark which Noah built is, as it has ever been held to be, a type of the Church; for within the Church, and there alone, are safety and sanctity to be found.*

In the Old Testament the two cities are regularly contrasted. The contrast is exemplified in the distinction among Noah's sons between Shem and Japheth on one side, and Ham on the other.† The story of Babel, which is the same city as Babylon, represents the failure of human pride or presumption, in contrast with humility, as the means of ascent from earth to heaven.‡ The selection of Terah's family, in which alone the worship of the true God was maintained, the repeated promises of God to Abraham, and Abraham's abiding faith in these promises, enforce the lesson of selection between the children of God and the children of earth. Abraham's belief in God was "reckoned to him for righteousness." The rite of circumcision was instituted as a sign of God's covenant with Abraham.§ There follows the rivalry between Sarah and Hagar, and between their sons Isaac and Ishmael.‖ There was a similar rivalry between Isaac's sons, Esau and Jacob. Isaac, and Jacob after him, received the blessing from God.¶ Jacob received it among the children of Jacob. Ephraim rather than Manasseh, among the children of Joseph, received it from Jacob on his death-bed.** Nor was this Divine choice or severance limited to the patriarchs. It was renewed in the early days of the monarchy by the rejection of Saul and the elevation of David.†† Similarly, the era of the Judges and the Prophets typified the nature of the City of God—*i.e.*, the Church.‡‡ The land of promise was a foreshadowing of heaven. The earthly Jerusalem was a foretaste of the heavenly. The song of Hannah, Samuel's mother, extended in its significance beyond the history of the Jewish people to the Christian kingdom of God.§§ The Jewish priesthood endured for a time, but not for ever, except so far as it was a symbol of the Christian priesthood.‖‖

The disruption of the Jewish kingdom under Jeroboam was a prophecy of the severance between the spiritual and the

* xv. 26 A and B. † xvi. 3 A-C. ‡ xvi. 4 A-E. § xvi. 13-23.
‖ xvi. 25 and 26. ¶ xvi. 36 and 37. ** xvi. 41 and 42.
†† xvi. 43. ‡‡ xvii. 1. §§ xvii. 4. ‖‖ xvii. 6.

carnal Israel—*i.e.*, between the City of God and the city of earth.* It is clear that the promises made to David in respect of his son were accomplished not in Solomon, but in One who was greater than David himself—*i.e.*, in Christ.† The Psalms are full of such passages as in their necessary interpretation reach beyond David to Christ. At last the kingdoms of Israel and Judah came to an end; and although the two tribes of Judah were restored to Palestine, the kingdom of Judah was afterwards incorporated in the Roman Empire.‡ But the prophets carried on the unbroken historical testimony to the future advent of Christ.§

It has now been proved not only that paganism was a failure morally and spiritually as well as politically, but that the City of God has in all human history existed upon earth. Yet the City of God has not stood alone. Confronted with the people and the kingdom of the Jews were the peoples and the kingdoms of other countries. Augustine enters upon a chronological comparison between the eras of the great pagan kingdoms or empires such as the Assyrian, the Sicyonian, the Egyptian, the Argive, the Athenian, and the Roman, with the times of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua. Abdon, he says, was the judge who ruled the Jews at the time when Æneas came to Italy.‖ Rome was founded at the time when the Assyrian kingdom perished, and when Hezekiah reigned in Judæa.¶ It was during the reign of Romulus that the Seven Wise Men flourished in Greece, and the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the Assyrians or Chaldæans.** It was during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus in Rome and of Zedekiah in Judæa that Jerusalem was taken and the Jews were carried away to Babylon.†† The return of the Jews from captivity coincided with the inauguration of the Republic in Rome.‡‡ The records of Jewish history and prophecy are far more ancient than any philosophical systems or doctrines of the Gentile world.§§ The pretended antiquity of Egyptian science is no more than a proof of Egyptian vanity.‖‖ But the Jewish scriptures point ever forward to the advent of Jesus Christ and to the institution of His Church. How wonderful is the harmony of their

* xvii. 7. † xvii. 8. ‡ xvii. 23. § xvii. 24; xviii. 27 *sqq.*
‖ xviii. 19. ¶ xviii. 22. ** xviii. 24. †† xviii. 25.
‡‡ xviii. 26. §§ xviii 37. ‖‖ xviii. 40

scriptures, if set against the variations of the philosophical creeds !* But the prophets came to an end after the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem; nor was the voice of prophecy heard again until the birth of Jesus Christ. His birth was the fulfilment of agelong prophecies. When Haggai predicted that "the glory of the latter house should be greater than of the former," there was in his mind not so much the rebuilding of the temple, as the creation and the diffusion of the Christian Church.† It is true that in the Church the evil are commingled with the good, and that the Church is purified in its true life by persecution, as it is confirmed in its true faith by heresy.‡ Ten persecutions have been already endured; there remains the final persecution of Antichrist; but of that persecution the date is hidden from Christian eyes.§ It is a vain imagination that the Church of Christ will not last beyond three hundred and sixty-five years. The City of God and the city of earth will live side by side, the one serving the true God and being herself the true sacrifice, the other serving false gods with other sacrifices than that of herself, until the day of Final Judgment.‖

But in the review of the two cities it is necessary to understand the ends which they respectively set before themselves. Varro has estimated that, if the end of philosophy is the *summum bonum*, it is possible to distinguish no fewer than 288 philosophical sects.¶ But the ends which philosophy has in view are practically three—viz., virtue or the primary objects of Nature, as they are called, or both virtue and these primary objects together.** Christians believe that eternal life is the supreme good, eternal death the supreme evil. They believe, too, that the secret of eternal life is salvation, and that a salvation not present but future, not wrought by man for himself but wrought by God for man. Human life is full of such perils, errors, sorrows, distresses, and afflictions as forbid perfect happiness upon earth. The goodwill or friendship of men, and even of angels, is precarious.†† It is to the future life that the eyes of the saints instinctively turn. Eternal peace is their beatitude. It is the peace which lies in perfect

* xviii. 41.
† xviii. 48.
‡ xviii. 50 and 51.
§ xviii. 53.
‖ xviii. 54.
¶ xix. 1.
** xix. 3 a.
†† xix. 8 and 9.

harmony with the Divine Will.* All through Nature no less than through human society the principle of law and order points to peace as the true end of life. The City of God upon earth contains citizens of all nations, differing in laws and manners and institutions, but agreeing in the one pursuit of peace.† The Christian faith in virtue of its certainty is raised far above the uncertain speculations of philosophy. The saints are blessed in this present life, but blessed only in hope.‡ They worship the one true God, and no God but Him. There has never been, nor could there be, an earthly republic corresponding with Cicero's ideal republic.§ It is only in the City of God that the ideal is or can be realised; for where there is no true religion, there is no true virtue.‖ The peace of God is consummated not on earth, but in heaven. It will be enjoyed in its perfection by the saints, when the wicked who violated it shall have been sentenced to their final doom.

All that remains is to consider the destinies of the two cities, the City of God and the city of earth. God's judgment is always operative, but not always visible or intelligible.¶ It will be vindicated at the Final Judgment of Christ. Augustine enters at great length into the prophecies of the Final Judgment, first in the New and then in the Old Testament. He argues that there are two resurrections, answering to the two deaths, of the soul and of the body; the first resurrection, which is that of the soul from sin, the second, which is that of the body from the grave.** The binding and the loosing of the devil are phrases which relate to his power of injuring the Christian Church. He is bound in such degree as the Church spreads over the world.†† The millennium, during which he will be bound, is the period intervening between the first and the second Advents of Christ.‡‡ Before the Second Advent Antichrist will appear. There will be a resurrection of souls as well as of bodies. At the bodily resurrection, which will be the resurrection of all the dead, will be effected the ultimate discrimination between the good and the evil by the reward of the one and the punishment of the other. The devil also will be finally§§ condemned and punished. The new heaven and the new earth signify the

* xix. 10. † xix. 17. ‡ xix. 20. § xix. 21. ‖ xix. 25.
¶ xx. 2. ** xx. 6. †† xx. 8. ‡‡ xx. 9. §§ xx. 14.

inauguration of a new era after the Final Judgment. It is then that the Church will attain and enjoy her unending glory.* All this is the subject of prophecy in the Old Testament.

The last two books of the *De Ciuitate Dei* are occupied with the eternal, *i.e.* everlasting, punishment of the lost, and the eternal, *i.e.* everlasting, blessedness of the saints. It is not, says Augustine, incredible that human bodies should burn for ever without being consumed.† The world is full of miracles or marvels; and because of God's omnipotence the possibility of marvels or miracles is undeniable.‡ Hell, according to Holy Scripture, is the place in which the evil shall suffer everlastingly. The justice of everlasting punishment cannot be disputed in view of the gravity attaching to the first man's original sin.§ There is no reason for the belief that the punishment of the wicked after death is only purgatorial.‖ The temporary punishments of this life are disciplines; for by them souls are regenerated through grace.¶ It is wrong to assume that no human beings will be punished everlastingly, or that all will be delivered by the intercession of the saints (however evil their own lives may have been), or that heretics through their participation in the body of Christ (however far they may have lapsed into heresy), or all who have been baptized as Catholics, or who have ever built themselves upon Jesus Christ as a foundation, or have done charitable deeds will escape everlasting punishment.** That the punishment of the devil or of wicked men will not last for ever is a belief not warranted by Holy Scripture. Eternal, *i.e.* everlasting, punishment is a fact of most dreadful solemnity; nor is there any hope of deliverance from it except through Christ.††

Augustine in the *De Ciuitate Dei* offers a vivid portraiture of the beatitude which is the inalienable property of the City of God. God's purpose is immutable; and human sins, great and grievous as they are, tend ultimately to the accomplishment of His will. The eternal or everlasting happiness of the good no less than the eternal or everlasting punishment of the wicked is foretold throughout Holy Scripture. Christians look for a resurrection, and for a resurrection of the flesh; but

* xx. 17. † xxi. 2. ‡ xxi. 7. § xxi. 12.
‖ xxi. 13. ¶ xxi. 15. ** xxi. 18 *sqq.* †† xxi. 16.

earthly bodies will experience such a change as to become capable of translation to heaven. Christian theology depends upon Jesus Christ. But if Rome adores Romulus because it loved him, the Christian Church loves Christ because it believes Him to be Divine.* The rapid diffusion of Christianity is a proof of its Divine origin.† The Christian faith is founded upon prophecy and miracle—*i.e.*, upon the fulfilment of prophecies and upon the performance of miracles. Augustine repeatedly insists upon the evidential value of the predictions contained in the Old Testament and verified in the New Testament, or in the later history of the Church. He asserts that miracles in attestation of Jesus Christ's Divinity and of the authority belonging to the Christian faith and the Christian Church, have never failed. He cites numerous instances of miracles of which he himself has been an eye-witness. But he adds that the spirit of the martyrs, whose remains had been the instruments of working miracles to the honour and glory‡ of the one true God, is sharply opposed to the spirit of the dæmons, who, if they worked miracles at all, worked them only in order themselves to be worshipped as gods.

Augustine ends the *De Ciuitate Dei* by dwelling upon two special aspects of the Christian faith. One is the perfect manhood of Jesus Christ; He is the head, and His body, which is His fulness, is the Church. In Him alone lies the hope of deliverance from the miseries of the present life. But the present life, such as it is, is redeemed by the manifold beauty of Nature, by the mysteriousness of the human body so "fearfully and wonderfully made," by the physical and moral powers of human nature, by the endowment of the intellect which has created the arts and sciences, and, above all, by the moral and spiritual glory of man's conformation to Jesus Christ Himself. The Incarnation is the supreme witness to the Divine beneficence. "How can I fully describe," says Augustine, "all the beauty and utility of the Creation, the manifold and various loveliness of heaven and earth and sea, the abundant and marvellous glory of the light itself, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the shady recesses of the forests, the hues and scents of the flowers, the multitude of birds differing in song and plumage, the variety of living things among whom the smallest are most

* xxi. 6 † xxi. 7. ‡ See the passage cited in the note on iv. 34 D.

frequently the most wonderful . . . the majestic spectacle of the sea when it clothes itself with a diversity of colours as with a vestment, becoming at one time green and green of many shades, at another time purple, and yet at another time azure? What a glorious object it is even in a storm! How the joy of looking upon it is accentuated, as it soothes the mind of the spectator when he reflects that he is not on board ship to be tossed by it and shaken! What shall I say of the rich diversities of the foods which preclude hunger, or of the variety of flavours which prevent distaste for the food, and of all the abundance lavished by Nature's riches, not procured by any skill and toil of cookery? How many are the aids to preserving and recovering health! How grateful is the alternation of day and night! How pleasant the temperature which the breezes cause! What a wealth of materials for clothing is supplied by the trees and herds! It is impossible to tell the whole story. If I should try to delineate one by one in detail even these few blessings which I have, as it were, put summarily together, there would be no end to my account of all the benefits residing in every one of them. Yet these are all no more than the consolations of human beings who are wretched and condemned; they are not the rewards of the blessed. What, then, must their blessings be, if these are so many and so great? What will God give to those whom He has predestined to life if He has given these blessings to those whom He has predestined to death? Above all, what good things will He, in the life of beatitude, bestow upon those for whom it was His will, even in this present life of misery, that His only begotten Son should endure such evils even unto death?"*

The second aspect of faith is the beatific vision which the saints will enjoy in heaven. For while no man on earth may see God and live, yet in heaven human eyesight will be so vastly strengthened that it can gaze continually upon the face of God.† The felicity of heaven will not be tainted or marred by any evil; it will be consummated in the undisturbed fruition of God. In heaven there will be no such thing as a volition consenting to the humiliation of sin. There will be an entire forgetfulness of past evils; there will be no dissension nor any

* xxii. 24(x-z). † xxii. 29.

jealousy. Free-will will still be the prerogative of human nature; but, like the free-will of God Himself, it will be free from every possible stain of sin.* God in Christ will be all in all. For all hearts and all voices will be devoted to the celebration of the Divine grace, as manifested in the salvation of mankind. The life of heaven will be the eternal Sabbath, as being the eternal repose both of body and of spirit. In heaven the life will be one of rest and sight, of sight and love, of love and praise.†

It was Augustine's object in the *De Ciuitate Dei* not only to condemn paganism as a religion, alike on intellectual and on moral grounds, but to support, if not indeed to explain, Christianity. For in writing a book which was addressed to pagans, it was necessary that he should treat them as being in a large measure ignorant of the Christian faith. That the Christians should ever have been called atheists is a proof that the charge of atheism was ignorantly levelled then, as it has often been levelled before and since, against reformers in theological belief. Atheism, in fact, meant no more than disagreement with received opinions. But it could not have been seriously alleged or accepted as an accusation against the Christians, if the Christian doctrine had been understood by the pagan world.

Augustine therefore takes occasion in the *De Ciuitate Dei* to state the main articles of the Christian faith. His statement is not a symbol or creed; it is not a complete or consecutive exposition of Christian theology. It is scattered over twenty-two books. Yet it is essential to his purpose, as indicating that he was concerned not only or chiefly with destroying ancient beliefs, but with erecting in their place a code of belief both better and higher. What, then, was his exposition of the doctrine which the Church in his age taught as the revelation of Jesus Christ?

He was, of course, primarily a theist—*i.e.*, a believer in the one true God. Theism was in his eyes rather an assumption than a conclusion. If he had been asked to express the substance or the basis of his belief in God, he would probably have insisted, as in the passage quoted above, upon the constitution both of physical nature and of human nature. But

* xxii. 30. † *Ibid.*

his opponents, the pagans, were not atheists or agnostics; they were polytheists. His argument against them is not that they rejected all supernatural powers, but that they multiplied supernatural powers to a point of absurdity. He asks them, in fact, to abandon their pagan faith in many gods for the Christian faith in one God. But it was inevitable that he should seek to show them how great was the elevation upon which the one God, in whom Christians believed, stood above the whole hierarchy of pagan gods and goddesses. There are many passages in which he expounds, if only gradually and partially, the Being of the one God. Perhaps the most remarkable of these passages, if I may somewhat loosely translate it, is the following: "We shall worship," he says, "God, not heaven and earth, the two parts of which this world consists, not the soul or souls diffused throughout all living creatures, but the God who made heaven and earth and all things which are in them, who made every soul, whatever may be its mode of life, whether living a life of any kind without sense and reason, or not only living but sentient, or intelligent as well as living and sentient;"* and again: "We worship that God who has appointed the beginnings and the ends, alike of existence and of movement, to the natures which He has Himself created, who holds and knows and disposes the causes of things, who has created the germinal power of seeds, who has endowed the living creatures whom it was His will to endow with a rational soul, or, as it is called, a mind, who has bestowed upon man the faculty and the use of speech, who has imparted to the spirits, to whom it was His pleasure to impart, the gift of foretelling the future, and who Himself through the agents of His choice foretells the future, and by the agents of His choice expels disease, who, when it is necessary to correct and chastise humankind by wars, regulates the outbreaks, the courses, and the issues of the wars themselves, who has both created and controls the utter vehemence and violence of the fire within this world in accordance with the equipoise of Nature's immensity, who is the Creator and Governor of the waters in the universe, who has made the sun to be brightest of material lights, and has given the sun such power and motion as is appropriate to it, who does not

* vii. 29 B.

withdraw His dominion and authority from the lower regions themselves, who has produced for mortal men the seeds and foods, whether dry or liquid, which are designed for suitable natures, who establishes and fertilises the earth, who lavishes its fruits upon animals and men, who knows and ordains all causes, not only principal but secondary as well, who affords both in heaven and in earth the ways of passing from one place to another, who has granted to the human intellects which He has created the knowledge of the various arts tending to the support of life, who has appointed the union of male and female as the means of propagating offspring, who has shown His favour by giving human societies for the readiest uses the boon of terrestrial fire to be burnt upon the hearths and in various modes of illumination;"* and again in a still higher sense: "God is everywhere whole. He is enclosed by no spaces, fettered by no chains, divisible into no parts nor mutable in any part, filling heaven and earth through the presence of His power and not through the indigence of Nature. Thus He administers all things which He has created, but in such a way as to allow them the exercise and the action of their own proper motions. For although they can be nothing without Him, yet they are not what He Himself is. He acts often through the angels. But His power alone it is which makes the angels blessed. It is so that, although He sends angels to men for certain purposes, yet it is not owing to the angels but to Himself that He makes men blessed like the angels. This is the one true God from whom we hope for eternal life";† and lastly: "Although we can never sufficiently thank God for our being, our life, our vision of heaven and earth, our mind and reason which is given us that we may seek Him who is the Creator of all; yet what hearts or what tongues could maintain that they are equal to the task of rendering thanks to Him for His goodness in that, when we were overcome and overwhelmed by sins, estranged from the contemplation of His light, and blinded by the love of darkness"—*i.e.*, of iniquity—"He did not abandon us; but He sent to us His Word, who is His only Son, that by His Son's Incarnation and Passion we might learn how great is the care of God for man, and by His unique sacrifice might be cleansed from all our sins, and through the love diffused

* vii. 30 A-D.

† vii. 30 E and F.

in our hearts by His Spirit might surmount all difficulties and arrive at eternal rest and at the ineffable sweetness of contemplating Him as He is."*

Augustine, then, is not only a theist, but in the strictest sense a Christian theist. Again and again he asserts the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. "That which is begotten," he says, "from the simple (or 'absolute') good"—*i.e.*, from God—"is equally simple (or 'absolute'); it is, in fact, the same as that from which it is begotten. These two we call the Father and the Son; and they both, with the Spirit of them both, are one God. The Spirit of the Father and the Son is in the sacred literature named distinctively the Holy Spirit."† Again he says: "We believe and hold and faithfully preach that the Father begat the Word—*i.e.*, the Wisdom, by whom all things were made, the one Son of the one Father, the co-eternal Son of the eternal Father, the Son who is, as the Father is, supremely good; and that the Holy Spirit is at once the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son"—a phrase which recalls the *Filioque* clause of the Nicene Creed—"and is Himself consubstantial and co-eternal with them both; and that this Whole is both a Trinity in virtue of the distinction of Persons, and one God in view of their inseparable Divinity, as also one Almighty in virtue of their inseparable Omnipotence; yet so"—and here he anticipates the language of the *Quicunque Vult*—"that, even when the question relates to them individually, the answer is that each one of them is both God and Almighty, but, when it relates to them together, they are not three Gods or three Almighties, but one God Almighty; so true in all three is the inseparable Unity which has willed itself to be defined in this manner."‡ Two other passages it will suffice to quote. "When we speak of God, we no more affirm two or three principles than we can legitimately affirm two or three Gods; and although in speaking severally, whether of the Father or of the Son or of the Holy Spirit, we confess each one of them to be God, yet we do not say with the heretical Sabellians that the Father is the same as the Son, and that the Holy Spirit is the same as the Father and the Son; but we say that the Father is the Father of the Son, and the Son is the Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit is of the Father and of the Son, yet is neither the Father nor the

* xxii. 31. † xi. 10 A. ‡ xi. 24 A.

Son;"* and again: "When our Lord breathed upon the disciples saying, Receive ye the Holy Spirit, there can be no doubt that He wished it to be understood that the Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of the Father alone, but also the Spirit of the only begotten Son Himself. The same Spirit, in fact, is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son; and He completes the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which is not a creature, but the Creator."†

In view of Augustine's allegiance to the doctrine of the Sacred Trinity, there can be no need to quote instances of his express belief in the three Persons of the Trinity. It is perhaps surprising that he dwells so little upon our Lord's earthly life. It is scarcely less surprising that he refers so seldom to the Holy Spirit as a living influence upon men and nations of men. He may have felt that the Epistles, and especially the Epistles of St. Paul, supplied a larger material for argument against the pagans. Or he may have felt that the conception of the Holy Spirit would be alien from the opinions, and even from the imaginations, of men, who, if they thought of spiritual beings at all, thought of them as no higher morally than dæmons. Yet, whatever the reason of his reticence about the Divine Life or the Divine Spirit may have been, it is certainly not the absence or failure of belief. For he held and taught the doctrine of the Trinity in all the fulness of the relation defined by the Catholic Creeds of the Church. He takes the Incarnation of Jesus Christ almost for granted. He cannot entertain the idea of Christianity apart from the Incarnation. Jesus Christ, as he holds, is the one Mediator between God and man; and the union of Divinity and humanity in Jesus Christ and in Him alone constitutes His title to His unique mediatorship. In Appendix E I have tried to collect the most striking of the phrases by which Augustine essays to express the inexpressible truth of the Incarnation. "Jesus Christ," he says, "became mortal, not by weakening the Divinity of the Word, but by assuming the weakness of the flesh."‡ From the Incarnation of Jesus Christ flows His Redemption and His Atonement; from it flows also the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection. "He did not continue as mortal in the flesh itself, but that flesh He raised from the dead; for it is the very fruit of His mediation

* x 24 A † xiii. 24 H. ‡ x. 15 A.

that they for whose deliverance He was constituted Mediator should, like Him, not continue for ever in the death even of the flesh."* All depends in Augustine's view upon the Divine humanity of Jesus Christ. Whether he was right or wrong, he neither showed nor felt any sympathy with the modernism, as it is now called, which would whittle away one by one the attributes of Jesus Christ's Divinity. In his view it is the blessed immortality of this Mediator, intervening as it does between God and man, that will deliver man from mortal misery and bring him to a blessed immortality of bliss. The Mediator, he says, must be one " who, while He is united to us in our low estate by the mortality of His body, should yet by the immortal righteousness of His Spirit, whereby he remained on high, not through local severance from earthly things, but by affinity to the things which are above us, afford us such help as is truly Divine for our purification and emancipation."

As professing the orthodox belief in the Incarnation, Augustine believed that Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin mother. His acceptance of the Virgin birth issues from his acceptance of miracles. Nowhere in the *De Ciuitate Dei* does Augustine show a more logical or scientific spirit than in his attitude to miracles, and especially to the miracles of Jesus Christ. In Appendix F I have tried to indicate what his attitude was. As he holds that man himself is a miracle greater than any miraculous event of human life, so he holds that Jesus Christ Himself is a greater miracle than any miracles which are recorded of Him in the Gospels. It is true that the faith in miracles is, and must be, dependent upon evidence. But he argues that no believer in the God whom Christians worship can refuse to consider the evidence for miracles in human history; nor can anyone who believes in Jesus Christ as both Son of God and Son of man refuse to consider the evidence for the miracles attributed to Him. Among these miracles the Virgin birth stands at one portal of Jesus Christ's life, as the Resurrection stands at the other. Both are miracles, and he repeatedly declares his acceptance of them both.

Augustine argues in fact from God to Jesus Christ, and from the Nature of Jesus Christ to the miracles of His life. For if

God is such a God as Christians believe, a God who is perfect in power, wisdom, and love, who is not only the Creator but the Father of all His human children, then it is reasonable that He should by some such means as the Incarnation express His sympathy with humankind, and that so His children on earth should upon Divine authority learn the truths which it is all-important for them to know, yet impossible for them to find out, and that they should be rescued by superhuman power from their sins and the penalties which, according to the law of Divine Providence, follow soon or late upon sins. But if Jesus Christ was not a man in the sense in which all other human beings are men, if He was the only begotten Son of the Father, and if it was His will to assume human nature and for man's salvation to live, to suffer and at last to die upon the Cross, then it would be not unnatural but only reasonable, and indeed only probable, that He would exercise over animate and inanimate creatures a compelling influence which transcends all ordinary human experience. It is so that Augustine defends the miracles of Jesus Christ; it is so that he defends Jesus Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary.

There are certain beliefs which necessarily spring from Augustine's conception of God and of Christ. He believed in the perfect goodness of God; he believed therefore in the perfect goodness of Nature. He delights in quoting the words so often repeated in the first chapter of Genesis that, as God looked upon creation in its several stages, He "saw that it was good" or "very good." But not only Nature—*i.e.*, the sum of created things—must be good; all separate natures must be good too. It is part of Augustine's mental and spiritual alienation from the Manichæism which had once been his accepted creed, that he should so emphatically repudiate the theory of two conflicting Powers, an Ormuzd and an Ahriman, one good and the other evil, in the constitution of the world. Creation, as God ordained it, must, according to Augustine, be always and everywhere good. The evil in it, if evil there is, must, according to him, be due not to God's original action, but to man's perverted use of the freedom with which God has endowed him. The following passages will sufficiently elucidate his point of view: "There is no nature of evil," or, in other words, there is no natural evil, "but the loss of good has come

to be called by the name evil."* "Nobody is bad by nature, but everybody who is bad is bad through vice.† God created man upright; for God is the Author of natures, not in any sense of vices; but man, when he had been of his own accord depraved and justly condemned, begat children who were depraved and condemned."‡ He goes so far as to say that "the nature of the devil himself, in so far as it is a nature, is not evil."§ And if this is the truth of the angelic nature, still more must it be the truth of human nature. It was the vice of the will which turned men from good to evil. The consequence was that men's works become evil, as being done according to an evil will, and not according to the will of God. So the evil will, or indeed man himself in so far as he is a man of evil will, is like an evil tree, bringing forth the fruit of evil works.‖

But Augustine's theory of good and evil does not stop here. There are two arguments by which he tries to meet the acknowledged fact of evil in the world. One is that many things which are regarded as evil do in themselves possess a certain utility, as drugs, which may be poisonous if they are used ignorantly or excessively, but may be medicinal if they are used with due knowledge and in proper moderation.¶ The other is that God can and does convert the evil which men do to a good end, or in a word that He can and does bring good out of evil. For "as He is the supremely good Creator of good natures, so He is the supremely just Governor of evil wills; and therefore, while those wills make a bad use of natures which are good, He Himself actually makes a good use of wills which are evil."** Temptation is itself the school of the saintly character.††

But the goodness of God imposes a corresponding duty of goodness upon man. For man has been made in the image of God, and it is by moral conduct that he realises or expresses the Divine image. If then justice is an attribute of God, man must be just. If love is such an attribute, man must be loving; if purity, man must be pure. Augustine insists that the gods and goddesses of pagan theology were precluded by their

* xi. 9 C. Cp. Leibnitz's distinction between *causa efficiens* and *causa deficiens* ("Essais de Théodicée," pt. i., 20).

† xiv. 6 C. ‡ xiii. 14 A. § xix. 13 D.

‖ xiv. 11. ¶ xi. 22 A. ** xi. 17 B.

†† See Saisset, Introduction to the Translation of *D.C.D.*, p. xxxi.

own immorality from demanding or expecting that their worshippers should be moral. But the God of Christianity, being in His very Nature perfect, calls upon Christians to aim at a perfection like his own. There can be no doubt that Christian morality is the product partly of the Jewish Decalogue and of the commandments which were in the course of centuries derived from it, but partly also, and still more, of the moral code ordained by Jesus Christ. History refutes the crude assumption that the moral law always has borne and always will bear the same import. The morality of Christianity is not that of Mohammedanism, nor yet of Hinduism nor of Buddhism; it would not be the same as that of theism or agnosticism or atheism, if these beliefs or unbeliefs were ever to take concrete shape in the organisation of society. Sceptical criticism is inclined to assume that, however greatly religious faith may be altered, nay even although faith in God Himself should vanish from the earth, the law of morals would continue to be as it has always been. But in the long run as men believe, so they live. That deeds require creeds, as fruits require roots, is only too evident in the present day. The law of Christian marriage, for example, is Christ's law. It was enacted by His will; it is upheld by His authority; and as surely as the world drifts away from allegiance to His Gospel, it will become increasingly impotent to resist the inroads and assaults of human passion upon the sanctity and the indissolubility of marriage.

Augustine, therefore, holds fast to the Christian moral law. He does not content himself with asserting its superiority to pagan morals, but he maintains that it is essentially different from pagan morals. Even in such an instance as suicide, Cato of Utica and Lucretia, the hero and the heroine of pagan morality, stand in his judgment condemned by the law of Christ, because life is the gift of God, God who gave it alone possesses the right of taking it away, and he who destroys it by suicide is not only an offender against the Christian moral law, but a murderer,* although the life which he destroys is his own.

Like all believers in God and in the goodness of God, Augustine finds himself confronted by the problem of predestination and free-will. He argues against Cicero that God, as being God, must have foreknown and fore-ordained all the events of human life.

* i. 17-23.

But he refuses to allow that, because God foreknew and foreordained these events, it is necessary to deny the freedom of the human will. In his own words: "We assert both that God knows all things before they come to pass, and that we do by our own will whatever we feel and know to be done by us, only because we will to do it;"* and again, "It is not the case that, because God foreknew what would be in the power of our will, there is, therefore, consequently nothing in the power of our will. For He who foreknew this must have foreknown something. And further if He, who foreknew what would be in the power of our will, certainly foreknew not nothing but something, then it is evident that in spite of his foreknowledge there is something which is in the power of our will. We are, therefore, in no way compelled either, if we retain the foreknowledge of God, to surrender the freedom of the will, or, if we retain the freedom of the will, conspicuously to surrender His foreknowledge of future things."† Augustine, in fact, recognised with the greatest thinkers of all time that, if God is infinite and man finite, the mysteries of the Divine Nature cannot always be made intelligible to the human reason; predestination, therefore, and free-will are truths not so much contradictory as complementary; they run side by side, as parallel lines which cannot meet in the present world but may and will, as Christians believe, meet in eternity.

Yet Augustine differs from modern theologians, or from many of them, in that he is not so sensitive as they are to the logical consequences of his own creed. The everlastingness of the punishment inflicted upon guilty souls is a belief which, if it were logically realised, would drive believers into a mad-house. It is, indeed, conceivable, because existence in the spiritual world is a timeless existence; but it is also irreconcilable with the beneficence of God. The fact is that in the early and indeed in the mediæval days of the Church sentences of everlasting torment were treated almost as commonplaces in theological disputations, because to nobody who made use of them did the full and awful significance of their import come home. Augustine, if he had lived in the twentieth century A.D., could never have contended that the sin of Adam was so tremendous as to involve all his posterity for all time in the danger of

* v 9 G † v. 10 E.

everlasting punishment, or that temporary guilt could be justly visited with everlasting punishment, or that the great majority of human beings would be condemned on the Final Day to awful suffering, and that a suffering without end.*

It is perhaps by the denunciation of stage-plays that Augustine exhibits the antagonism of Christian to pagan morality in the strongest colours. Some specimens of his language are quoted in Appendix C. The stage has at many epochs of Christian no less than of pagan history proved itself to be an index of public morality. But in Augustine's time the stage excited perhaps a greater indignation among Christian thinkers than at any time before or since, not only because of the grossness which characterised dramatic performances, but because of the intimate association between that grossness and the worship of the pagan gods and goddesses.

Augustine always treats the Christian religion as a whole. He does not generally feel that he need be at pains to defend or explain this or that particular doctrine. He holds that the faith of Christendom centred in the Person and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But he could not insist upon the claims of Christianity, especially in a controversial treatise against paganism, without some estimate of human history both before and since the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

Augustine takes a broad view of God's relation to the human family. He assumes indeed the choice of Israel as God's people; but he does not exclude devout and holy men, such as Job, although they were not members of the chosen people, from the City of God. The first great fact, however, in God's purpose of human salvation is the Messianic character of the Old Testament. It is impossible indeed to separate the history from the literature of the Jews. No people bear, like the Jews, the marks of their own past in their present state. No people have been such faithful guardians of the sacred writings in which the oracles of God, as delivered to them, are recorded. Augustine does not indeed insist upon the literal acceptation of all the Old Testament. Whether the early narratives of Genesis, for example, are historical or allegorical, or partly the one and partly the other, he leaves as an open question. But the Jewish people, as they were in his

* xiv. 15.

day and as they are to-day, have been the abiding witnesses to their own sacred literature; and Augustine more than once emphasises his belief not only that parts of the Old Testament were and were meant to be prophecies, but that the prophecies had been actually fulfilled in Jesus Christ and His Church.*

There is something that surprises and even astonishes the Christian historian in Augustine's confident assertion of the victory which the Church had in his day already won. For at the time of his writing the *De Ciuitate Dei* the Roman Empire had not been officially Christian so long as for a single century. Yet he speaks as if the Church were everywhere diffused, and the Creed of the Church were everywhere believed. If he does not indulge in the exuberant language of Tertullian, none the less he insists upon the large and ample prevalence of Christian faith and Christian worship. He taunts the pagans whom he addresses with the ineffectiveness of their opposition to the rising tide of Christianity. He entertains no doubt that the triumph of the Cross is certain and not distant. So far from wishing or trying to minimise the supernatural character of the Gospel, he urges that the widely spread acceptance of doctrines which the mind of man would naturally hold to be incredible is itself a proof of the Divine power lying behind the religion in which these incredible doctrines are incorporated. His was not an age in which scientific canons of evidence were carefully observed; but Christians and pagans alike would allow that the strong man armed could keep his house only until a stronger than he came to take possession of it, and, as Augustine well knew, the stronger was Jesus Christ.†

The *De Ciuitate Dei* is a treatise directed, as has been said, against the pagans. Augustine emphasises in it the contrast between paganism and Christianity. The triumph, whether immediate or ultimate, of the Christian Church lay in the nature of Christianity itself; for the Gospel of Christ supplies an answer, such as no pagan creed or system could supply, to the ineradicable demands of human nature. But the transition from paganism to Christianity in the fifth century was like the passing from some close prison-house to the free bracing atmosphere of a mountain-height. Christianity was then felt to be a religion of hope. It dispelled the dark shadows of

* *E.g.*, xvii. 8 *sqq.*; xviii. 28 *sqq.*

† xviii. 50; xxii. 8.

incredulity and immorality. It made life again worth living. It restored man to his proper dignity. It assured him of his true affinity to God.

Human life was a poor thing when it was measured by the opportunities and responsibilities of heathendom. It became a far higher thing when Jesus Christ "brought life and incorruption to light through the Gospel." Augustine declares that the first man, if he had retained his innocency, would have been immortal. Death was the penalty of his sin, and Jesus Christ brought back the hope of an immortal destiny. It is not the immortality of the spirit so much as the resurrection of the body or the flesh which is the distinctive article of Christian theology. But Augustine, in whose eyes humanity is related to the second Adam as it had been in the beginning to the first Adam, draws from the resurrection of Jesus Christ Himself a positive inference, not alone as to the fact of personal immortality but as to the nature of personal immortality too. He believed that the actual body of Jesus Christ had risen from the grave. He believed therefore that the bodies of the saints would rise in the same manner. He knew only too well that such a resurrection would appear repugnant to scientific and philosophical thought. But it seemed clear to him that the human body would be raised from the grave as Christ's body had been, and like Christ's body would be so raised as to be capable of translation into heaven. "Behold," he says, "the world has by this time come to believe that Christ's earthly body was taken up into heaven; the learned and the unlearned alike have come to believe in the resurrection of the flesh and its ascension into heavenly places; and there are very few, whether learned or unlearned, who still remain staggered by the belief. If it is a credible thing which they have believed, let those who do not believe see how stupid they are themselves; but if it is an incredible thing which is believed, then it is surely also incredible that what is incredible should be so believed. There are, then, two incredible things—viz., the resurrection of our body to an eternal existence, and the belief of the world in a thing so incredible. But both these incredible things God predicted before either of them came to pass."* Augustine, indeed, feels the necessity not so much of proving the bodily resurrection

* xxii. 5.

as of solving certain difficulties which are involved in the bodily resurrection, such as the continuance of sex, the stature of persons who die in infancy, the removal of personal blemishes, etc. He comes to the conclusion that all bodies at the resurrection will be physically perfect; they will be such as they would have been but for their imperfections or mutilations upon earth; but they will be changed, *i.e.* they will be spiritualised, according to the example of Christ's body after His resurrection. It is as so spiritualised that the bodies, like the souls, of the saints will enter into the full beatitude of the life celestial and eternal.*

But the *De Ciuitate Dei* is not primarily a treatise of personal religion. Religion in the modern world has come more and more to be regarded as the concern of individuals. The great principle of freedom means in the religious domain that a man's belief or his worship, unless it is demonstrably immoral, is a matter which affects himself alone. Religion, in fact, as the modern world conceives it, is the relation of each soul to the Creator of all souls. In the ancient pagan world, both Greek and Roman, religion was an affair of the State. It was held to be natural that the State, as governing a man's whole life, should govern his religion too. There might be a wide inconsistency between the beliefs of particular persons and their practices; but the State did not trouble itself about the beliefs, unless the beliefs interfered with the practices. The one thing needful was that the citizens should publicly acknowledge the deities whom the State recognised as Divine. It has often been alleged that individuals in the ancient world existed for the State, and that in the modern world the State exists for individuals. Such a generalisation is too wide to be strictly true. It is not without difficulty that a citizen of the British Empire in the twentieth Christian century can set himself by imagination in the attitude of the citizen of the Roman Empire in the fifth century towards the Government of the Empire. The pride of Roman citizenship is evinced by the well-known words *Ciuis Romanus sum*, a phrase once quoted with extraordinary effect by Lord Palmerston in the case of Don Pacifico. But the citizenship of Rome exalted the individual citizen above all his compatriots, however dis-

* xxii. 12 *sqq.*

tinguished they might be, who did not enjoy that citizenship; and it imposed upon him various duties and responsibilities in virtue of his citizenship. The thought of individuals, except as members of a State, was in Roman eyes almost an absurdity, if not an impossibility. To a Roman, then, the decadence of customs, traditions, and even privileges seemed a small matter in comparison with the dissolution of the Empire itself. If he could no longer think of himself as a citizen of the Empire, he could scarcely think of himself as a civilised being at all. Yet the dissolution of the Empire was the overwhelming misfortune which fell upon Augustine's contemporaries. How terribly the destruction of the City of Rome by the Goths under Alaric must have paralysed the minds and hearts of all Roman citizens, may be exemplified by two striking passages of literature.

Lactantius, whom Augustine names with appreciative respect in the *De Ciuitate Dei*, was a teacher of rhetoric at Nicomedia, a century before Alaric entered Rome. It is generally thought that his "Diuinae Institutiones" was written between A.D. 304 and 311. Let me translate some of his words: "When the head of the Roman world shall have fallen, and the *débâcle* shall have begun, as the Sibyls predict, who can doubt that the end of humanity and of the world has come at last? It is that State which has hitherto supported all things; and we can only entreat and adore the God of Heaven in the hope that His ordinances and decrees may after all be delayed, and so there may be no premature, or by us unexpected, arrival of that abominable tyrant, to accomplish so great a crime and to extirpate that luminary at whose decease the universe itself will collapse."* Beside the anticipation of Lactantius may be placed the realisation of Jerome. In the year A.D. 410 Jerome had already been living nearly a quarter of a century at Bethlehem. There he heard the appalling news of the Gothic capture of Rome. He wrote to his correspondent, the *Virgo Christi Principia*, as follows: "While all this is happening in Jebus (Jerusalem) there comes to hand a terrible rumour from the West that Rome is besieged, that the citizens are purchasing their safety for gold, and that after enduring spoliation they are encompassed on all sides in such a way as to live out their substance only to lose after it their

* "Diuin. Instit.," vii. 25.

life as well. My voice cleaves to my throat, my sighs intercept my words as I dictate. Captured is the city which has captured all the world. Rome perishes of hunger before it perishes by the sword. It is with difficulty that a few are found to be taken captives."* Jerome was not, perhaps, predisposed to a complete sympathy with the Roman Empire. It is one of the paradoxes of ecclesiastical history that he, whose Vulgate translation of the Bible has done so much to consecrate the Latin language and to influence the Latin or Western Church, should have banished himself from the influence of Latinity. But, like all his contemporaries, he lay under the spell of the Roman Empire; and to him, as to them, the destruction of the Empire, or of its capital city, must have seemed an event scarcely less appalling than the end of the world.† But the imperishableness of the Roman Empire, as it appeared in the fifth century A.D., is sufficiently expressed by Byron in the well-known lines of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage":

> "While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand;
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall;
> And when Rome falls, the world."

The fall of the Roman Empire, then, was the destruction of the political system which held, or was believed to hold, the world together. To the Roman Empire there had been in the Christian era no rival. For it there was and, as men held, there could be no substitute. Yet a State, and that a State as comprehensive as possible, was indispensable, as men felt, to the welfare and even to the safety of mankind. Was there such a State actual or conceivable, and, if it was conceivable but not actual, how and when could it come into being? Roman society demanded the ideal of a State other than the Roman Empire. It was such a State that Augustine projected. He entitled his book not "The Church" but "The State" (or "The City") "of God." He declared that a polity transcending the Roman Empire in amplitude and majesty had already been inaugurated upon earth. Of that polity all citizens of the Roman Empire might, if they would, become enfranchised citizens. In it they would find the satisfaction of their social aspirations. Through it they would regain the sense of

* "Epist.," cxxvii. 12, p. 959.

† Cp. Claudian, "De Secund. Consulat. Stilichon.," 130-173.

a universal fellowship or commonwealth. By it they would be inspired with the moral principles which would elevate and sanctify their corporate life.

Augustine, therefore, in the *De Ciuitate Dei*, occupies himself with a definition of the *populus* or people. He quotes Cicero's definition of a Republic as *Res Populi*. But in a Republic, as both Cicero and Augustine realised, it is necessary to define the nature of the *populus*. The people of a Republic must be not only a mere rabble or horde of men and women, without any such ties as would bind them in one, but an association of men and women upon the basis of common justice and mutual service. "The people," says Augustine, "are a multitude of people associated by legal agreement and social utility."* For if the object of a State is in Aristotle's language not so much life itself as a happy or virtuous life, then such a life could be ensured, at least to some extent, by a secular Empire like the Roman, but far more enduringly by the Kingdom of Heaven or the City of God. The thought of civic or political unity still lingered in the minds of Augustine's contemporaries. It was then that his voice sounded in their ears, bidding them think no more of an earthly State or Empire, but of the State or Empire which was indeed the City of God.

Yet the City of God, as Augustine conceives it, does not stand alone. Opposed to it, alike in theory and in history, is the city of the world. Nor can the City of God be understood except in contrast with the rival city which had been its enemy since the Creation and would not cease to be its enemy until the Final Judgment.

The definition of the two cities, the City of God and the city of earth, is Augustine's. But the genesis of the idea lies in the teaching of our Lord Himself. For He came on earth to create a kingdom—a kingdom of Heaven, or of God. But he always speaks of His kingdom as antagonistic to the world. "My kingdom," He said, "is not of (or 'does not spring from') this world." The world (κόσμος) was His enemy. It pursued and persecuted Him in His life; at last it nailed Him to the Cross. But by His death, as by His life, He overcame the world. The world shrank defeated and abashed from His open grave. Yet He warned His disciples that, as they had

* ii. 21 f. Cp. xix. 21.

been called by Him out of the world, they would necessarily be exposed to the hatred of the world. The perpetual opposition of the world to His kingdom, as to Himself, is a thought which is common to all the Gospels, but is especially prominent in the Fourth Gospel. It is, indeed, one of those thoughts which belong both to the Fourth Gospel and to the First Epistle of St. John. So far it may be treated as an argument for one authorship both of the Gospel and of the Epistle. "Love not the world," says St. John, in his First Epistle, "neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the vainglory of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."* This is the language, or other language such as this,† which originates the duality of the *De Ciuitate Dei*. For the antithesis between the Divine kingdom and the world is an original antithesis of Christianity. To the ancient world such an antithesis was unknown; it might even have been unintelligible. For human nature was in pagan eyes single; but in Christian eyes it was, or it came to seem, twofold; and, as being twofold, it found a twofold expression in two different spirits or tendencies, in two opposing societies or cities. So the spirit stood against the flesh, the Church against the world, the secular life against the spiritual, the City of God against the city of earth.

The City of God, in Augustine's conception, is not earthly alone but heavenly too. It includes good angels no less than good men and women, as the city of earth includes bad angels no less than bad men and women. But nobody can read the *De Ciuitate Dei* without feeling that Augustine's thoughts turn mainly upon the City of God as it exists in the world. St. Paul, it is true, did, as being himself a Roman citizen, prepare the way for the faith in a Divine citizenship. He taught that Christians during their human lives were citizens not of earth alone but of heaven; and the heavenly citizenship tended in his eyes to encompass and overshadow the earthly

* ii. 15-17,

† Cp. Gal. iv. 25, 26; Heb. xi. 10 and 16, xii. 22, xiii. 14; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2 and 10, as foreshadowing the idea of the two cities.

citizenship. But Augustine was the first Christian author who tried to show how the citizenship of the City of God could assert itself as a reality in the domain of the earthly life, or, in other words, how it could embody itself in a social order which should be parallel and yet superior to the social order of the Roman Empire. The *De Ciuitate Dei*, then, has been the inspiration of all those writings which since Augustine's own time have imagined a reformed and purified society. It has been, if not the primary motive, yet at least the potent auxiliary, of such books as Bishop Otho's "Chronicon,"* or, as he practically calls it, the "Book of the Two Cities, Babylon and Jerusalem," of Dante's "De Monarchia," of Bacon's "New Atlantis," of More's "Utopia," of Vico's "Scienza Nuova," of Leibnitz's "De Iure Suprematus."

Augustine's "City of God," then, was an institution, or a conception, wider than the Church, wider even than the kingdom of God or heaven, as that kingdom is portrayed in the Gospels. It is a question much debated by commentators upon the *De Ciuitate Dei* how far his "City of God" must be held to be commensurate with the Church. The question is more easily asked than answered, if only because Augustine's language is not entirely consistent. It is clear that, when he describes the City of God as not earthly alone but heavenly, and still more as including not only human beings but angels, he supposes it to transcend in its amplitude and dignity the usual conception of the Church, whether visible or both visible and invisible.† Similarly, when he includes in the City of God devout human beings who lived either before the Incarnation of Jesus Christ or since His Incarnation but outside His visible Church, he widens the City of God until it exceeds the bounds of the Church, and becomes equivalent not so much to the Church as to the kingdom of God. The Church of Christ itself, too, so long as the good and the evil, like the wheat and the tares, grow side by side within it, is not and cannot be strictly one with the City of God. Yet Augustine, in speaking of the City of God, in urging his pagan readers to become enfranchised citizens of the City of God, and in portraying the City of God

* It is in the Prologus ad Isingrimum that Bishop Otho avows his indebtedness to Augustine's conception of the two cities in the *De Ciuitate Dei*.

† *Ecclesia et nunc est regnum Christi regnumque caelorum* (*D.C.D.*, xx. 9). Cp. Robertson, "Regnum Dei," Lecture v., pp. 206-222.

as the only natural or possible successor to the Roman Empire upon earth, would inevitably tend to identify the City of God with the Church. The *De Ciuitate Dei* contains not a few passages in which he expressly states that the City of God and the Church are one. "There is," he says, "a house which is in process of building to the Lord in every land—it is the City of God, which is the holy Church—ever since the captivity by which the dæmons took and held captive those men of whom, for their belief in God, as of living stones, the house is built."* So, too, he speaks elsewhere of "the philosophers against whose calumnies we defend the City of God—*i.e.*, His Church,"† and again of the "secrets of Scripture which cannot possibly be referred to anybody or anything except to Christ and His Church, which is the City of God."‡ The idea of the Church as the City of God, in contrast with the world lying outside it as the city of earth, was strengthened by the institution and organisation of the Papacy. For the Pope was the natural successor of the Emperor. He inherited the imperial authority in the West, when the Capital of the Empire was transferred to the East. He arrogated to himself, not perhaps more by force of will than by force of circumstances, the rights and dignities and prerogatives of the Cæsars. He was naturally disposed to base his power upon a theory so practical and so influential as Augustine's. Modern writers have differed as to the effect of the *De Ciuitate Dei* upon the general authority of the Church. Dubief, for example, asserts that "it is impossible to find in Augustine's works" (not in the *De Ciuitate Dei* alone) "those comparisons between the spiritual power and the temporal power which are intended to establish the pre-eminence of the former above the latter, and which denote the intention of subordinating the State to the clergy."§ Gierke, on the other hand, declares that Augustine's "theory of the City of God left the worldly State, with all its ramifications and institutions, practically destitute of importance, except so far as it ranged itself, as a subordinate member, within and below the Divine State which was realised in the Church."‖ Harnack argues that Augustine "gave a much stronger hold than his predecessor to the conception that the Church is the Kingdom of God; and by the manner in

* viii. 24 H. † xiii. 16 A. ‡ xvi. 2 I.
§ "Essai sur les Idées Politiques de Saint Augustin," p. 103.
‖ "Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht," vol. iii., p. 125.

which in his 'Divine Comedy,' the *De Ciuitate Dei*, he contrasted the Church with the State, far more than by his own express view, he roused the conviction that the empirical Catholic Church *sans phrase* was the Kingdom of God, and the independent State that of the devil."* Scholz, in fact, writes: "Augustine has exalted the Church to a height upon which it is identical with the Kingdom of Christ and with the *Ciuitas Dei*."†

But Augustine's conception of the City of God, if it served the Papacy in relation to the Empire, almost equally served the Empire in relation to non-Christian powers. For against them the Emperor stood as the champion of Christendom and Christianity. The late Lord Bryce has declared in explicit terms that "the Holy Empire is but another name for the Visible Church."‡ That Empire was built upon the foundation of the *De Ciuitate Dei*. There is a well-known passage in which Eginhart, or Einhart, describes how the Emperor Charlemagne on the rare occasions of his public banquets would listen to a clerk recounting the exploits of old days, and how he delighted in the books of St. Augustine, especially in the book entitled *De Ciuitate Dei*.§

It is, I think, true that the *De Ciuitate Dei* was better known or more widely read in the Middle Ages than it has been since the Reformation. There are frequent references to it in the "Summa Theologiæ" of Thomas Aquinas, in the "Polycraticus" of John of Salisbury, as well as references in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis‖ and in the "Gesta Romanorum."¶ Roper, in his Life of his father-in-law, Sir Thomas More, relates that Sir Thomas, after being called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, "read for a good space a public lecture of St. Augustine *De Ciuitate Dei* in the Church of St. Lawrence in the Old Jury, whereunto there resorted Dr. Grocyn, an excellent cunning man and the chief learned of the City of London."** Similarly, Erasmus, in one of his letters, relates that Sir Thomas More "gave public lectures on Augustine's book, *De Ciuitate Dei*, to a crowded audience, although he was still little more than a youth; for priests and

* "History of Dogma," pt. ii., bk. ii., ch. iv. (vol. v., p. 151, of the Theological Translation Library).
† "Glaube und Unglaube," vol. ii., p. 121.
‡ "The Holy Roman Empire," ch. xviii., p. 330.
§ "Vita Karoli Magni," Sect. 24. ‖ "The Topography of Ireland," ch. xix.
¶ "Tales," cxxxv. and cxlvi. ** p. 4.

old men were neither ashamed nor sorry to receive teaching upon some matters from a young man who was not in Holy Orders."* It must be added that the study of the *De Ciuitate Dei* was more carefully pursued on the Continent of Europe than in Great Britain. The great editions of Erasmus, Coques, Vives, and the Benedictines are all foreign in their origin. There have been English translations from Healey's to Dods'; but I do not think a complete edition of the *De Ciuitate Dei* has been published in England until now.

Augustine, indeed, was better suited by his spirit or character than by his exact learning to pose as a champion of the Christian faith. He did not possess, nor would he have affected to possess, the qualifications of a Jerome or an Origen. He shows, it is true, a full appreciation of scholarship, especially in relation to the study of Holy Scripture;† but he was not, and he knew that he was not, himself a profound scholar. Of Hebrew he was altogether ignorant: it is probable, or at least possible, that his ignorance of Hebrew accounts for the exaggerated value which he set upon the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. He could only make a guess, as it were, at the meaning of Hebrew words through their affinity, whether actual or supposed, to the Phœnician or Punic dialect‡ which was spoken in the neighbourhood of his own city Hippo. But all Hebrew literature, and with it all the Old Testament, was a sealed book to him. There is more difficulty in forming a definite opinion about his knowledge of Greek. Writers upon Augustine's works, and upon the *De Ciuitate Dei* itself, have expressed strangely different views of his acquaintance with the Greek language and literature. Some have described him as ignorant both of Hebrew and of Greek,§ or unacquainted not only with Hebrew but with Greek as well, so that he could not approach the fountain-head itself, but must perforce practically limit himself to explaining the Latin translation.‖ One critic goes so far as to speak of his discreditable ignorance of Greek literature.¶

* "Epist.," ccccxlvii.; it was addressed *Ulrico Hutteno.*
† "De Doct. Christ.," ii. 14 (ix.); 21 (xiv.)
‡ "Locut. in Gen.," i. in 9; "Con. Litt. Petil," ii. 239 (civ.).
§ Walch. "Bibl. Patrist.," p. 352.
‖ Rosenmüller, "Hist. Interpret. Libr. Sacr.," vol. iii., p. 104
¶ Winer, "Annot. in Epist. ad Galat.," p. 22.

But another and almost an opposite opinion has been also maintained, notably by Clausen, who holds that Augustine was "fully conversant with the grammar of the Greek language and a competent interpreter of the Greek manner of speech"; and, again, that Augustine, "far from deserving to be called ignorant of Greek, deserves credit as a good grammatical scholar, and an acute verbal expositor of the Greek language."* Harnack offers the suggestion that Augustine, in his Neo-Platonic studies, was greatly indebted to the rhetorician, Victorinus, as, although he knew enough Greek to read the writings of the Neo-Platonists, yet for a full understanding of their books he needed an instructor or an interpreter.† It is possible to agree with the Benedictine editors‡ in thinking that Augustine's modesty led him to lay an undue stress upon his ignorance of Greek, and yet to believe that, if Augustine made a skilful and happy use of such Greek learning as he possessed, he had not carried the study of Greek very far. There is no doubt, indeed, that he assigned a sort of primacy to the Greek language.§ He recognized, too, the value of familiarity with Hebrew and Greek as a means of understanding the sacred literature.‖ Yet it is evident not only that he had disliked the enforced study of Greek when he was a boy, all the more because he had suffered in the course of it not a little physical pain,¶ but that while he could discuss and compare Greek words in respect of their meanings and could in case of need have recourse to Greek MSS.,** he was always glad to read a translation rather than the original of a Greek book.†† Many scholars, indeed, to-day, if their academical years lie far behind them, may well be glad to put up with translations of the classics. After all, most English-speaking Christians know the Bible itself through a translation. The limitation of Augustine's Greek scholarship is shown by his habit of discussing Greek words, and now and then Greek phrases, but practically never a complete passage of any Greek author.

* "Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis Sacrae Scripturae Interpres," pp. 32 and 39.
† "History of Dogma," pt. ii., bk. ii., ch. 2 (Vol. v., p. 33 in The Theological Translation Library). See "Confess.," viii. 2. ‡ Vol. xi. p. 4.
§ *D.C.D.*, viii. 10. ‖ "De Doct. Christ.," ii. 19 (xiii.); 23 (xvi.).
¶ "Confess.," i. 13 and 14. ** "Retract.," ii. xxiv., 2.
†† "De Trin.," iii. 1; "Confess.," vii. 9.

It was an acute intellect, but not an exact scholarship, which he brought to bear upon the language of ancient Greece. But if Augustine was never at home among Greek authors, he knew his Latin authors, or some of them, very well. How striking in his "Confessions" is his acknowledgment of the debt which he owed to Cicero's "Hortensius," a treatise now unhappily lost!* In the *De Ciuitate Dei* he quotes Ennius, Terence, Cicero, Horace, Sallust, Livy, Seneca, and Lucan. But his favourite Latin author is Virgil, the great poet, the most famous, the most excellent of poets, as he calls him. There are some thirty quotations from Virgil's poetry in the *De Ciuitate Dei* alone. Augustine, in fact, points the way to the reverence which was felt for Virgil by all the great writers of the Middle Ages, especially perhaps by Dante. But he never overcame a certain repugnance to the use of classical writings, whether Greek or Latin, as instruments in the education of Christian children; and he would have felt an astonishment, not far removed from indignation, at the place of the classics in the Universities and in the schools of Europe from the Reformation to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Augustine wrote Latin as a Christian father of his time would naturally write it. It was not classical, but it was clear, flowing, vigorous, and expressive; so that it betrayed little decline, either in forcefulness or in lucidity, or from the pure and high standard of the classics. Yet it bore the unmistakable marks of his own personality. In Appendix B I have tried to show how the curiously mingled effect which it produces upon a modern reader is due in part at least to the assonances which were often little more than plays upon words, but still more to the terse epigrammatical phrases which have lived in the memory of Christendom.

But the main secret of Augustine's power, as the *De Ciuitate Dei* reveals it, was his faith. In a world of sceptics he was a believer. He believed in the Bible, nay, in the inspiration of the Bible, of the Old Testament as much as the New, and even of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. He believed in the Church and in the Catholic Creeds of the Church. All his indignation against paganism lent fire to his enthusiasm for Christianity. Above all, he conceived the

* iii. 4.

Christian Church as designed to be under Christian Emperors all, and more than all, that the Roman Empire had been in the pagan world. He depicted a Christian State, greater, wider, and stronger than the Roman, because even upon earth it was a State, whose citizens were gathered out of all nations, were inspired by common lofty moral principles, and were united by indissoluble bonds of devotion to their one Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

It is so that the *De Ciuitate Dei* has been one of the great books in human history, greater even in its effect or influence than in itself. For it is a book which breathed hope into a despondent, and faith into a sceptical, society, and which turned men's eyes away from the grave of a dead or dying world to the resurrection of a living and conquering Christ. The *De Ciuitate Dei* made its appeal at its publication, and may make the same appeal now, to an age crying aloud for reconstruction. Civilisation itself awaits a new inspiring ideal of life. It halts between revolution and revelation. It seeks half unconsciously, yet only too pathetically, for moral and spiritual assurance. It lifts its eyes from earth to heaven, and as yet the answer of heaven is not made clear to it. There is, perhaps, no more urgent need than that a new Augustine should restore to the world its confidence to-day, as he restored it fifteen centuries ago. It may still prove that the true source of confidence lies, and must for ever lie, in the City of God.

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This edition is not in the British Museum, but it is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

1531-1532. D. Aurelii Augustini . . . omnium Operum primus (— decimus) tomus . . . cui accesserunt libri, epistolae, sermones et fragmenta aliquot hactenus nunquam impressa. 10 vols. Fol. Printed at Paris, in officina C. Chevallonii.

This edition, which is the *Editio princeps* revised by J. Haemer, contains Erasmus's Preface and an Index, which is the work of F. Bourgoin; also the Commentary of Vives* on the *De Ciuitate Dei*.

The copy of this edition in the British Museum has been annotated by Archbishop Cranmer.

1576-1577. Opera D. Aurelii Augustini . . . tomis decem comprehensa, per theologos Lovanienses ex manuscriptis codicibus multo labore emendata et ab innumeris erroribus vindicata. 10 vols. Fol. Printed at Antwerp, ex officina C. Plantini.

This edition, revised and enlarged, was reprinted with Possidius's "Life of Augustine," at Lyons in 1586. To the reprint of this edition in 1613-1614 was added the Commentary of Leonard Coques.

1679. Sancti Aurelii Augustini . . . operum tomus primus (— decimus) post Lovaniensium theologorum recensionem castigatus, denuo ad manuscriptos codices gallicanos, vaticanos, anglicanos, belgicos, etc., nec non ad editiones antiquiores et castigatiores . . . cum sancti Augustini vita auctore Possidio. Opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri. 15 vols. Fol. Paris: excudebat F. Muguet.

This edition has been frequently reprinted; it assumed its latest or final shape at the hands of Migne in 1841-1842.

1887-1900. S. Aurelii Augustini opera in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. 28 vols. 8vo. Vienna: apud C. Geroldi filium.

EDITIONS OF AUGUSTINE'S *DE CIVITATE DEI* (TEXT).

1467. (Editio Princeps) Diui Aurelii Augustini de Ciuitate Dei. Fol. Printed by C. Sweynheim and A. Pannartz at the monastery of Subiaco. Fol. Under the colophon DEO GRATIAS $\frac{\text{GOD}}{\text{AL}}$. Reprinted in 1468 at Rome, in domo Petri de Maxime, with these hexameter lines at end:

Hoc Conradus opus Sueynheym ordine miro
Arnoldusque simul Pannartz una ede colendi
Gente theotonica : rome expediere sodales.

* An interesting account of "Juan Luis Vives" will be found in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, November 25, 1920.

1470. Another edition. Venetiis: Ioannes et Vindelinus de Spira (John and Wendelin of Spiers).

Also 1470. Another edition. C. Suueynheym, A. pannartzque, Romae. At the end these elegiac lines:

> Conradusus suueynheym : arnoldus panartzque : magistri
> Rome impresserunt talia multa simul,
> Petrus cum fratre Francisco Maximus ambo
> Huic operi aptatam contribuere domum.

1474. Another edition. Per Udalricum Gallum et Symonem Nicolai de Luca, in urbe Roma.

1475. Two editions, both published at Venice: (*a*) Confectus ab egregio Nicolas Jensen. (*b*) a Gabriele Petri de Tarvisio.

1477. Another edition. A magistro Mathia Morano, Naples.

1486. Per bonetum locatellum impendio et sumptibus octauiani scoti. 4to.

After 1486 the custom of printing the text of the *De Ciuitate Dei* without Notes or Commentaries seems to have died out. The following editions are all recent.

1825. S. Aurelii Augustini . . . de ciuitate Dei. Libri XXII. 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig.

1850. Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De Ciuitate Dei Libros ad optimorum exemplarium fidem denuo edidit Josephus Strange. Coloniae Bonnae et Bruxellis. J. M. Heberle (M. Lempertz and C. Camp).

1863. Sancti Aurelii Augustini Episcopi De Ciuitate Dei Libri XXII. Recensuit B. Dombart. 2 vols. 16mo. Leipzig: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri.

This edition appeared in the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. It was revised by Dombart himself and republished in 1877.

1898-1900. Sancti Aurelii Episcopi De Ciuitate Dei Libri XXII. Recensuit et Commentario Critico instruxit Emanuel Hoffmann. Vol. I. (Libri I.-XIII.), 1898. Vol. II. (Libri XIV.-XXII.), 1900. Published at Vienna in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

EDITIONS OF AUGUSTINE'S *DE CIVITATE DEI* (TEXT AND COMMENTARY).

1468. Diui Aurelii Augustini de Ciuitate Dei, cum commento Thomae Walleis et Nicolai Triveth (Thomas Valois and Nicolas Triveth). Fol.

This is the first edition which contained a Commentary or an Index. It was published by J. Mentelen at Strasburg. At the end of the text, as of Schoffer's 1473, occurs the doxology:

> Finito libro sit laus et gloria cristo.

Subsequent editions appeared in 1470, 1473, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1494. In 1479 the same text was reprinted with the commentaries of Valois and Triveth and an index (tabula composita per fratrem N. Cerseth). Fol. Ingenio et industria Mihahelis Wenssler in urbe Basilien.

1473. Text, with commentaries of T. Valois and N. Triveth and index of Cerseth. After the index Aurelii Augustini ciuitatis orthodoxe sideris prefulgidi de ciuitate dei opus preclarissimum binis sacre pagine professoribus eximiis ac commentatibus rubricis tabulaque discretum, etc. Fol. p. Petrum Schoiffer de Gernsheim in urbe Moguntona.

This is the second edition published with a commentary.

1490. Augustinus de Ciuitate dei cum commento. Fol. Arte Joannis Amerbacensis (John of Amerbach), Basle.

It is this edition which Erasmus so highly praises in his Introduction to his complete edition of Augustine's works.

1515. Diui Aurelii Augustini . . . ad Marcellinum de Ciuitate Dei contra paganos libri duo et uiginti . . . cum commentariis Thome Valois et Nicolai Triveth necnon additionibus Jacobi Passavantii ac veritatibus illuminati doctoris Francisci Maronis. Fol.

The editor describes himself as Frater Conradus Leontorius Malbonnensis. Nuper Basileae acre et impensis providi viri Johannis Koburger Nurembergenis Bibliopolae, per calcographiae gnarum Adam Petri de Langendorff . . . impressum.

Republished at Lyons in 1620 acre et impensis providi uiri Joannis Koburger, per Jacobum Sacon.

1522. Jo. Frobenius Lectori S. D. En habes, lector, absolutissimi doctoris Aurelii Augustini opus absolutissimum de Ciuitate dei magnis sudoribus emendatum ad priscae venerandaeque vetustatis exemplaria per virum clarissimum et undequaquam doctissimum Joan Lodovicii Vivem Valentinum et per eundem eruditissimis planeque Diuo Augustino dignis commentariis sic illustratum ut opus hoc eximium, quod antehac et depravatissimum habebatur et indoctis commentariis miserabiliter contaminatum, nunc demum renatum videri possit. Basileae, ex officina nostra.

To this edition Erasmus wrote a Preface in which he describes his own plan of editing Augustine's works, and dwells especially upon its controversial character. The Commentary of Vives was composed at the instance of Erasmus.

1531. Quintus Tomus operum Diui Aurelii Augustini Episcopi continens XXII. Libros de Civitate Dei. Cui accesserunt Commentarii Io. Lodo Vivis ab authore recogniti. Parisiis, in officina Claudii Chevallonii.

An edition based on Erasmus's text in the Editio Princeps of Augustine's works. Erasmus contented himself with utilising the Commentary of Vives upon the *De Ciuitate Dei*. Henry VIII., in accepting the dedication of the *De Ciuitate Dei* as edited by Erasmus, can hardly have spent much time upon a study of the Commentary; for he wrote to Erasmus: "Praestantissime vir et amice noster plurimum dilecte Augustinus de Ciuitate dei tuis illustratus commentariis simul atque ad manus nostras pervenit nobis gratus effecit ut prorsus dubitemus cui in primis gratulari debeamus, tibine cujus tam erudito labore tam egregium opus absolutum est, an Augustini qui diu mutilus et obscurus ex densissimis tandem tenebris luci datus et pristinae restitutus est integritati, an toti posteritati cui isti tui commentarii ingenti erunt fructui."

1542. Another edition. Quintus Tomus operum D. Aur. Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, XXII. Libros de Ciuitate Dei diligenter recognitos per eruditiss virum Ioan Lodojicum Vivem ac ejusdem Commentariis denuo ab autore revisis illustratos continens. Basle.

1555. Another edition still further revised, with index of subjects added to it. Apud Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium. Fol. Basle.

Other editions followed in 1570, one published at Basle, the others at Lyons.

1613. D. Aurelii Augustini . . . de Ciuitate Dei libri XXII. ex vetustissimis manuscriptis exemplaribus per theologos Loanienses ab innumeris mendis repurgati . . . cum commentariis R. P. F. Leonardi Coquaei . . . et Joa. Lud. Vives. Fol. Paris.

Leonardus Coquaeus (Coques) was an Augustinian monk who taught Philosophy and Theology first in France and afterwards at Florence and Rome, and died on November 27, 1616. His Commentary was published anonymously at Freiburg in 1610 under the title "Augustini de Ciuitate Dei" Libri XXII. cum commentariis novis et perpetuis.

1661. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De Civitate Dei. Libri XXII. . . . ex uetustissimis MSS. exemplaribus, juxta novissimam editionem Coloniensem; accedunt Commentarii eruditi et integri quidem Joan Ludov Vivis Hispal ac Léon H. Coquès Aurelianensis. Francof ac Hamburgi. Sumtibus Zachariae Hertelii.

TRANSLATIONS OF AUGUSTINE'S *DE CIVITATE DEI*.

1486. Monseigneur saint augusti de la cité de Dieu. A translation and Commentary attributed to Raoul de Presles. Fol. par iehan du pre et pierre gerard en la ville dabbeuille (Abbeville).

The second volume completing the translation appeared at Paris in 1531.

1570. Sainct Augustin De la Cité de Dieu, contenant le commencement et progrez d'icelle Cité, avec une Défense de la Religion Chrestienne contre les erreurs et mesdisances des Gentils, Heretiques et autres ennemis de l'Eglise de Dieu. Illustrée des Commentaires de Iean Louys Vives de Valance. Le tout faict Françoys par Gentian Hervet d'Orléans, chanoine de Rheims. Et enrichy de plusieurs annotations et observations en marge, servans à la conférence et intelligence des Histoires anciennes et modernes, par François de Belle-Forest Comingeois. 2 vols. 8vo.

Subsequent editions in 1578, 1585, and 1601.

1610. St. Augustine of the Citie of God with the learned comments of Io. Lod. Vives. Englished by J. H. (Healey).

A second edition, "compared with the Latine originall and in very many places corrected and amended," was published in 1620.

Healey's translation has been spoilt by the Rev. F. W. Bussell, D.D., Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, who, in his reprint of it as The Temple Classics (1903), has not only "recast the arrangement of some of the chapters so as to present the description of the 'City of God' in a consecutive form and to separate what is probably the work of Augustine from any later accretions supplied by monkish followers," but has reduced the number of the books from twenty-two to eighteen.

1655. Saint Augustin de la cité de Dieu. Traduite par le Sieur de Ceriziez, Aumonier du Roi à Paris. Fol. Paris: P. le Petit.

1665-1667. S. Augustin de la Cité de Dieu de la traduction de Louis Giry. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: P. le Petit.

1675. La Cité de Dieu de Saint-Augustin traduite en français et revue sur plusieurs anciens manuscrits avec des remarques et des notes qui contiennent quantité de corrections importantes du texte Latin. 2 vols. 8vo.

The author was Pierre Lombert, whose relation to Port Royal invests his study of Augustine with a special interest. His translation was reprinted in 1693, in 1701, again (with notes by the Abbé Goujet) in 1736 and in 1818.

1676. La Cuidad de Dios del Glorioso Doctor de la Yglesia S. Augustin Obispo Hipponense en Veynte y dos Libros, contienen los Principios y Pregressos desta Ciudad con una Defensa de la Religion Christiana contra los Errores y las Calunias de los Gentiles. Traduzidos de Latin en Romance por Antonio de Roys y Raças, natural de la Villa de Vergasa.

A translation which recalls by its title Hervet's translation of 1570.

There is now a long interval before fresh translations of the *De Ciuitate Dei* are undertaken.

1845. Tertullien et Saint Augustin. Œuvres Choisies, avec la traduction en Français, publiées sous la direction de M. Nisard.

The translator of the *De Ciuitate Dei* in this selection was M. Baude. Paris. 8vo. According to M. Saisset (Introduction to his "La Cité de Dieu," p. cxxxvii), another translation was published almost at the same time as M. Baude's by M. Louis Moreau.

1855. La Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin. Traduction Nouvelle avec une Introduction, et des Notes, par M. Emile Saisset, Professeur de Philosophie à l'Ecole Normale et au Collège de France. 4 vols. 18mo. Paris.

1871. St. Augustine's City of God. Translated by the Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., in Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Dr. Dods was not himself the translator of Books IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., XVII., and XVIII.

S. AURELII AUGUSTINI

EPISCOPI

DE CIVITATE DEI CONTRA PAGANOS

LIBRI XXII

LIBER I

PRAEFATIO.

DE SUSCEPTI OPERIS CONSILIO ET ARGUMENTO.

(A) [1]Gloriosissimam ciuitatem Dei [2]siue in hoc temporum cursu cum [3]inter inpios [4]peregrinatur [5]**ex fide uiuens*, siue in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc expectat per patientiam,

PREFACE.

Of the design and argument of the work undertaken.

(Four books, but four only, of *D.C.D.*—viz., Books I., V., VI., VII.—are introduced by brief prefaces.)

1. Gloriosissimam ciuitatem Dei. The keynote of the work, an echo of Ps. lxxxvii. 3, *δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ* (LXX, lxxxvi. 3), a text which A. quotes several times—*e.g.*, ii. 21 N; x. 7 A; xi. 1 A. It is the triumphant note which A. strikes at the beginning of his work and prolongs until the end of it. Cp. ii. 18 G. On A.'s conception of the City of God see Appendix A.

2. siue in hoc temporum cursu, etc. The *Ciuitas Dei* consists of two parts or elements—one on earth, the other in heaven; and as the life of the former is mobile and transient, so is that of the other eternally stable and restful; but both are sharply opposed to the city of earth itself (*terrena ciuitas*). The heavenly part of the *Ciuitas Dei* comprises both angels and saints. See note on xi. 9 A. In xii. 1 A, A. distinctly recognises the good, both angels and men, as constituting one *Ciuitas;* and the evil, both angels and men, as constituting the other.

3. inter inpios. So A. habitually designated the citizens of the *terrena ciuitas*, or the city of earth, because not of that city, but of the *Ciuitas Dei*, is religion in its full and true sense at once the prerogative and the characteristic. Cp. xiv. 9 R; xv. 15 B; xviii. 18 A. Similarly he refers to *inpietatis error* (i. 1 A). He contrasts the two cities or States *una societas piorum hominum, altera inpiorum* (xiv. 13 F).

4. peregrinatur. A word which occurs again and again in *D.C.D.:* see the passages quoted in Appendix A. No doubt it originated in the Scriptural conception of man's real home as being not earthly but heavenly. So St. Paul says (2 Cor. v. 6): *ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* (*peregrinamur a Domino*, Vulg.); the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 13): *ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (*peregrini et hospites super terram*, Vulg.); and 1 Peter (ii. 11): *Ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους* (*tamquam aduenas et peregrinos*, Vulg.). The idea of it has passed into Christian literature, above all into Christian hymnody; it lies behind the imagery as behind the title of "The Pilgrim's Progress" from this world to that which is to come.

5. ex fide uiuens. A reminiscence of the text which, apart from its place in the prophecy of Habakkuk, belongs hardly less to A. than to St. Paul or Luther.

* Hab. ii. 4; Rom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11.

[6]*quoadusque iustitia conuertatur in iudicium, deinceps adeptura per excellentiam uictoria ultima et pace perfecta, hoc [7]opere ad te instituto et [8]mea [ad te] promissione debito defendere [9]aduersus eos, qui conditori eius deos suos praeferunt, [10]fili carissime Marcelline, suscepi, magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus adiutor noster est. Nam scio quibus uiribus opus sit, ut persuadeatur [11]superbis

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It is quoted in its full form, *iustus ex fide uiuit* (iv. 19 B; xix. 4 A). Cp. *in domo iusti uiuentis ex fide* (xix. 14 F). By it A. understood the faith which is ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων (Heb. xi. 1), the faith of the patriarchs, the spiritual faculty which subordinates the seen to the unseen, the present to the future. As so conceived, faith is the natural attribute of the saints—the citizens of the *Ciuitas Dei*—whose earthly life is a pilgrimage, and whose true home is heaven. For of Abraham it is said: ἐξεδέχετο τὴν τοὺς θεμελίους ἔχουσαν πόλιν, ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός (Heb. xi. 10).

6. quoadusque iustitia conuertatur in iudicium. A. follows LXX: ἕως οὗ δικαιοσύνη ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς κρίσιν, meaning apparently the time when righteousness will vindicate itself by judicially condemning the guilty and rewarding or acquitting the innocent.

7. opere ad te instituto. *Ad te* (despite the authority of the MSS.) is more likely to be the true reading than *a te*. If *a te instituto* is read, it must mean "originated by you" or "at your instance."

8. mea [ad te] promissione. The bracketed words *ad te* are superfluous and probably spurious. If *ad te* above had been altered intentionally or accidentally to *a te*, it would not be unnatural to insert *ad te* here as corresponding with *a te* before.

9. aduersus eos, etc. In all study of *D.C.D.* it is necessary to remember that A. wrote it *Contra Paganos*, as an apologetic treatise on behalf of Christianity against a hostile pagan world.

10. fili carissime Marcelline. Cp. [*mi*] *fili Marcelline* (ii. 1 C). Of Marcellinus, the Commissioner chosen by the Emperor Honorius to preside over the Conference of Catholics and Donatists at Carthage, and the intimate disciple and friend of A., as the mode of address (*fili carissime*) here shows, I have given such account as is possible in the Introduction (pp. viii.-x.). The letter of Marcellinus to A. ("Epist." cxxxvi.) and A.'s reply to it ("Epist." cxxxviii., especially 18 [iv.]) show the genesis of *D.C.D.*

11. superbis quanta sit uirtus humilitatis. As the thought of *pietas*, so the thought of *humilitas* runs through the *D.C.D.* For humility (*humilitas*, ταπεινοφροσύνη) was, like holiness (ἁγιότης), a virtue which was, in a strict sense, the creation of Christianity, springing from the exhortation and still more from the example of Jesus Christ. πάντες οἱ κόλακες θητικοὶ καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ κόλακες, says Aristotle ("Nic. Eth.," iv. 3, 29); so, too, of occupations, such as labour in mines would have been according to his view, or indeed of all occupations which are undertaken for wages, ἀσχολον ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταπεινήν ("Pol.," v. 2, 5). Whether Labour as a class is or is not attached to the Church or to Christianity, yet the dignity of labour is an original Christian doctrine: οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; (Matt. xiii. 55). He who could say of Himself πρᾶός εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ (Matt. xi. 29) could not fail to give ταπεινοφροσύνη a place, and a high place, among the virtues. For He ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου (Phil. ii. 8); and it is the penetrating thought of this self-humiliation which has so profoundly affected the Christian conscience and character all through the ages. Hence the New Testament abounds in such phrases as τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν (Phil. ii. 3) τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε (1 Pet. v. 5). Jesus Christ set, as it were, the standard of humility; and Christians, whether they approach it or not in actual life, yet look up to it. But it is just that standard which was wanting to pre-Christians, even to Aristotle, and is often wanting

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* Ps. xciii. 15.

quanta sit uirtus humilitatis, qua fit ut omnia terrena cacumina temporali mobilitate nutantia non humano usurpata fastu, sed diuina gratia donata celsitudo transcendat.

(B) Rex enim et conditor ciuitatis huius, de qua loqui instituimus, in scriptura populi sui sententiam diuinae legis aperuit, qua dictum est: **Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* Hoc uero, quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus adfectat amatque sibi in laudibus dici:

† [12]Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

Unde etiam de terrena ciuitate, quae cum [13]dominari adpetit, etsi populi seruiant, ipsa ei dominandi libido dominatur, non est praetereundum silentio quidquid dicere suscepti huius operis ratio postulat et facultas datur.

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now to non-Christians—*e.g.*, to Mohammedans. A. dwells upon pride as the spirit of the *terrena ciuitas* or the *ciuitas huius sæculi* in contrast with the *humilitas* of the *Ciuitas Dei;* and he cites several times (xi. 33 C; xvii. 4 R; xix. 27 D), as here, the saying common to St. James and St. Peter: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* It may be worth while to quote A.'s words elsewhere: *Caput omnium morborum superbia est, quia caput omnium peccatorum superbia* ("In Ioan. Euang. Tract.," xxv. 16); and conversely: *Ipsa est perfectio nostra humilitas* ("Enarr. in Ps." cxxx. 14). Cp. xiv. 13 F. Calvin ("Institutes of the Christian Religion," ii. 2, 11) refers with strong approbation to A.'s reputed adage that, if he were asked to specify the distinguishing rules or features of the Christian religion, he would name as the first Humility, as the second Humility, and as the third Humility. A. addresses the Neo-Platonists in the words *Christus humiliter uenit et uos superbi estis* (x. 29 H). Cp. "De Gen. c. Manich.," ii. 11 (viii.): *Mater omnium huercticorum superbia.* For A.'s general view of pride, see "De Gen. ad Lit.," viii. 3 and 14, xi. 18; "Enchir.," 15. But the index in the Benedictine edition of A.'s works, *s.v. Humilitas* and *Superbia*, affords an exhaustive illustration of A.'s point of view.

12. Parcere subiectis, etc. A Virgilian quotation which A. repeats (i. 6 A), the more emphatic because in itself and in its context it embodies the proud military spirit of imperial Rome, and because it was in the downfall of the Roman Empire that A. found the occasion and the inspiration of the *D.C.D.* The whole passage in Virgil ("Aen." vi. 847-853) runs as follows:

> "*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera*
> *Credo equidem, uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,*
> *Orabunt causas melius caelique meatus*
> *Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:*
> *Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,*
> *Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque inponere morem,*
> *Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*"

13. dominari . . . dominandi . . . dominatur. Upon A.'s fondness for assonances in his literary style see Appendix B. They are sometimes variations of the same word or stem, and sometimes, but more frequently, juxtapositions of words agreeing in sound but differing in sense. Instances such as this, in which there is a triple play upon words, are not common; but cp. *multiplicent, replicent, inplicent* (vii. 24 E); *interpretatio . . . ratio . . . oratio* (vii. 26 A); *prospicit . . . aspicit . . . respicit* (xi. 21 B); *temperanter . . . obtemperanter . . . intemperanter* (xvi. 25 C).

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* James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5. † Virg., "Aen.," vi. 853.

CAPUT I.

DE ADVERSARIIS NOMINIS CHRISTI, QUIBUS IN VASTATIONE URBIS PROPTER CHRISTUM BARBARI PEPERCERUNT.

(A) [1]Ex hac namque existunt inimici, aduersus quos defendenda est Dei ciuitas, quorum tamen multi correcto inpietatis errore ciues in ea fiunt satis idonei; [2] multi uero in eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum tamque manifestis beneficiis redemtoris eius ingrati sunt, [3] ut hodie contra eam linguas non mouerent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes in sacratis eius locis uitam, de qua superbiunt, inuenirent. An non etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, [4] quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt ?

(B) Testantur hoc [5] martyrum loca et [6] basilicae apostolorum, quae in illa uastatione Urbis ad se confugientes [7] suos [8] alienosque receperunt. [9]Huc usque cruentus saeuiebat inimicus, ibi accipiebat

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CHAPTER I.

Of the adversaries of the name of Christ whom the barbarians in the sack of the City spared for Christ's sake.

1. Ex hac: sc. *ex terrena ciuitate.*

2. multi uero in eam, etc. In this sentence, which is irregularly constructed, the final clause, *ut hodie contra eam,* etc., stands in no relation to the first of the two preceding clauses, nor the second to the clause as a whole, but only to the words *tamque manifestis beneficiis,* the meaning being that the enemies of the City of God and of Christianity owe their very lives to the respect felt by the barbarians themselves, as Christians, for the sanctuaries of the Christian Church.

3. ut . . . non mouerent, etc., must be translated "that to-day they would not be wagging their tongues . . . but for having found the life." It is not classical Latinity, but in the *D.C.D.* there are a good many cases in which the conjunctive mood after *ut* retains its conditional force. Cp. iv. 29 E (*ut inde nullus euaderet*); viii. 14 E (*ut quisquis legeret . . . sentiret*); xi. 21 A (*ut nihil eorum fieret si ei fuisset incognitum*). Other instances occur in v. 19 D; viii. 14 E; xiii. 3 B; xiii. 19 E; xiv. 1 B; xiv. 27 B; xx. 8 G.

4. quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt? A.'s statement is explicit—viz., that enemies of the *Ciuitas Dei,* the persons who declaimed against Christianity as having brought disaster and destruction upon the Roman Empire, had themselves sought and found safety in the *sacrata loca* of the Christian faith. It was *propter Christum* that they had been spared—*i.e.*, in accordance with the merciful spirit which Christianity had introduced at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. into warfare. Cp. iii. 31 A. The *barbari* are the soldiers of Alaric.

5. martyrum loca—sanctuaries or shrines of the martyrs, built at first probably on the actual scenes of their martyrdom—hence called *μαρτύρια,* or *martyria*—but afterwards elsewhere in any places containing the relics of martyrs or dedicated to their memory—hence called *memoriae,* as in i. 4 B (where see note). A. employs the rather vague phrase *martyrum loca* in the same sense in i. 34 A; v. 23 C.

6. basilicae apostolorum. The Roman courts of law (*basilicae*) became the architectural models of Christian churches—nay, not seldom actually became Christian churches, and, as churches, were and are still called basilicas. But a basilica was always a church of special dignity. So A. speaks here of *basilicae apostolorum.* See "Dict. of Christ. Antiqq.," *s.v.* **Basilica.** There are still seven great churches known distinctively as basilicas in Rome.

7. suos—Christians.

8. alienos—pagans.

9. Huc usque—*i.e.*, so far and no farther.

limitem trucidatoris furor, illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant. Qui tamen etiam ipsi alibi truces adque hostili more saeuientes posteaquam ad loca illa ueniebant, ubi fuerat interdictum quod alibi belli iure licuisset, tota feriendi refrenabatur inmanitas et captiuandi cupiditas frangebatur.

(C) Sic euaserunt multi, qui nunc [10]Christianis temporibus detrahunt et mala, quae illa ciuitas pertulit, Christo inputant; bona uero, quae in eos ut uiuerent propter Christi honorem facta sunt, non inputant Christo nostro sed fato suo, cum potius deberent, si quid recti saperent, illa, quae ab hostibus aspera et dura perpessi sunt, illi prouidentiae diuinae tribuere, quae solet corruptos hominum mores bellis emendare adque conterere itemque uitam mortalium iustam adque laudabilem talibus adflictionibus exercere probatamque uel in meliora transferre uel in his adhuc terris propter usus alios detinere: illud uero, quod eis uel [11]ubicumque propter Christi nomen uel in locis Christi nomini dicatissimis et amplissimis ac pro largiore misericordia ad capacitatem multitudinis electis praeter bellorum morem truculenti barbari pepercerunt, hoc tribuere temporibus Christianis, hinc Deo agere gratias, hinc ad eius nomen ueraciter currere, ut effugiant poenas ignis aeterni, [12]quod nomen multi eorum mendaciter usurparunt, ut effugerent poenas praesentis exitii.

(D) Nam quos uides petulanter et procaciter insultare seruis Christi, sunt in eis plurimi, qui illum interitum clademque non euasissent, nisi seruos Christi se esse finxissent. Et nunc ingrata

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10. Christianis temporibus = "the Christian dispensation," a favourite phrase of A.—*e.g.*, i. 15 D; i. 30 A; i. 33 B. Cp. xii. 21 G. He uses the singular also, *Christianum tempus* (i. 7 A).

11. ubicumque = "anywhere."

12. quod nomen multi eorum, etc. The charge that many pagans during the sack of Rome pretended to be Christians and so tried to save their lives is one which A. reiterates. See i. 3 E; i. 34 A (*sub nomine seruorum eius*); and ii. 2 A (*famulatum deditum Christo non solum uerum sed etiam timore confictum*).

A.'s statement of the humanity shown by Alaric and his army to the captives who had sought sanctuary in Christian churches and chapels is confirmed (as the Benedictine edition of the *D.C.D.* asserts) by Orosius, who says: *Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet turbat inrumpit; dato tamen praecepto ut, si qui in sancta loca praecipueque in sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos in primis inuiolatos securosque esse sinerent* ("Hist.," vii. 39). Jerome, in his letter to Principia ("Epist." xxvii., 12), speaks of her mother Marcella and herself as having been carried by some of Alaric's soldiers *ad apostoli Pauli basilicam ut uel salutem uobis ostenderent uel sepulchrum.* He sums up the lesson of Alaric's compassionateness by saying: *Christus dura corda molliuit et inter cruentos gladios inuenit locum pietas.* Cp. Sozomen, "Hist. Eccles.," ix. 9. Gibbon, who cites A.'s testimony in order to discredit it, adds: "He celebrates with peculiar satisfaction the memorable triumph of Christ, and insults his adversaries by challenging them to produce

superbia adque inpiissima insania eius nomini resistunt corde peruerso, ut sempiternis tenebris puniantur, ad quod nomen ore uel subdolo confugerunt, ut temporali luce fruerentur.

CAPUT II.

QUOD NULLA UMQUAM BELLA ITA GESTA SINT, UT VICTORES PROPTER DEOS EORUM, QUOS VICERUNT, PARCERENT VICTIS.

(A) Tot bella gesta conscripta sunt uel ante conditam Romam uel ab eius exortu et imperio: [1]legant et proferant sic ab alienigenis aliquam captam esse ciuitatem, ut hostes, qui ceperant, parcerent eis, quos ad deorum suorum templa confugisse compererant, aut aliquem ducem barbarorum praecepisse, ut inrupto oppido nullus feriretur, qui in illo uel illo templo fuisset inuentus. Nonne uidit Aeneas Priamum per aras

*Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignes?

Nonne Diomedes et Ulixes

†caesis summæ custodibus arcis
Corripuere [2]sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis
[3]Virgineas ausi diuae contingere uittas?

Nec tamen quod sequitur uerum est:

Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
Spes Danaum.

(B) Postea quippe uicerunt, postea Troiam ferro ignibusque deleuerunt, postea confugientem ad aram Priamum obtruncauerunt. Nec ideo Troia periit, quia Mineruam perdidit. Quid enim prius ipsa Minerua perdiderat, ut periret? an forte custodes suos?

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some similar example of a town taken by storm in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves or their deluded victims" ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," ch. xxxi., vol. iii., p. 323, Bury's edition). Milman's more sympathetic narrative is equally based upon A. ("Latin Christianity," book ii., ch. i., vol. i., p. 133, edition of 1883).

CHAPTER II.

That never before did the actors in any war spare the lives of the vanquished because of the gods whom the vanquished worshipped.

1. legant et proferant. The Benedictine editors correct A. here; and Gibbon, if he had remembered, would have rejoiced in the instances which they adduce of Christian sympathy and reverence displayed by pagans in pre-Christian warfare. Arrian relates that Alexander the Great, after the capture of Tyre, spared the lives of his enemies who had fled to the temple of Herakles ("De Exped. Alexand.," vii. 24); Xenophon ("Agesil.," ii. 13), Cornelius Nepos ("Agesil.," 4), and Plutarch "Agesil.," 19) that Agesilaus, after the battle of Coronea, spared the lives of those who had fled to the temple of Pallas Itonia.

2. sacram effigiem—the Palladium.

3. Virgineas . . . uittas—because Pallas was the immaculate virgin of ancient Greek theology.

* Virg., "Aen.," ii. 501-2. † "Aen.," ii. 166-70.

Hoc sane uerum est; illis quippe interemtis potuit auferri. Neque enim homines a simulacro, sed simulacrum ab hominibus seruabatur. Quo modo ergo colebatur, ut patriam custodiret et ciues, quae suos non ualuit custodire custodes ?

CAPUT III.

QUAM INPRUDENTER ROMANI DEOS PENATES, QUI TROIAM CUSTODIRE NON POTUERANT, SIBI CREDIDERINT PROFUTUROS.

(A) Ecce qualibus dis Urbem Romani seruandam se commisisse gaudebant ! O nimium miserabilem errorem ! Et nobis suscensent, cum de dis eorum talia dicimus; nec suscensent auctoribus suis, quos ut ediscerent mercedem dederunt doctoresque ipsos insuper et [1]salario publico et honoribus dignissimos habuerunt.

(B) Nempe aput Vergilium, quem propterea paruuli legunt, ut uidelicet [2]poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus adque optimus teneris ebibitus animis non facile obliuione possit aboleri, secundum illud Horatii:

*Quo semel est inbuta recens seruabit odorem
Testa diu—

aput hunc ergo Vergilium nempe Iuno [3]inducitur infesta Troianis Aeolo uentorum regi aduersus eos inritando dicere:

†Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor
Ilium in Italiam portans uictosque penates.

Itane istis penatibus uictis Romam, ne uinceretur, prudentes commendare debuerunt ? Sed haec Iuno dicebat uelut irata

CHAPTER III.

How shortsighted it was of the Romans to suppose that the household gods who had failed to defend Troy could avail to save them.

1. salario publico. The words imply the public recognition and remuneration of the teaching profession. As in Great Britain, so in the Roman Empire, education came to be more and more strictly regarded as a concern of the State, especially in imperial times. Some light upon the Roman educational system is thrown by such books as Monroe's "Textbook of the History of Education," p. 205, and Sandys' "Companion to Latin Studies," p. 231.

2. poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus adque optimus. A.'s enthusiasm for Virgil sounds like an anticipation of the reverence shown to him—mainly, if not wholly, in consequence of the Christianity supposed to be latent in the Fourth Eclogue—all through the literature of the Middle Ages, and nowhere more conspicuously than in the "Divina Commedia" of Dante. The splendid eulogy of Dante upon the pedestal of his statue at Florence is, as is well known, his own eulogy of his master Virgil:

"*Onorate l'altissimo poeta.*"
"Inf.," iv. 80.

3. inducitur . . . dicere="is represented as saying," one of those loose Infinitives which, as connected structurally with verbs, are common in A. It will be enough to cite from *D.C.D.* such instances as *se abstinuisse laudatur* (i. 6 c), *pro-*

* "Epist.," i., 2, 69, 70. † "Aen.," i. 67-8.

mulier, quid loqueretur ignorans. Quid Aeneas ipse, [4]pius totiens appellatus, nonne ita narrat:

*Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
Sacra manu uictosque deos paruumque nepotem
Ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit ?

Nonne deos ipsos, quos uictos non dubitat dicere, sibi potius quam se illis perhibet commendatos, cum ei dicitur:

†Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates ?

(C) Si igitur Vergilius tales deos et uictos dicit et, ut uel uicti quoquo modo euaderent, homini commendatos: quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Romam sapienter fuisse commissam et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse uastari ? Immo uero uictos deos tamquam praesides ac defensores colere, quid est aliud quam tenere [5]non numina bona, sed nomina mala ? Quanto enim sapientius creditur, non Romam ad istam cladem non fuisse uenturam, nisi prius illi periissent, sed illos potius olim fuisse perituros, nisi eos quantum potuisset Roma seruasset !

(D) Nam quis non, cum aduerterit, uideat quanta sit uanitate praesumtum non posse uinci sub defensoribus uictis et ideo periisse, quia custodes perdidit deos, [6]cum uel sola esse potuerit causa

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meruisse commendatur (i. 13 B), *perfecisse laudatur* (viii. 4 C), and *intellexisse laudatur* (ix. 10 A), *uiuere conuincitur* (xiv. 2 F), *genuisse reticerentur* (xv. 15 F). There is a parallel use of *induco* with Inf. *inducit hominem—reuixisse* (xxii. 24 A).

4. pius totiens appellatus. *Pius* is the stock epithet of Aeneas, in Virgil especially; but it denotes not so much religious devotion as affectionate dutifulness. As Vives says here, Aeneas was *pius in deos, pius in patrem, pius in filium.*

5. non numina bona, sed nomina mala. The MSS., while all agreeing as to *numina bona*, vary between *nomina, omina* (which is the Benedictine reading), *daemonia*, and *numina* again in the second half of the clause. The repetition of *numina* would be pointless. *Daemonia* looks like a conjectural gloss; and there is need of a clearer and sharper contrast than *numina bona . . . daemonia mala.* Healey, however, reading *daemonia*, would understand "to discard good deities and adore wicked devils." The Benedictine editors interpret *omina mala* as *praesagia excidii et cladis uenturae.* But it is clear from the context that A. meant to indicate simply and solely the foolishness of entrusting the future of Rome to the *di uicti* of Ilium. The pun or play upon *numina* and *nomina* is characteristic of A.'s literary style. *Nomina* may well mean "bonds" or "securities," or even "debtors"—cp. Seneca's *lenta nomina non mala* ("De Benef.," v. 22, 1)="slow payers but not swindlers"; and if so, *nomina mala* will, as Dübner suggests, = *debitores malos qui pro cultus honoribus non reddunt salutem eis qui cum tantis impensis cos uenerantur.* The pagan gods there are called defaulters, as accepting payment in honours and sacrifices, but not delivering the goods, or, in other words, not protecting their worshippers. Translate: "What is this but simply to possess fraudulent securities instead of honourable divinities ?" It may be added that *nomina*, as a reading difficult to understand at first sight, would account for the variants *omina, daemonia, numina*, all being conjectures intended to facilitate the interpretation of the text.

6. cum uel sola esse potuerit, etc.="when the only possible reason of their perishing was, in fact, their choice of guardians who were sure to perish"—*i.e.*, the pagan deities.

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* "Aen.," ii. 319-21. † "Aen.," ii. 293.

pereundi custodes habere uoluisse perituros ? Non itaque, cum de dis uictis illa conscriberentur adque canerentur, poetas libebat mentiri, sed [7]cordatos homines cogebat ueritas confiteri.

(E) Verum ista opportunius *alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt: nunc, quod institueram de ingratis hominibus dicere, parumper expediam ut possum, qui ea mala, quae pro suorum morum peruersitate merito patiuntur, blasphemantes Christo inputant; quod autem illis etiam talibus propter Christum parcitur, nec dignantur adtendere et eas linguas aduersus eius nomen dementia sacrilegae peruersitatis exercent, quibus linguis usurpauerunt mendaciter ipsum nomen, ut uiuerent, uel quas linguas in locis ei sacratis metuendo presserunt, ut illic tuti adque muniti, ubi propter eum inlaesi ab hostibus fuerunt, inde in eum maledictis hostilibus prosilirent.

CAPUT IV.

DE ASYLO IUNONIS IN TROIA, QUOD NEMINEM LIBERAVIT A GRAECIS, ET BASILICIS APOSTOLORUM, QUAE OMNES AD SE CONFUGIENTES A BARBARIS DEFENDERUNT.

(A) Ipsa, ut dixi, [1]Troia, mater populi Romani, sacratis locis deorum suorum munire non potuit ciues suos ab ignibus ferroque Graecorum, eosdem ipsos deos colentium; quin etiam

7. cordatos homines—not, I think, = "honest men" (Dods), but "intelligent men." Cp. "De Util. Cred.," 27 (xii.). A. generally uses *cor* as the classical authors use it (*e.g.*, viii. 5 F). Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," i. 9, 18) says explicitly: *Quid sit porro ipse animus aut ubi aut unde, magna dissensio est. Aliis cor ipsum animus sidetur; ex quo excordes uecordes, concordesque dicuntur; et Nasica ille prudens, bis consul, Corculum;* and then he quotes the well-known line of Ennius:

"*Egregie cordatus homo catus Aeliu, Sextus*";

cp. viii. 5 F. *Excors* is used by A. in the sense of "unintelligent" (v. 7 C; also "Con. Faust. Manich.," xii. 37). Cp. *luteum cor* (v. 4 B). It was the fashion of ancient, as it is of modern, authors to associate particular organs of the body with particular faculties or sentiments; but the association was not always or usually the same. To them it seemed that the liver (not the heart) was the seat of love (*non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerue* (Hor., "Epist.," i. 18, 72); the stomach, not of appetite, but of spirit or anger (*Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii.* Hor., "Carm.," i. 6, 6); and the heart (not the brain) of intelligence rather than of affection. St. Paul's phrase σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ (Col. iii. 12) would be as natural to him as its literal translation, "bowels of mercy," is unnatural to an English reader.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the asylum of Juno in Troy, which delivered nobody from the Greeks; and of the basilicas of the Apostles, which defended all who took refuge in them from the barbarians.

1. Troia, mater populi Romani—according to the legend which is itself the motive or theme of Virgil's "Aeneid." The Benedictine editors quote Sallust ("Catil.," 6): *Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur.*

* iii. 2 *sqq.*

*Iunonis asylo
Custodes lecti, Phoenix et dirus Ulixes,
Praedam adseruabant; huc undique Troia gaza
Incensis erepta adytis mensaeque deorum
Crateresque auro solidi captiuaque uestis
Congeritur: pueri et pauidae longo ordine matres
Stant circum.

Electus est uidelicet locus tantae deae sacratus, non unde captiuos non liceret educere, sed ubi captiuos liberet includere.

(B) Conpara nunc asylum illud non cuiuslibet dei [2]gregalis uel de turba plebis, sed †Iouis ipsius sororis et coniugis et reginae omnium deorum cum [3]memoriis nostrorum apostolorum. Illuc incensis templis et dis erepta spolia portabantur, non donanda uictis, sed diuidenda uictoribus; huc autem et quod alibi ad ea loca pertinere conpertum est cum honore et obsequio religiosissimo [4]reportatum est. Ibi amissa, hic seruata libertas; ibi clausa, hic interdicta captiuitas; ibi possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur: postremo illud Iunonis templum sibi elegerat auaritia et superbia [5]leuium Graeculorum, istas Christi basilicas misericordia et humilitas etiam inmanium barbarorum.

(C) Nisi forte Graeci quidem in illa sua uictoria templis deorum communium pepercerunt adque illo confugientes miseros uictosque Troianos ferire uel captiuare non ausi sunt, sed Vergilius poetarum more illa mentitus est. Immo uero morem hostium ciuitates euertentium ille descripsit.

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2. gregalis = "one of the common herd," not in effect differing from *de turba plebis;* but the disparaging sense of *gregalis* is wholly or mainly post-Augustan.

3. memoriis = " memorial shrines " of martyrs or saints. Cp. viii. 26 B; xxii. 8 Y *sqq.;* also " Confess.," v. 8, 15: *in loco qui proximus nostrae naui erat, memoria beati Cypriani.* But *memoria,* according to A.'s usage of it, may also mean the actual relics of a martyr or saint; and that is its meaning in xxii. 8 FF, GG, etc., unless, indeed, the *memoria,* which is said there to be carried about, is sometimes, if not always, a small model of a shrine, like the images of the temple of Artemis in Acts xix. 24.

4. reportatum est. The story of Alaric's generosity in relation to the sanctuaries of the orthodox Church, although he was himself an Arian, is related by Orosius (" Hist.," 39) and Cassiodorus (" Variar. Epist.," xii. 20).

5. leuium Graeculorum—a contemptuous diminutive, like Juvenal's *Graeculus esuriens* ("Sat.," iii. 78). It occurs again, ix. 5 C. A. is fond of such diminutives —*e.g., mulierculae* (ii. 1 D), *aedicula* (ii. 15 A), *anicula* (x. 11 E), *scientiola* (xi. 31 A), *tardiusculus* (xvi. 6 E), *paruulis uel grandiusculis* (xix. 12 E), *animula* (xix. 12 F,) *ratiuncula* (xx. 1 A), *nummulus* (xxi. 27 O), *formicularum et apicularum* (xxii. 24 X). A. takes an unfavourable view of the Greeks, basing it (I suppose) upon his knowledge of Athens in particular. Cp. *leuitati lasciuiaeque Graecorum* (ii. 14 B), in contrast with the *grauitati et modestiae Romanorum.*

* "Aen.," ii. 761-7. † "Aen.," i. 46-7.

CAPUT V.

DE GENERALI CONSUETUDINE HOSTIUM VICTAS CIVITATES EVERTENTIUM QUID CATO SENSERIT.

Quem morem etiam [1]Cato, [2]sicut scribit *Sallustius, nobilitatae ueritatis historicus, sententia sua, quam de coniuratis in senatu habuit, conmemorare non praetermittit: "rapi uirgines pueros, diuelli liberos a parentum conplexu, matres familiarum pati quae uictoribus conlibuisset, fana adque domos spoliari, caedem incendia fieri, postremo armis cadaueribus cruore adque luctu omnia conpleri." Hic si fana tacuisset, deorum sedibus solere hostes parcere putaremus. Et haec non ab alienigenis hostibus, sed a Catilina et sociis eius, nobilissimis senatoribus et Romanis ciuibus, Romana templa metuebant. Sed hi uidelicet perditi et [3]patriae parricidae.

CAPUT VI.

QUOD NE ROMANI QUIDEM ITA ULLAS CEPERINT CIVITATES, UT IN TEMPLIS EARUM PARCERENT VICTIS.

(A) Quid ergo per multas gentes, quae inter se bella gesserunt et nusquam uictis in deorum suorum sedibus pepercerunt, noster sermo discurrat? Romanos ipsos uideamus, ipsos, inquam, recolamus respiciamusque Romanos, de quorum praecipua laude dictum est:

†Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos,

[1]et quod ‡"accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant": quando tot tantasque urbes, ut late dominarentur, expugnatas

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CHAPTER V.

Of Cato's opinion upon the general custom of enemies destroying cities which they have conquered. (Cato, not Caesar, is clearly the true reading in the title of the chapter.)

1. Cato—*sc.* **Uticensis,** whose suicide after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) was universally applauded in the ancient world as a triumph of Stoical virtue, *e.g.*, *Catonis nobile letum* (Hor. "Carm.," i. 12, 35-6); *Victrix causa Deis placuit sed uicta Catoni* (Lucan., "Phars.," i. 128); but it is condemned by A. (i. 23 and 24). Cato's suicide is, in fact, a critical test of the difference between pagan and Christian morality.

2. sicut scribit Sallustius. But it is not Cato who in Sallust's "Catilina" enumerates the horrors of war in the graphic language quoted here by A.; it is Caesar; and he purports to summarise the opinions of preceding speakers (*plerique eorum qui ante me sententias dixerunt*). A. made a slip of memory, as in i. 22 B. It is as a correction that Caesar's name was here introduced into the text.

3. patriae parricidae. The phrase, which is not unnatural in a Latin author, is modelled upon Sallust's *parricidae reipublicae* ("Catil.," 51).

CHAPTER VI.

That the Romans themselves, when they captured cities, never spared the conquered in the temples of these cities.

1. et quod accepta iniuria . . . malebant—a passage taken from Sallust's "Catilina," and here used with strong ironical effect. The irony is sustained in the

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* "Catil.," 51. † Virg., "Aen.," vi. 853. ‡ Sallust, "Catil.," 9.

captasque euerterunt, legatur nobis quae templa excipere solebant, ut ad ea quisquis confugisset liberaretur. An illi faciebant et scriptores earundem rerum gestarum ista reticebant ? Ita uero, qui ea quae laudarent maxime requirebant, ista praeclarissima secundum ipsos pietatis indicia praeterirent ?

(B) Egregius Romani nominis [2]Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam cepit, refertur eam prius fleuisse ruituram et ante eius sanguinem suas illi lacrimas effudisse. Gessit et curam pudicitiae etiam in hoste seruandae. Nam priusquam oppidum uictor iussisset inuadi, constituit edicto, [3]ne quis corpus liberum uiolaret. Euersa est tamen ciuitas more bellorum, nec uspiam legitur ab imperatore tam casto adque clementi fuisse praeceptum, ut quisquis ad illud uel illud templum fugisset haberetur inlaesus. Quod utique nullo modo praeteriretur, quando nec eius fletus nec quod edixerat pro pudicitia minime uiolanda potuit taceri.

(C) [4]Fabius, Tarentinae urbis euersor, a simulacrorum depraedatione [5]se abstinuisse laudatur. Nam cum ei scriba suggessisset quid de signis deorum, quae multa capta fuerant, fieri iuberet, continentiam suam etiam iocando condiuit. Quaesiuit enim cuius modi essent, et cum ei non solum multa grandia, uerum etiam renuntiarentur armata, "relinquamus," inquit "Tarentinis deos iratos."

(D) Cum igitur nec illius fletum nec huius risum, nec illius castam misericordiam nec huius facetam continentiam Romanarum rerum gestarum scriptores tacere potuerint: quando praetermitteretur, si aliquibus hominibus in honorem cuiuspiam deorum suorum sic pepercissent, ut in quoquam templo caedem uel captiuitatem fieri prohiberent?

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following sentences: "*An illi faciebant et scriptores . . . ista reticebant?*" Sallust's point is that the policy of Rome had been in war severity, but in peace humanity (*in pace beneficiis quam metu imperium agitabant*).

2 Marcus Marcellus. The capture of Syracuse took place B.C. 212. It was historically celebrated for two events—the death of the great mathematician Archimedes, and the tears shed by the victorious general Marcellus. Livy relates the story of Marcellus weeping (xxv. 24); and A. refers to it again (iii. 14 D). Syracuse was so splendid a city (*urbem ornatissimam*) that Marcellus carried away from it an immense number of works of art to Rome (*ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae.* Livy, xxv. 40).

3. ne quis corpus liberum uiolaret. The honour, like the safety, of slaves counted for nothing; they were, in Aristotle's significant phrase, only κτήματα ἔμψυχα ("Pol.," 14, 2). Yet there are people who speak of Athens or Rome as a democracy.

4. Fabius. The capture of Tarentum by Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, B.C. 209, is related by Livy (xxvii. 15 and 16), and by Plutarch ("Fabius Maximus," 21 and 22); they both tell the story of his witticism. *Deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui iussit* are Livy's words.

5. se abstinuisse laudatur. One of A.'s loosely constructed Infinitives. See note on *inducitur . . . dicere* (i. 3 B).

CAPUT VII.

QUOD IN EVERSIONE URBIS, QUAE ASPERE GESTA SUNT, DE CONSUETUDINE ACCIDERINT BELLI; QUAE VERO CLEMENTER, DE POTENTIA PROVENERINT NOMINIS CHRISTI.

(A) Quidquid ergo uastationis trucidationis depraedationis concremationis adflictionis in [1]ista recentissima Romana clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum; quod autem nouo more factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie inmanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae inplendae populo cui parceretur eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captiuandi ulli [2]nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non uidet, caecus, quisquis uidet nec laudat, ingratus, quisquis laudanti reluctatur, insanus est.

(B) Absit, ut prudens quisquam hoc feritati inputet barbarorum. Truculentissimas et saeuissimas mentes ille terruit, ille frenauit, ille mirabiliter temperauit, qui [3]per prophetam tanto ante dixit:

CHAPTER VII.

That the cruelties perpetrated in the sack of Rome were customary incidents of warfare; but the acts of clemency issued from the power belonging to the Name of Christ.

1. ista recentissima Romana clade. Alaric entered Rome as conqueror on August 24, A.D. 410. A. began the composition of *D.C.D.* A.D. 413.

2. nec a crudelibus hostibus. A. sometimes uses *ne . . . quidem*, but far more frequently *nec* in the sense of *ne . . . quidem*. Instances occur in i. 9 A; i. 10 E; i. 12 A (*bis*); i. 18 B, etc.

3. per prophetam. The *propheta* is the author of Psalm lxxxix. If the Psalm was, as it may not improbably have been, composed at the time when the Jewish kingdom or monarchy was breaking up, there would be an evident appropriateness in applying it or any part of it to the dissolution of the Roman Empire. The passage quoted is Psalm lxxxviii. 33, 34, in LXX; and A. follows LXX, except perhaps in translating *ἀνομίας* by *iniquitatis* and in substituting the plural *ab eis* for the singular *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. He may have intended to emphasise the prophetical character of the Psalm; but he frequently speaks of the Psalmists as prophets, *e.g.*, viii. 24 G (where a quotation from Psalm xcvi. is introduced by the words *sicut uere sacrae et uere propheticae litterae praenuntiarunt*) x. 5 B, 18 C; xvii. 11 A; 18 A, etc. But elsewhere he insists upon the prophetical character of the Psalter, as xvii. 4 R (*in prophetia uox eius agnoscitur: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*), xvii. 14 D, etc. His whole interpretation of Psalm lxxxix. (lxxxviii. in LXX) is Messianic (xvii. 9). Cp. "the prophet David" in the Commination, in the Book of Common Prayer. All the Old Testament, outside the Law, was in our Lord's time comprehensively known as "the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12; Luke xvi. 16). According to A., not only was David a prophet (xvii. 14 D), but the author of Genesis was a prophet (xi. 4 A); Enoch is apparently ranked among the prophets in virtue of the apocryphal book which bore his name (xv. 23 O-Q; xviii. 38 A). In two remarkable passages A. discusses his own use of the word *propheta*. In the earlier (xvii. 1) he recognises a narrower sense in which it

**Visitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in flagellis peccata eorum; misericordiam autem meam non dispergam [4]ab eis.*

CAPUT VIII.

DE COMMODIS ADQUE INCOMMODIS, QUAE BONIS AC MALIS PLERUMQUE COMMUNIA SUNT.

(A) Dicet aliquis: "Quur ergo ista diuina misericordia etiam ad inpios ingratosque peruenit?" Quur putamus, nisi quia eam ille praebuit, qui cottidie †*facit oriri solem suum super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos?* Quamuis enim quidam eorum ista cogitantes paenitendo ab inpietate se corrigant, quidam uero, sicut apostolus dicit, ‡*diuitias* [1] *bonitatis et longanimitatis Dei* contemnentes [2]*secundum duritiam cordis sui et cor inpaenitens* thesaurizent *sibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius:* tamen patientia Dei ad paenitentiam inuitat malos, sicut flagellum Dei ad patientiam erudit bonos; itemque misericordia Dei fouendos amplectitur bonos, sicut seueritas Dei puniendos corripit malos.

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is limited to the prophets strictly so designated, between the appearance of Samuel on the stage of Jewish history and the return of the Jews from the Captivity, and a broader sense in which it comprises all persons who consciously or unconsciously, by word or by act, prophesied the Advent of the Christ and the inauguration of the City of God. In the later passage (xviii. 38) he insists upon the essentially prophetical character of certain extra-canonical writings—which *castitas canonis non recepit*—because, in spite of error or liability to error, they were instinct with a foreknowledge or foreshadowing of the great events of which the Christian Church was the consummation. He calls the LXX translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek *prophetæ* (xviii. 43 D). To A., indeed, as to Christians generally, all Jewish literature, no less than all Jewish history, seemed an anticipation of, and a preparation for, the Church. So it is that the authors of the New Testament quote the Old, attributing to ancient words a sense which may or may not have lain beyond the conscious scope of the writer or speaker who originally used them, partly because, to these authors, the language of the Old Testament was as familiar as it was, or more than it was, to the Puritans, and they employed it naturally (whether in its proper connection or not), as they had no other language at command, but partly too, and still more, because, whatever its value was, it was part of the great continuous Revelation which was always and everywere essentially prophetic and essentially Messianic. See further note in viii. 24 L.

4. ab eis = *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (LXX).

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the advantages and disadvantages which are generally common to the Good and the Evil.

1. bonitatis et longanimitatis = *τῆς χρηστότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας.*

2. secundum duritiam cordis, *etc.* = *κατὰ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν.*

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* Ps. lxxxix. 32, 33. † Matt. v. 45. ‡ Rom. ii. 4-6.

(B) Placuit quippe diuinae prouidentiae praeparare in posterum bona iustis, quibus non fruentur iniusti, et mala inpiis, quibus non excruciabuntur boni; ista uero temporalia bona et mala utrisque uoluit esse communia, ut nec bona cupidius adpetantur, quae mali quoque habere cernuntur; nec mala turpiter euitentur, quibus et boni plerumque adficiuntur.

(C) Interest autem plurimum, qualis sit usus uel earum rerum, quae prosperae, uel earum, quae dicuntur aduersae. Nam bonus temporalibus nec bonis extollitur nec malis frangitur; malus autem ideo huiusce modi infelicitate punitur, quia felicitate corrumpitur. [3]Ostendit tamen Deus saepe etiam in his distribuendis euidentius operationem suam. Nam si nunc omne peccatum manifesta plecteret poena, nihil ultimo iudicio seruari putaretur; rursus si nullum nunc peccatum puniret aperta diuinitas, nulla esse diuina prouidentia crederetur. Similiter in rebus secundis, si non eas Deus quibusdam petentibus euidentissima largitate concederet, non ad eum ista pertinere diceremus; itemque si omnibus eas petentibus daret, non nisi propter talia praemia seruiendum illi esse arbitraremur, nec pios nos faceret talis seruitus, sed potius cupidos et auaros.

(D) Haec cum ita sint, quicumque boni et mali pariter adflicti sunt, non ideo ipsi distincti non sunt, quia distinctum non est quod utrique perpessi sunt. Manet enim dissimilitudo passorum etiam in similitudine passionum, et licet sub eodem tormento non est idem uirtus et uitium. Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat palea fumat, et sub eadem tribula stipulae comminuuntur frumenta purgantur, nec ideo cum oleo [4]amurca confunditur, quia eodem praeli pondere exprimitur: ita una eademque uis inruens bonos probat purificat [5]eliquat, malos damnat uastat exterminat.

(E) Unde in eadem adflictione mali Deum detestantur adque blasphemant, boni autem precantur et laudant. Tantum interest, non qualia, sed qualis quisque patiatur. Nam pari motu exagitatum et exhalat horribiliter caenum et suauiter fragrat unguentum.

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3. Ostendit tamen Deus, etc. A.'s view is—and there is none more truly Christian—that God does not entirely vindicate His justice in the experience of human life (cp. Ps. lxxiii. 3-17), but vindicates it so far as to justify faith in its final and complete vindication beyond the confines of time.

4. amurca = "the lees of oil"—*i.e.*, the fluid separated in the oil-press from the oil. The word occurs in Virg., "Georg.," i. 194; iii. 448.

5. eliquat = "clarifies." Cp. *uinum a faecibus eliquatum diffundit* (Columella, "De Re Rust.," xii. 27).

CAPUT IX.

DE CAUSIS CORREPTIONUM, PROPTER QUAS ET BONI ET MALI PARITER FLAGELLANTUR.

(A) Quid igitur [1]in illa rerum uastitate Christiani passi sunt, quod non eis magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad prouectum ualeret? Primum quod ipsa peccata, quibus Deus indignatus inpleuit tantis calamitatibus mundum, humiliter cogitantes, quamuis longe absint a facinorosis flagitiosis adque inpiis, tamen non usque adeo se a delictis deputant alienos, ut nec temporalia pro eis mala perpeti se iudicent dignos.

(B) Excepto enim quod unusquisque quamlibet laudabiliter uiuens cedit in quibusdam carnali concupiscentiae, etsi non ad facinorum inmanitatem et gurgitem flagitiorum adque inpietatis abominationem, ad aliqua tamen peccata uel rara uel tanto crebriora, quanto minora — hoc ergo excepto quis tandem facile reperitur, qui eosdem ipsos, propter quorum horrendam superbiam luxuriamque et auaritiam adque execrabiles iniquitates et inpietates Deus, sicut minando praedixit, conterit terras, sic habeat, ut habendi sunt? sic cum eis uiuat, ut cum talibus est uiuendum?

(C) Plerumque enim [2]ab eis docendis ac monendis, aliquando etiam obiurgandis et corripiendis male dissimulatur, uel cum laboris piget, uel cum os eorum uerecundamur offendere, uel cum inimicitias deuitamus, ne inpediant et noceant in istis temporalibus rebus, siue quas adipisci adhuc adpetit nostra cupiditas, siue quas amittere formidat infirmitas, ita ut, quamuis bonis malorum uita displiceat et ideo cum eis non incidant in illam damnationem, quae post hanc uitam talibus praeparatur, tamen, quia propterea peccatis eorum damnabilibus parcunt, dum eos in suis licet leuibus et ueniabilibus metuunt, iure cum eis temporaliter flagellantur, quamuis in aeternum minime puniantur, iure [3]istam uitam, quando

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CHAPTER IX.

Of the reasons why both the Good and the Evil are alike corrected and chastised.

[Chrysostom ("Ad Pop. Antioch. Homil.," i. 6 *sqq.*) expounds in language not dissimilar from A.'s the reasons why Divine Providence enjoins or permits the sufferings of the saints.]

1. in illa rerum uastitate—the capture of Rome and, as its consequence, the destruction of the Roman Empire.

2. ab eis docendis . . . male dissimulatur = "we make sinful excuses for not teaching them."

3. istam uitam = "the present life." A. uses *iste* habitually for "this" or "the present"—*e.g.*, *istum* (*librum.* vii. 1 A); *iste liber* (ix. 23 G); *in libro quem sequitur iste* (xii. 9 F); *in isto corpore moriente* (xiii. 10 C); *iste mundus uisibilis* (xiv. 5 B); *pro isto saeculo* (xx. 15 A); *etsi non in isto* (*saeculo*) *tamen . . . in futuro* (xxi. 24 F and *passim*).

diuinitus adfliguntur cum eis, amaram sentiunt, cuius amando dulcedinem peccantibus eis amari esse noluerunt.

(D) Nam si propterea quisque obiurgandis et corripiendis male agentibus parcit, quia opportunius tempus inquirit uel eisdem ipsis metuit, ne deteriores ex hoc efficiantur, uel ad bonam uitam et piam erudiendos inpediant alios infirmos et premant adque auertant a fide: non uidetur esse [4]cupiditatis occasio, sed consilium caritatis. Illud est culpabile, quod hi, qui dissimiliter uiuunt et a malorum factis abhorrent, parcunt tamen peccatis alienis, quae dedocere aut obiurgare deberent, dum eorum offensiones cauent, ne sibi noceant in his rebus, quibus licite boni adque innocenter utuntur, sed cupidius, quam oportebat eos, qui in hoc mundo [5]peregrinantur et spem supernae patriae prae se gerunt.

(E) Non solum quippe infirmiores, uitam ducentes coniugalem, filios habentes uel habere quaerentes, domos ac familias possidentes, (quos *apostolus in ecclesiis adloquitur docens et monens quem ad modum uiuere debeant et uxores cum maritis et mariti cum uxoribus, et filii cum parentibus et parentes cum filiis, et serui cum dominis et domini cum seruis) multa temporalia, multa terrena libenter adipiscuntur et moleste amittunt, propter quae non audent offendere homines, quorum sibi uita contaminatissima et consceleratissima displicet; uerum etiam hi, [6]qui superiorem uitae gradum tenent nec coniugalibus uinculis inretiti sunt et uictu paruo ac tegimento utuntur, plerumque, suae famae ac saluti dum insidias adque inpetus malorum timent, ab eorum reprehensione sese abstinent, et quamuis non in tantum eos metuant, ut ad similia perpetranda quibuslibet eorum terroribus adque improbitatibus cedant, ea ipsa tamen, quae cum eis non perpetrant, nolunt plerumque corripere, cum fortasse possint aliquos corripiendo corrigere, ne, si non potuerint, sua salus ac fama in periculum exitiumque perueniat, nec ea consideratione, qua suam famam ac salutem uident esse necessariam utilitati erudiendorum hominum, sed ea potius infirmitate, qua delectat lingua blandiens et †[7]humanus dies et reformidatur uulgi

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4. cupiditatis occasio = "an opportunity of self-interest."

5. peregrinantur. See note on 1 Praef. A.

6. qui superiorem uitae gradum tenent. A.'s preference for the celibate life is clearly shown here; cp. *infirmiores, uitam ducentes coniugalem, coniugalibus uinculis inretiti.* See his treatises "De Sancta Virginitate," especially 8 (viii.)-12 (xiii.) and "De Bono Coniugali" 10 (x.).

7. humanus dies = "the judgment of men," here such judgment as is clearly favourable, and therefore = "popularity." St. Paul (1 Cor. iv. 3) uses *ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα* for human judgment, *ἐμοὶ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας.* "The Day" (*Der Tag*) would easily come to mean a

* 1 Eph. v. 22-vi. 9; Col. iii. 18-25. † 1 Cor. iv. 3.

iudicium et carnis excruciatio uel peremtio, hoc est propter quaedam cupiditatis uincula, non propter officia caritatis.

(F) Non mihi itaque uidetur haec parua esse causa, quare cum malis flagellentur et boni, quando Deo placet perditos mores etiam temporalium poenarum adflictione punire. Flagellantur enim simul, non quia simul agunt malam uitam, sed quia simul amant temporalem uitam, non quidem aequaliter, sed tamen simul, quam boni contemnere deberent, ut illi correpti adque correcti consequerentur aeternam, ad quam consequendam si nollent esse socii, [8]ferrentur et diligerentur inimici, quia donec uiuunt semper incertum est utrum uoluntatem sint in melius mutaturi.

(G) Qua in re non utique parem, sed longe grauiorem habent causam, quibus [9]per prophetam dicitur: **Ille quidem in suo peccato morietur, sanguinem autem eius de manu speculatoris requiram.* Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum praepositi, constituti sunt in ecclesiis, ut non parcant obiurgando peccata. Nec ideo tamen ab huius modi culpa penitus alienus est, qui, licet praepositus non sit, in eis tamen, quibus uitae huius necessitate coniungitur, multa monenda uel arguenda nouit et neglegit, deuitans eorum offensiones [10]propter illa quibus in hac uita non indebitis utitur, sed plus quam debuit delectatur. Deinde habent aliam causam boni, quare temporalibus adfligantur malis, qualem habuit Iob: ut sibi ipse humanus animus sit probatus et cognitus, quanta uirtute pietatis gratis Deum diligat.

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particular day, in accordance with the context in which it was usually mentioned, and still more easily perhaps among the early Christians, who were almost daily looking for the return of their Lord as Judge of the living and the dead, the "Day of Judgment," as ἡ ἡμέρα (1 Cor. iii. 13; Heb. x. 25). Cp. the Roman use of *diem dicere*. The English word "daysman" (Job ix. 33 A.V.) means "judge" or "umpire." With the Day of the Lord or the Day of the Divine Judgment would be not unnaturally contrasted the *humanus dies* or day of such judgment as was only human, and therefore negligible in St. Paul's eyes, because it was necessarily fallible. But ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα is a phrase to which it is so difficult to find a parallel in Greek literature that Jerome thought it must be an instance of St. Paul's Cilician *patois*. He compares it with other so-called Cilicisms: ἀνθρώπινον λέγω (Rom. vi. 19); οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμᾶς (2 Cor. xii. 14); μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω (Col. ii. 18); *quibus et aliis multis uerbis usque hodie utuntur Cilices* ("Epist," cxxi. "Ad. Algasiam," 10, p. 879).

8. ferrentur et diligerentur inimici = "they should be endured and loved as enemies" in accordance with Our Lord's rule (Matt. v. 44).

9. per prophetam dicitur: A.'s quotation is very close to Vulg: *ille quidem in iniquitate sua captus est, sanguinem autem eius de manu speculatoris requiram;* closer than to LXX αὕτη (*i.e.*, ἡ ψυχή) διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀνομίαν ἐλήμφθη καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ σκοποῦ ἐκζητήσω. The σκοποί or *speculatores* in the Churches would seem to have been not bishops (although bishops are often called *praepositi*, see Bingham, "Antiqq.," ii. 2, 5), but leading Christians who were charged with the exercise of discipline in the Churches.

10. propter illa, etc. = "for the sake of those advantages which it is right enough for him to enjoy in this life, but not right to take so much pleasure in as he takes."

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* Ezek. xxxiii. 6.

CAPUT X.

QUOD SANCTIS IN AMISSIONE RERUM TEMPORALIUM NIHIL PEREAT.

(A) Quibus recte consideratis adque perspectis adtende utrum aliquid mali acciderit fidelibus et piis, quod eis non in bonum uerteretur, nisi forte putandum est apostolicam illam uacare sententiam, ubi ait: **Scimus quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.* Amiserunt omnia quae habebant. Numquid fidem ? numquid pietatem ? numquid [1]interioris hominis bona, qui est ante Deum dies ? Hae sunt opes Christianorum, quibus opulentus dicebat apostolus: †[2]*Est autem quaestus magnus pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, sed nec auferre aliquid possumus. Habentes autem uictum et tegumentum his contenti sumus. Nam qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et laqueum et desideria multa stulta et noxia, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim est omnium malorum* [3]*auaritia, quam quidam adpetentes a fide pererrauerunt et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.*

(B) Quibus ergo terrenae diuitiae [4]in illa uastatione perierunt, si eas sic habebant, quem ad modum [5]ab isto foris paupere, intus diuite audierant, id est, si ‡[6]mundo utebantur tamquam non utentes,

CHAPTER X.

That, if the saints lose temporal goods, nothing is lost to them.

1. interioris hominis bona—not in itself a Scriptural phrase; but ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος is one of St. Paul's characteristic phrases (Rom. vii. 22; Eph. iii. 16), and his, too, is the illuminating contrast ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ (2 Cor. iv. 16). The *interior homo* is, in fact, little else than the πνεῦμα, which is the highest element of human nature, and the *interioris hominis bona* are πνευματικά.

2. Est autem quaestus, etc. A. follows the Greek text, with only these variations:

sed nec auferre=ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν
contenti sumus=ἀρκεσθησόμεθα
diuites fieri=πλουτεῖν

His *inseruerunt* (also in Vulg.) is a less graphic word than the original περιέπειραν ("spitted").

3. auaritia=φιλαργυρία.

4. in illa uastatione. Alaric's sack of Rome; cp. *in illa rerum uastitate* (i. 9 A), *in illa magnae urbis uastatione* (i. 12 D).

5. ab isto foris paupere, intus diuite—St. Paul. For the contrast see 2 Cor. vi. 10; James ii. 5. Cp. *ut bonus seruus magnas facultates haberet ipsam sui Domini uoluntatem* below.

6. mundo utebantur tamquem non utentes—an obvious reference to 1 Cor. vii. 31; but A. misses (as Vulg.) the point of the original Greek οἱ χρώμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι where the use (χρώμενοι) of the world, which is in itself legitimate, is sharply distinguished from the abuse or the undue use

* Rom. viii. 28. † 1 Tim. vi. 6-10. ‡ 1 Cor. viii. 31.

potuerunt dicere, quod ille grauiter tentatus et minime superatus: *[7]*Nudus exiui de utero matris meae, nudus reuertar in terram. Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est; sit nomen Domini benedictum;* ut bonus seruus magnas facultates haberet ipsam sui Domini uoluntatem, cui pedisequus mente ditesceret, nec contristaretur eis rebus uiuens relictus, quas cito fuerat moriens relicturus.

(C) Illi autem infirmiores, qui terrenis his bonis, quamuis ea non praeponerent Christo, aliquantula tamen cupiditate cohaerebant, quantum haec amando peccauerint, perdendo senserunt. Tantum quippe doluerunt, quantum se doloribus inseruerant, sicut apostolum dixisse supra commemoraui. Oportebat enim ut eis adderetur etiam experimentorum disciplina, a quibus tam diu fuerat neglecta uerborum. Nam cum dixit apostolus: †*Qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in tentationem* et cetera, profecto in diuitiis cupiditatem reprehendit, non facultatem, quoniam praecepit alibi dicens: ‡[8]*Praecipe diuitibus huius mundi non superbe sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum, sed in Deo uiuo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum; bene faciant, diuites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram uitam.*

(D) Haec qui de suis diuitiis faciebant, magnis sunt lucris leuia damna solati plusque laetati ex his, quae facile tribuendo tutius seruauerunt, quam contristati ex his, quae timide retinendo facilius amiserunt. Hoc enim potuit in terra perire, quod piguit inde transferre. Nam qui receperunt consilium Domini sui dicentis: §[9]*Nolite uobis condere thesauros in terra, ubi tinea et rubigo exterminant*

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of it (*καταχρώμενοι*). "They who use this world as though not using it up" would be a fairly adequate translation ("abusing" A.V. and R.V.; but "using it to the full" R.V. marg.).

7. Nudus exiui, etc. A. follows LXX, except

Nudus exiui = *αὐτὸς γυμνὸς ἐξῆλθον*
reuertar in terram = *ἀπελεύσομαι ἐκεῖ* (*reuertar illuc. Vulg.*).

8. Praecipe diuitibus, etc.

diuitibus huius mundi = *τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι*
superbe sapere = *ὑψηλοφρονεῖν*

In *ueram uitam* (so Vulg.) A. comes near to the true text *τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς* rather than *τῆς αἰωνίας ζωῆς* ("eternal life," A.V.). "The life which is *life* indeed" (R.V.). It is remarkable how often A.'s text of N.T. agrees with the better MSS., and therefore not with A.V., but with R.V.

9. Nolite uobis condere, etc. A. follows Matt. vi. 19-21 generally except:

Nolite uobis condere = *μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν*
thesaurum in caelo = *θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ,*

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* Job i. 21. † 1 Tim. vi. 9. ‡ 1 Tim. vi. 17-19. § Matt. vi. 19-21.

et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; sed thesaurizate uobis thesaurum in caelo, quo fur non accedit neque tinea corrumpit; ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, illic erit et cor tuum, tribulationis tempore probauerunt quam recte sapuerint non contemnendo ueracissimum praeceptorem et thesauri sui fidelissimum inuictissimumque custodem. Nam si multi gauisi sunt ibi se habuisse diuitias suas, quo contigit ut hostis non accederet: quanto certius et securius gaudere potuerunt, qui monitu Dei sui illuc [10]migrauerunt, quo accedere omnino non posset!

(E) Unde [11]Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo diuite uoluntate pauperrimus et copiosissime sanctus, quando et ipsam [12]Nolam barbari uastauerunt, cum ab eis teneretur, sic in corde suo, ut ab eo postea cognouimus, precabatur: "Domine, non excrucier propter aurum et argentum; ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis." Ibi enim habebat omnia sua, ubi eum condere et thesaurizare ille monstrauerat, [13]qui haec mala mundo uentura praedixerat. Ac [14]per hoc qui Domino suo monenti oboedierant, ubi et quo modo thesaurizare deberent, nec ipsas terrenas diuitias barbaris incursantibus amiserunt. Quos autem non oboedisse paenituit, quid de talibus rebus faciendum esset, si non praecedente sapientia, certe consequente experientia didicerunt.

(F) At enim quidam boni etiam Christiani tormentis excruciati sunt, ut bona sua hostibus proderent. Illi uero nec prodere nec perdere potuerunt bonum, quo ipsi boni erant. Si autem torqueri quam *[15]mammona iniquitatis prodere maluerunt, boni non erant.

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but again his translation represents the true text in *thesaurus tuus . . . cor tuum* (σου, not ὑμῶν); and in the words: *quo fur non accedit neque tinea corrumpit* he quotes not St. Matthew's text, but the parallel passage in St. Luke (xii. 33).

10. migrauerunt="transported," Act in sense.

11. Paulinus—A.'s friend, the rich man who, after his conversion, gave his wealth to the poor, especially to the sufferers and captives at the time when the army of Alaric overran Campania, A.D. 410. He became bishop of Nola probably A.D. 409. To him A. addressed (among other letters) the affectionate letter, Epist. 27. Not A. alone, but Ambrose and Jerome, wrote to Paulinus congratulating him upon the abandonment of the world and all worldly interests for the ascetic life. He died A.D. 431. A.'s treatise "De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda" is dedicated to Paulinus.

12. Nolam barbari uastauerunt. After the sack of Rome, Alaric's army laid waste a great part of Southern Italy. Nola was a city in Campania.

13. qui haec mala mundo uentura praedixerat. The reference is to such passages as Matt. xxiv. 6-35.

14. per hoc="consequently" as often in A.—*e.g.*, i. 13 D; i. 17 A, etc.

15. mammona iniquitatis—a phrase which A. often quotes, generally for the sake of explaining why μαμωνᾶ (the Greek transliteration of the Aram. מָמוֹנָא = riches) is associated by Our Lord with ἀδικία (ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας) (Luke xvi. 9). See "Quaest. Euang," ii. 34; "Enarr. in Psalm" liii. 2; "Serm." cxiii. 2 (ii.).

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* Luke xvi. 9.

Admonendi autem fuerant, qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda pro Christo, ut eum potius diligere discerent, qui pro se passos aeterna felicitate ditaret, non aurum et argentum, pro quo pati miserrimum fuit, seu mentiendo occultaretur, seu uerum dicendo proderetur. Namque inter tormenta nemo Christum confitendo amisit, nemo aurum nisi negando seruauit. Quocirca utiliora erant fortasse tormenta, quae bonum incorruptibile amandum docebant, quam illa bona, quae sine ullo utili fructu dominos sui amore[16] torquebant.

(G) Sed quidam etiam non habentes quod proderent, dum non creduntur, torti sunt. Et hi forte habere cupiebant nec sancta uoluntate pauperes erant; quibus demonstrandum fuit non facultates, sed ipsas cupiditates talibus dignas esse cruciatibus. Si uero uitae melioris proposito reconditum aurum argentumque non habebant, nescio quidem utrum cuiquam talium acciderit, ut dum habere creditur torqueretur: uerum tamen etiamsi accidit, profecto, qui inter illa tormenta paupertatem sanctam confitebatur, Christum confitebatur. Quapropter etsi non meruit ab hostibus credi, non potuit tamen sanctae paupertatis confessor sine caelesti mercede torqueri.

(H) Multos, inquiunt, etiam Christianos[17] fames diuturna uastauit. Hoc quoque in usus suos boni fideles pie tolerando uerterunt. Quos enim fames necauit, malis uitae huius, sicut corporis morbus, eripuit: quos autem non nocauit, docuit parcius uiuere, docuit productius ieiunare.

CAPUT XI.

DE FINE TEMPORALIS VITAE SIVE LONGIORIS SIVE BREVIORIS.

(A) Sed enim multi etiam Christiani interfecti sunt, multi multarum mortium foeda uarietate consumti. Hoc si aegre ferendum est, omnibus, qui in hanc uitam procreati sunt, utique commune est. Hoc scio, neminem fuisse mortuum, qui non fuerat aliquando moriturus. Finis autem uitae tam longam quam breuem uitam hoc idem facit. Neque enim aliud melius et aliud deterius, aut aliud maius et aliud breuius est, quod iam pariter non est. Quid autem interest, quo mortis genere uita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui finitur, iterum mori non cogitur ? Cum autem unicuique mortalium sub cottidianis uitae huius casibus innumerabiles mortes quodam

16. torquebant. A verb chosen with reference to *tormenta*, as though the love of earthly riches were itself a torture. Cp. the similar adaptation of language to subject in v, 4 B; v. 7 C (possibly) vii. 4 C; 22 B; xii. 14 B; xvi. 30 A.

17. fames diuturna. See note on xxii. 20 C.

modo comminentur, quamdiu incertum est quaenam earum uentura sit, quaero utrum satius sit unam perpeti moriendo an omnes timere uiuendo.

(B) Nec ignoro quam citius eligatur diu uiuere sub timore tot mortium quam semel moriendo nullam deinceps formidare. Sed aliud est quod carnis sensus infirmiter pauidus refugit, aliud quod mentis ratio diligenter enucleata conuincit. Mala mors putanda non est, quam bona uita praecesserit. Neque enim facit malam mortem, nisi quod sequitur mortem.

(C) Non itaque multum curandum est eis, qui necessario morituri sunt, quid accidat ut moriantur, sed moriendo quo ire cogantur. Cum igitur Christiani nouerint longe meliorem fuisse [1]religiosi pauperis mortem inter lingentium canum linûgas quam inpii diuitis *in purpura et bysso, horrenda illa genera mortium quid mortuis obfuerunt, qui bene uixerunt ?

CAPUT XII.

DE SEPULTURA HUMANORUM CORPORUM, QUAE CHRISTIANIS ETIAMSI FUERIT NEGATA NIL ADIMIT.

(A) At enim in tanta strage cadauerum nec sepeliri potuerunt. Neque istud pia fides nimium reformidat, tenens praedictum nec absumentes bestias resurrecturis corporibus obfuturas, quorum †capillus capitis non peribit. Nullo modo diceret [1]Veritas: ‡*Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere*, si quicquam obesset futurae uitae, quidquid inimici de corporibus occisorum facere uoluissent.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the end of the temporal life, whether it be longer or shorter.

1. religiosi pauperis mortem. It may be worth while to notice here that the parable of Dives and Lazarus in St. Luke's Gospel (xvi. 19-31) closely follows a reference to mammon: *οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ* (xvi. 13). Several of A.'s sermons (xiv., xxvi., and xli) are based upon that parable. The words *in purpura et bysso* are exactly equivalent to St. Luke's *ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον, byssus* being the fine Egyptian linen which was worn next to the skin. A. is fond of dwelling upon the parable; see, *e.g.*, "Enarr. in Psalm" xlviii. 10.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the burial of human bodies which, even if it is denied to Christians, involves no loss to them.

[With this chapter cp. A.'s treatise, "De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda."]

1. Veritas. So A. frequently calls Our Lord in *D.C.D.*, with obvious reference to St. John xiv. 6 (*Ἐγώ εἰμι . . . ἡ ἀλήθεια*). A. quotes the text in full (x. 32 1), and in an abbreviated form: *Ego sum Veritas* (xiv. 4 A). Cp. "De octo Dulcit Quaest." 4; "De Fid. et Oper." 2; "Enchir." 4 (xv.). *Veritas* is also a name of God—*e.g.*, "Confess.," x. 11; xi. 3. But *ueritas* does not always possess this personal sense; see *e.g.*, i. 17 B; i. 25 B.

* Luke xvi. 19. † Luke xxi. 18. ‡ Matt. x. 28.

(B) Nisi forte quispiam sic absurdus est, ut contendat eos, qui corpus occidunt, non debere timeri ante mortem, ne corpus occidant, et timeri debere post mortem, ne corpus occisum sepeliri non sinant. Falsum est ergo quod ait [2](Christus): **Qui corpus occidunt, et [3]postea non habent quid faciant*, si habent tanta, quae de cadaueribus faciant. Absit, ut falsum sit quod Ueritas dixit. Dictum est enim aliquid eos facere cum occidunt, quia in corpore sensus est occidendo; postea uero nihil habere quod faciant, quia nullus sensus est in corpore occiso.

(C) Multa itaque corpora Christianorum terra non texit, sed nullum eorum quisquam a caelo et terra separauit, quam totam inplet praesentia sui, [4]qui nouit unde resuscitet quod creauit. Dicitur quidem in psalmo: †*Posuerunt mortalia seruorum tuorum escas uolatilibus caeli, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae; effuderunt sanguinem eorum sicut aquam in circuitu Hierusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret*, sed magis ad exaggerandam crudelitatem eorum, qui ista fecerunt, non ad eorum infelicitatem, qui ista perpessi sunt. Quamuis enim haec in conspectu hominum dura et dira uideantur, sed ‡*pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius*.

(D) [5]Proinde ista omnia, curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exsequiarum, magis sunt uiuorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum. Si aliquid prodest inpio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio uilis aut nulla. [6]Praeclaras exequias in conspectu hominum exhibuit purpurato illi diuiti turba famulorum, sed multo clariores in conspectu Domini ulceroso illi pauperi ministerium praebuit angelorum, qui eum non extulerunt in marmoreum tumulum, sed §in Abrahae gremium sustulerunt.

(E) Rident haec illi, contra quos defendendam suscepimus ciuitatem Dei. Verum tamen sepulturae curam [7]etiam eorum philosophi contemserunt. Et saepe uniuersi exercitus, dum pro terrena

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2. [**Christus**]—probably an explanatory insertion made by a copyist. The subject of *ait* is *Veritas*.

3. **postea non habent,** etc. A. does not translate περισσότερον.

4. **qui nouit,** etc.—*sc.* God.

5. **Proinde ista omnia,** etc. The indifference of the martyrs to the fate of their bodies is set out in "De Cur pro Mort. Ger." 10.

6. **Praeclaras exequias,** etc. ἀπέθανε καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη is all that Our Lord says in the parable.

7. **etiam illorum philosophi.** The Benedictine editors refer to Cicero ("Tusc Disp.," i. 43, 102) and Seneca ("De Tranquil. Anim.," 14 and "Epist.," 92 *ad fin.*) for instances of pagan indifference to burial.

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* Luke xii. 4.
† Ps. lxxviii. 2, 3.
‡ Ps cxv. 15.
§ Luke xvi. 22.

patria morerentur, ubi postea iacerent uel quibus bestiis esca fierent, non curarunt, licuitque de hac re poetis plausibiliter dicere:

* [8]Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam.

Quanto minus debent de corporibus insepultis insultare Christianis, quibus et [9]ipsius carnis membrorumque omnium reformatio non solum ex terra, uerum etiam ex aliorum elementorum secretissimo sinu, quo dilapsa cadauera recesserunt, in †temporis puncto reddenda et redintegranda promittitur.

CAPUT XIII.

QUAE SIT RATIO SANCTORUM CORPORA SEPELIENDI.

(A) Nec ideo tamen contemnenda et abicienda sunt corpora defunctorum maximeque iustorum adque fidelium, [1]quibus tamquam organis et uasis ad omnia bona opera sancte usus est Spiritus. Si enim paterna uestis et anulus, ac si quid huius modi, tanto carius est posteris, quanto erga parentes maior adfectus: nullo modo ipsa spernenda sunt corpora, quae utique multo familiarius adque coniunctius quam quaelibet indumenta gestamus. Haec enim non ad ornamentum uel adiutorium, quod adhibetur extrinsecus, sed ad ipsam naturam hominis pertinent.

(B) Unde et antiquorum iustorum funera officiosa pietate curata sunt et exsequiae celebratae et sepultura prouisa, ipsique cum uiuerent de sepeliendis uel etiam transferendis suis corporibus [2]filiis mandauerunt, et ‡Tobias sepeliendo mortuos [3]Deum promeruisse [4]teste angelo commendatur. Ipse quoque Dominus die

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8 Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam—a line taken from the passage ("Phars.," 784-824) in which Lucan rhetorically commemorates the fate of the dead who lay unburied after the battle of Pharsalia. Pope has given finer expression than Lucan to the same thought in his lines:

> "Beneath thy roof, Argyle, are bred
> Such thoughts as prompt the brave to lie,
> Stretched out in honour's nobler bed
> Beneath a nobler roof—the sky."

9. ipsius etc. **carnis,** A. takes little or no account of the principle involved in St. Paul's statement: *σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν* (1 Cor. xv. 44).

CHAPTER XIII.

What is the reason for burying the bodies of the saints.

1. quibus tamqam organis et uasis, etc. An exemplification, or at least an adumbration, of the Scriptural doctrine respecting the dignity of the human body. See, *e.g.*, 1 Cor. vi. 19.

2. filiis mandauerunt—as Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 29, 30); Joseph (Gen. l. 24, 25).

3. Deum promeruisse—"to have won the favour of God."

4. teste angelo. The angel (or archangel) was Raphael (Tobit xii. 15).

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* Lucan, "Phars.," vii. 819. † 1 Cor. xv. 52. ‡ Tobit ii. 7; xii. 12.

tertio resurrecturus *religiosae mulieris bonum opus praedicat praedicandumque commendat, quod unguentum pretiosum super membra eius effuderit adque hoc ad eum sepeliendum fecerit. Et laudabiliter commemorantur in euangelio qui †corpus eius de cruce acceptum diligenter adque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt.

(C) Verum istae auctoritates non hoc admonent, quod insit ullus cadaueribus sensus, sed ad Dei prouidentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant propter fidem resurrectionis adstruendam. Ubi et illud salubriter discitur, quanta possit esse remuneratio pro elemosynis, quas uiuentibus et sentientibus exhibemus, si neque hoc aput Deum perit, quod exanimis hominum membris officii diligentiaeque persoluitur.

(D) Sunt quidem et alia, quae sancti patriarchae de corporibus suis uel condendis uel transferendis prophetico spiritu dicta intellegi uoluerunt; non autem hic locus est, ut ea pertractemus, cum sufficiant ista, quae diximus. Sed si ea, quae sustentandis uiuentibus sunt necessaria, sicut uictus et amictus, quamuis cum graui adflictione desint, non frangunt in bonis perferendi tolerandique uirtutem nec eradicant ex animo pietatem, sed exercitatam faciunt fecundiorem: quanto magis, cum desunt ea, quae curandis funeribus condendisque corporibus defunctorum adhiberi solent, non efficiunt miseros in occultis piorum sedibus iam quietos! Ac per hoc quando ista cadaueribus Christianorum in illa magnae urbis uel etiam aliorum oppidorum uastatione defuerunt, nec uiuorum culpa est, qui non potuerunt ista praebere, nec poena mortuorum, qui non possunt ista sentire.

CAPUT XIV.

DE CAPTIVITATE SANCTORUM, QUIBUS NUMQUAM DIVINA SOLACIA DEFUERUNT.

(A) Sed multi, inquiunt, Christiani etiam captiui ducti sunt. Hoc sane miserrimum est, si aliquo duci potuerunt, ubi Deum suum non inuenerunt. Sunt in scripturis sanctis huius etiam cladis magna solacia. Fuerunt in captiuitate [1]tres pueri, fuit

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CHAPTER XIV.

Of the captivity of the Saints and the divine consolation which never failed them.

1. tres pueri—the Three Holy Children of Dan. i. 6, 7. Cp. the Apocryphal Dan. iii. 24 *sqq.*, including the *Benedicite Opera Omnia.*

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* * Matt. xxvi. 6-13. † John xix. 38-42.

Daniel, fuerunt [2]alii prophetae; nec Deus defuit consolator. Sic ergo non deseruit fideles suos sub dominatione gentis, licet barbarae, tamen humanae, qui prophetam non deseruit nec in uisceribus beluae.

(B) Haec quoque illi, cum quibus agimus, malunt inridere quam credere, qui tamen suis litteris credunt [3]Arionem Methymnaeum, nobilissimum citharistam, cum esset deiectus e naui, exceptum delphini dorso et ad terras esse peruectum. Verum illud nostrum de Iona propheta incredibilius est. Plane incredibilius quia mirabilius, et mirabilius quia potentius.

CAPUT XV.

DE REGULO, IN QUO CAPTIVITATIS OB RELIGIONEM ETIAM SPONTE TOLERANDAE EXTAT EXEMPLUM, QUOD TAMEN ILLI DEOS COLENTI PRODESSE NON POTUIT.

(A) Habent tamen [1]isti de captiuitate religionis causa etiam sponte toleranda et in suis praeclaris uiris nobilissimum exemplum. [2]M. Regulus, imperator populi Romani, captiuus aput Carthaginienses fuit. Qui cum sibi mallent a Romanis suos reddi quam eorum tenere captiuos, ad hoc inpetrandum etiam istum praecipue Regulum cum legatis suis Romam miserunt, prius iuratione constrictum, si quod uolebant minime peregisset, rediturum esse Carthaginem. Perrexit ille adque in senatu contraria persuasit, quoniam non arbitrabatur utile esse Romanae rei publicae mutare captiuos. Nec post hanc persuasionem a suis ad hostes redire conpulsus est, sed quia iurauerat, id sponte conpleuit. At illi eum

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2. alii prophetae—such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

3. Arionem. Herodotus (i. 23) is the original authority for Arion's voyage on the dolphin's back. But A. admits the story of Jonah is *incredibilius*. It is probable that the tale of the whale is an accretion upon the narrative of Jonah's mission to Nineveh; for the narrative is complete without it.

CHAPTER XV.

Of Regulus, who set an example of voluntarily enduring captivity for religion's sake, but who could derive no benefit from it, although he was a worshipper of the gods.

1. isti. The pagans whom A. addresses all through *D.C.D.* (*Contra Paganos*) *isti contra quos agimus* (i. 24 A).

2. M. Regulus. The story of Regulus has been told in prose and in poetry by many ancient writers—*e.g.*, by Cicero, Livy, Silius Italicus, and Aulus Gellius; but the Fifth Ode in the Third Book of Horace's Odes is perhaps the most abiding tribute to his glory. Silius Italicus, in his nearly 200 lines ("Punic," vi. 346-528), adds little to it. Cicero's account of the tortures which Regulus endured is much like A.'s: *M. Regulus, quem Carthaginienses resectis palpebris inligatum in machina uigilando necauerunt* ("In L. Pison." xix. 43). Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Att.," vi. 4) quotes from the historian Tubero the details of these tortures. Polybius ("Hist.," i. 34) tells how Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians, but says nothing of his torture and death, an omission which is supplied by Appian ("Rom. Hist.," viii. 4).

excogitatis adque horrendis cruciatibus necauerunt. Inclusum quippe angusto ligno, ubi stare cogeretur, clauisque acutissimis undique confixo, ut se in nullam eius partem sine poenis atrocissimis inclinaret, etiam uigilando peremerunt.

(B) Merito certe laudant uirtutem tam magna infelicitate maiorem. Et per deos ille iurauerat, quorum cultu prohibito has generi humano clades isti opinantur infligi. Qui ergo propterea colebantur, ut istam uitam prosperam redderent, si uerum iuranti has inrogari poenas seu uoluerunt seu permiserunt, quid periuro grauius irati facere potuerunt? Sed quur non [3]ratiocinationem meam potius ad utrumque concludam? Deos certe ille sic coluit, ut propter iuris iurandi fidem nec maneret in patria, nec inde quolibet ire, sed ad suos acerrimos inimicos redire minime dubitaret.

(C) Hoc si huic uitae utile existimabat, cuius tam horrendum exitum meruit, procul dubio fallebatur. Suo quippe docuit exemplo nihil deos ad istam temporalem felicitatem suis prodesse cultoribus, quando quidem ille eorum deditus cultui et uictus et captiuus abductus et, quia noluit aliter quam per eos iurauerat facere, nouo ac prius inaudito nimiumque horribili supplicii genere cruciatus extinctus est.

(D) Si autem deorum cultus post hanc uitam uelut mercedem reddit felicitatem, quur calumniantur temporibus Christianis, ideo dicentes Urbi accidisse illam calamitatem, quia deos suos colere destitit, cum potuerit etiam illos diligentissime colens tam infelix fieri, quam ille Regulus fuit? Nisi forte contra clarissimam ueritatem tanta quisquam dementia mirae caecitatis obnititur, ut contendere audeat uniuersam ciuitatem deos colentem infelicem esse non posse, unum uero hominem posse, quod [4]uidelicet potentia deorum suorum multos potius sit idonea conseruare quam singulos, cum multitudo constet ex singulis.

(E) Si autem dicunt M. Regulum etiam in illa captiuitate illisque cruciatibus corporis animi uirtute beatum esse potuisse,

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3. ratiocinationem meam . . . ad utrumque concludam = "sum up my argument in the form of a dilemma." If it was temporal felicity (says A.) that Regulus hoped to gain by his heroism, he was deceived; but if it was eternal felicity, why should not a Christian justify temporal suffering on the same ground as Regulus? With *ad utrumque concludam* cp. *ex utroque latere constatur* (i. 19 F; xii. 21 N); also *ad utrumque . . . disputatio referatur* (iii. 5 A).

4. uidelicet—indicates the sarcasm underlying the contemptuous suggestion that the pagan gods were better qualified to protect and reward a whole people than an individual, *cum multitudo constet ex singulis*. A.'s definition of a State as *concors hominum multitudo* is wise and true. Cp. ii. 21 F, where, after quoting Scipio's definition of *res publica* as *res populi* in Cicero's "De Re Publica," he adds: *Populum autem non omnem coetum multitudinis, sed coetum iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum esse determinat*. It is not τὸ ζῆν, but in Aristotle's language, τὸ εὖ ζῆν, that is the object of a State ("Pol.," i. 2, 8)

uirtus potius uera quaeratur, qua beata esse possit et ciuitas. Neque enim aliunde beata ciuitas, aliunde homo, cum aliud ciuitas non sit quam concors hominum multitudo. Quam ob rem nondum interim disputo, qualis in Regulo uirtus fuerit; sufficit nunc, quod isto nobilissimo exemplo coguntur fateri non propter corporis bona uel earum rerum, quae extrinsecus homini accidunt, colendos deos, quando quidem ille carere his omnibus maluit quam deos per quos iurauit offendere.

(F) Sed quid faciamus hominibus, qui gloriantur se talem habuisse ciuem, qualem timent habere ciuitatem ? Quod si non timent, tale ergo aliquid, quale accidit Regulo, etiam ciuitati tam diligenter quam ille deos colenti accidere potuisse fateantur et Christianis temporibus non calumnientur. Verum quia de illis Christianis orta quaestio est, qui etiam captiuati sunt, hoc intueantur et taceant, qui saluberrimae religioni hinc inpudenter adque inprudenter inludunt, quia, si dis eorum probro non fuit, quod adtentissimus cultor illorum, dum eis iuris iurandi fidem seruaret, patria caruit, cum aliam non haberet, captiuusque aput hostes per longam mortem supplicio nouae crudelitatis occisus est, multo minus nomen criminandum est Christianum in captiuitate sacratorum suorum, qui *supernam patriam ueraci fide expectantes etiam in suis sedibus peregrinos se esse nouerunt.

CAPUT XVI.

AN STUPRIS, QUAE ETIAM SACRARUM FORTE VIRGINUM EST PASSA CAPTIVITAS, CONTAMINARI POTUERIT VIRTUS ANIMI SINE VOLUNTATIS ADSENSU.

(A) Magnum sane crimen se putant obicere Christianis, cum eorum exaggerantes captiuitatem addunt etiam stupra commissa, non solum in aliena matrimonia uirginesque nupturas, sed etiam in quasdam [1] sanctimoniales. Hic uero non fides, non pietas, non

CHAPTER XVI.

Whether the violations to which consecrated virgins may have been exposed in captivity, if their wills did not assent to them, could contaminate the virtue of their souls.

1. sanctimoniales = "nuns"—*sanctae feminae* (i. 26 A), *sanctae feminae et pie castae* (ii. 2 B), "religious" women, as the phrase is—*i.e.*, women who lived in religion, *fideles Christi* (i. 28 A). Chastity was the fine flower of the distinctively religious life. Cp. A. "Serm." xciii. 1, where he speaks of the women *quae propria et excellentiori sanctitate uirgines in Ecclesia nominantur, quas etiam usitatiore uocabulo sanctimoniales appellare consueuimus.* The Christian Church aimed at setting in life a standard above the morality of paganism, and that first, when the Church was still weak, by isolating strict Christians in monasteries and convents, and afterwards by bringing their influence to bear upon society. But the thought

* Heb. xi. 13.

ipsa uirtus, quae castitas dicitur, sed nostra potius disputatio inter pudorem adque rationem quibusdam coartatur angustiis. Nec tantum hic curamus alienis responsionem reddere, quantum ipsis nostris consolationem.

(B) Sit igitur in primis positum adque firmatum uirtutem, qua recte uiuitur, ab animi sede membris corporis imperare sanctumque corpus usu fieri sanctae uoluntatis, qua inconcussa ac stabili permanente, quidquid alius de corpore uel in corpore fecerit, quod [2]sine peccato proprio non ualeat euitari, [3]praeter culpam esse patientis. Sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, uerum etiam quod ad libidinem pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest: quidquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, tamen pudorem incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam uoluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliqua uoluptate non potuit.

CAPUT XVII.

DE MORTE VOLUNTARIA OB METUM POENAE SIVE DEDECORIS.

(A) Ac per hoc et quae se occiderunt, ne quidquam huius modi paterentur, quis humanus adfectus eis nolit ignosci? et quae se occidere noluerunt, ne suo facinore alienum flagitium deuitarent, quisquis hoc crimini dederit, ipse [1]crimen insipientiae non cauebit. Nam utique si non licet priuata potestate hominem occidere uel nocentem, cuius occidendi licentiam lex nulla concedit, profecto etiam [2]qui se ipsum occidit homicida est, et tanto fit nocentior cum

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of religion or sanctity, as belonging in an especial degree to anchorites or monks or nuns, arose from the age-long opposition between the Church and the world, or between the spirit and the flesh; it was, or it seemed to be, justified by John xvii. 14, but it was corrected by John xvii. 15. The New Testament shows a preference for celibacy, but none for anchoritism.

2. **sine peccato proprio**—as by suicide. Cp. i. 17 C.

3. **praeter culpam esse patientis** = "involves no fault in the sufferer."

CHAPTER XVII.

Of suicide in fear of punishment or dishonour.

1. **crimen insipientiae non cauebit**—a reading better supported by the MSS. than *crimine . . . non cauebit.*

2. **qui se ipsum occidit homicida est.** It has always been found difficult to condemn suicide (as indeed to condemn euthanasia in all cases) unreservedly, except in the view, which Christianity inculcates, that man is stationed in life by supreme authority like a soldier on guard, and that he may not abandon his post, except by command. The question of suicide therefore depends for its answer upon the theory of life. It is or is not an open question, according as man is or is not responsible to a Supreme Power. See Madame de Staël's "Reflexions sur le Suicide." How far the Christian Church may be said to have revolutionised man's theory of his own life is shown by A.'s condemnation of suicides so highly honoured in the pagan world as Lucretia and Cato of Utica (i. 19 C; i. 23). The highest pagan argument against suicide will be found in Plato's "Phaedo," pp. 61 E-62 E.

se occiderit, quanto innocentior in ea causa fuit, qua se occidendum putauit.

(B) Nam si Iudae factum merito detestamur eumque ueritas iudicat, cum se laqueo suspendit, sceleratae illius traditionis auxisse potius quam expiasse commissum, quoniam Dei misericordiam desperando exitiabiliter paenitens nullum sibi salubris paenitentiae locum reliquit: quanto magis a sua nece se abstinere debet, qui tali supplicio quod in se puniat non habet. Iudas enim cum se occidit, sceleratum hominem occidit, et tamen non solum Christi, uerum etiam suae mortis reus finiuit hanc uitam, quia licet propter suum scelus alio suo scelere occisus est.

(C) Quur autem homo, qui mali nihil fecit, malefaciat et se ipsum interficiendo hominem interficiat innocentem, ne alium patiatur nocentem, adque in se perpetret peccatum proprium, ne in eo perpetretur alienum ?

CAPUT XVIII.

DE ALIENA VIOLENTAQUE LIBIDINE, QUAM IN OPPRESSO CORPORE MENS INVITA PERPETITUR.

(A) At enim, ne uel aliena polluat libido, metuitur. Non polluet, si aliena erit; si autem polluet, aliena non erit. Sed cum pudicitia uirtus sit animi comitemque habeat fortitudinem, qua potius quaelibet mala tolerare quam malo consentire decernit, nullus autem magnanimus et pudicus in potestate habeat, quid de sua carne fiat, sed tantum quid adnuat mente uel renuat: quis eadem sana mente putauerit perdere se pudicitiam, si forte in adprehensa et oppressa carne sua exerceatur et expleatur libido non sua ? Si enim hoc modo pudicitia perit, profecto pudicitia uirtus animi non erit, nec pertinebit ad ea bona, quibus bene uiuitur, sed in bonis corporis numerabitur, qualia sunt uires pulchritudo[1] sana ualetudo, ac si quid huius modi est; quae bona, etiamsi minuantur, bonam iustamque uitam omnino non minuunt.

(B) Quod si tale aliquid est pudicitia,[2] ut quid pro illa, ne amittatur,

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A.'s doctrine, that suicide is simply homicide, is by him repeated (i. 18 D; 20 D; 21 B). Cp. i. 19 F and II. It is in the same spirit that he interprets the Commandment against false witness (i. 20 B).

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the violence of the lust which the mind unwillingly endures, when one person inflicts it upon the body of another.

1. sana ualetudo. It is difficult to accept Hoffmann's composite subst. *sanealetudo*. *Sana integraque ualetudo* is a later expansion of the true reading.

2. ut quid *ἵνα τί* (*γίνηται*), "why ?"; lit., "to what end ?" or "for what reason ?"; common in A.—*e.g.*, ii. 23 B; iv. 18 C; v. 18 D, etc. A fuller phrase, with the same meaning, *ut quid aliud*, occurs (iv. 19 B).

etiam periculo corporis laboratur ? Si autem animi bonum est, etiam obpresso corpore non amittitur. Quin etiam sanctae continentiae bonum cum inmunditiae carnalium concupiscentiarum non cedit, et ipsum corpus sanctificatur, et ideo, cum eis non cedere inconcussa intentione persistit, nec de ipso corpore perit sanctitas, quia eo sancte utendi perseuerat uoluntas et, quantum est in ipso, etiam facultas.

(c) Neque enim eo corpus sanctum est, quod eius membra sunt integra, aut eo, quod nullo contrectantur adtactu, cum possint diuersis casibus etiam uulnerata uim perpeti, et medici aliquando saluti opitulantes haec ibi faciant, quae horret aspectus. Obstetrix uirginis cuiusdam integritatem manu uelut explorans siue maleuolentia siue inscitia siue casu, dum inspicit, perdidit. Non opinor quemquam tam stulte sapere, ut huic perisse aliquid existimet etiam de ipsius corporis sanctitate, quamuis membri illius integritate iam perdita. Quocirca proposito animi permanente, per quod etiam corpus sanctificari meruit, nec ipsi corpori aufert sanctitatem uiolentia libidinis alienae, quam seruat perseuerantia continentiae suae.

(d) An uero si aliqua femina mente corrupta uiolatoque proposito, quod Deo uouerat, pergat uitianda ad deceptorem suum, ad hoc eam pergentem sanctam uel corpore dicimus, ea sanctitate animi, per quam corpus sanctificabatur, amissa adque destructa ? Absit hic error, et hinc potius admoneamur ita non amitti corporis sanctitatem manente animi sanctitate etiam corpore obpresso, sicut amittitur et corporis sanctitas uiolata animi sanctitate etiam corpore intacto. Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione uiolenter obpressa et alieno conpressa peccato; quanto minus antequam hoc fiat, ne admittatur homicidium certum, cum ipsum flagitium, quamuis alienum, adhuc pendet incertum !

CAPUT XIX.

de lucretia, quae se ob inlatum sibi stuprum peremit.

(a) An forte huic perspicuae rationi, qua dicimus corpore obpresso nequaquam proposito castitatis ulla in malum consensione mutato illius tantum esse flagitium, qui obprimens concubuerit, non illius, quae obpressa concumbenti nulla uoluntate consenserit, contradicere audebunt hi, contra quos feminarum Christianarum in captiuitate obpressarum non tantum mentes, uerum etiam corpora sancta defendimus ?

(B) [1]Lucretiam certe, matronam nobilem ueteremque Romanam, pudicitiae magnis efferunt laudibus. Huius corpore cum uiolenter obpresso [2]Tarquinii regis filius libidinose potitus esset, illa scelus inprobissimi iuuenis marito Collatino et propinquo Bruto, uiris clarissimis et fortissimis, indicauit eosque ad uindictam constrinxit. Deinde foedi in se commissi aegra adque inpatiens se peremit. Quid dicemus ? Adultera haec an casta iudicanda est ? Quis in hac controuersia laborandum putauerit ? Egregie [3]quidam ex hoc ueraciterque declamans ait: "Mirabile dictu, duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit." Splendide adque uerissime. Intuens enim in duorum corporum commixtione unius inquinatissimam cupiditatem, alterius castissimam uoluntatem, et non quid coniunctione membrorum, sed quid animorum diuersitate ageretur adtendens: "Duo, inquit, fuerunt, et adulterium unus admisit."

(C) Sed quid est hoc, quod [4]in eam grauius uindicatur, quae adulterium non admisit ? Nam ille patria cum patre pulsus est, haec summo est mactata supplicio. Si non est illa inpudicitia qua inuita obprimitur, non est haec iustitia qua casta punitur. Vos appello, leges iudicesque Romani. Nempe post perpetrata facinora nec quemquam scelestum indemnatum inpune uoluistis occidi.

(D) Si ergo ad uestrum iudicium quisquam deferret hoc crimen uobisque probaretur non solum indemnatam, uerum etiam castam et innocentem interfectam esse mulierem, nonne eum, qui id fecisset, seueritate congrua plecteretis ? Hoc fecit illa Lucretia; illa, illa sic praedicata Lucretia innocentem, castam, uim perpessam Lucretiam insuper interemit. Proferte sententiam. Quod si propterea non potestis, quia non adstat quam punire possitis, quur interfectricem innocentis et castae tanta praedicatione laudatis ? Quam certe aput infernos iudices etiam tales, quales poetarum uestrorum carminibus cantitantur, nulla ratione defenditis, constitutam inter illos scilicet,

*qui sibi letum
Insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
Proiecere animas;

cui ad superna redire cupienti

†Fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
Adligat.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of Lucretia, who did herself to death because of the violation wrought upon her.

1. **Lucretiam.** See Livy, i. 58.
2. **Tarquinii regis filius**—Sextus Tarquinius.
3. **quidam.** The person is unknown. *Scholiaster noster Vergilium dicitesse* (*Coques*).
4. **in eam grauius uindicatur**—"the heavier punishment falls upon her."

* Virg., "Aen.," vi. 434-6. † "Aen.," vi. 438-9.

(E) An forte ideo ibi non est, quia non insontem, sed male sibi consciam se peremit? Quid si enim (quod ipsa tantummodo nosse poterat) quamuis iuueni uiolenter inruenti etiam sua libidine inlecta consensit idque in se puniens ita doluit, ut morte putaret expiandum? Quamquam ne sic quidem se occidere debuit, si fructuosam posset aput deos falsos agere paenitentiam.

(F) Verum tamen si forte ita est falsumque est illud, quod duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit, sed potius ambo adulterium commiserunt, unus manifesta inuasione, altera latente consensione, non se occidit insontem, et ideo potest a [5]litteratis eius defensoribus dici non esse aput inferos inter illos, "insontes peperere manu" qui "sibi letum." Sed ita haec causa [6]ex utroque latere coartatur, ut, si extenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur: si purgatur adulterium, homicidium cumuletur; nec omnino inuenitur exitus, ubi dicitur: "Si adulterata, quur laudata; si pudica, quur occisa?"

(G) Nobis tamen hoc tam nobili feminae huius exemplo ad istos refutandos, qui Christianis feminis in captiuitate conpressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant, sufficit quod in praeclaris eius laudibus dictum est: "Duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit." Talis enim ab eis Lucretia magis credita est, quae se nullo adulterino potuerit maculare consensu. Quod ergo se ipsam, quoniam adulterum pertulit, etiam non adultera occidit, [7]non est pudicitiae caritas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Puduit enim eam turpitudinis alienae in se commissae etiamsi non secum, et Romana mulier, laudis auida nimium, uerita est ne putaretur, quod uiolenter est passa cum uiueret, libenter passa si uiueret. Unde ad oculos hominum testem mentis suae illam poenam adhibendam putauit, quibus conscientiam demonstrare non potuit. Sociam quippe facti se credi erubuit, si, quod alius in ea fecerat turpiter, ferret ipsa patienter.

(H) Non hoc fecerunt feminae Christianae, quae passae similia uiuunt tamen nec in se ultae sunt crimen alienum, ne aliorum sceleribus adderent sua, si, quoniam hostes in eis concupiscendo stupra commiserant, illae in se ipsis homicidia erubescendo committerent. Habent quippe intus gloriam castitatis, testimonium [8]conscientiae; habent autem coram oculis Dei sui nec requirunt

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5. **litteratis** = "learned." The *litteratus* is what the *litterator* aspires or affects to be.

6. **ex utroque latere coartatur** = "is reduced to a dilemma." See note on i. 15 B.

7. **non est pudicitiae caritas,** etc. = "is a proof not that she held modesty dear, but that she was not strong enough to bear shame."

8. **conscientiam** = "conscience," as usually in A., not "consciousness" as in classical Latin. Cp. i. 22 A.

amplius, ubi quid recte faciant non habent amplius, ne deuient ab auctoritate legis diuinae, cum male deuitant offensionem suspicionis humanae.

CAPUT XX.

NULLAM ESSE AUCTORITATEM, QUAE CHRISTIANIS IN QUALIBET CAUSA IUS VOLUNTARIAE NECIS TRIBUAT.

(A) Neque enim frustra in sanctis [1]canonicis libris nusquam nobis diuinitus praeceptum permissumue reperiri potest, ut uel ipsius adipiscendae immortalitatis uel ullius cauendi carendiue mali causa nobismet ipsis necem inferamus. Nam et prohibitos nos esse intellegendum est, ubi *lex ait: *Non occides*, praesertim quia non addidit: "proximum tuum," sicut falsum testimoinum cum uetaret: *Falsum*, inquit, *testimonium non dices aduersus proximum tuum.* Nec ideo tamen si aduersus se ipsum quisquam falsum testimonium dixerit, ab hoc crimine se putauerit alienum, quoniam regulam diligendi proximum a semet ipso dilector accepit, quando quidem scriptum est: †*Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum.*

(B) Porro si falsi testimonii non minus reus est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, quam si aduersus proximum hoc faceret, cum in eo praecepto, quo falsum testimonium prohibetur, aduersus proximum prohibeatur possitque non recte intellegentibus uideri non esse

CHAPTER XX.

That there is no authority which allows Christians in any case to commit suicide.

1. canonicis libris. From *κανών*="rule," was formed the post-classical adjective *κανονικός*="regular," translated as *canonicus*. Cicero uses *κανών*, but as a Greek word (*heus tu, qui κανών esse meorum scriptorum soles*, "ad Fam.," xvi. 17). *Canonicus*="regular" occurs in Pliny (*Errantium motus et luminum canonica*, "Nat. Hist.," i. *in init.*). A. himself speaks of *canones astrologorum* (xxi. 8 E), and of *canonico* (regular) *siderum cursu* (iii. 15 B); *solis canonicis defectionibus* (iii. 15 D). *Canon* in sacred literature preserved its meaning; it was the Divine rule or standard, from which neither the Church nor any Christian might depart without loss of orthodoxy. See Westcott, "The Bible in the Church," ch. iv., note on p. 110. So *canonicus* meant "regular" or "recognised" (*regularis*, iii. 15 B), whatever its application might be. The following phrases, all taken from *D.C.D.*, will serve to illustrate A.'s use of *canon* and *canonicus*.

canon Iudaeorum (xvii. 20 E);
canon scripturarum (xv. 23 L);
canon sacrarum litterarum (xxii. 8 C);
auctoritatis canon (xviii. 37 C);

also the significant phrase *castitas canonis* (xviii. 38 A), in reference to the exclusion of certain books from the Canon: cp.

libri ueteres canonici (xvii. 3 E);
libri recepti in canonicam auctoritatem (xvii. 20 B);
Scripturae sanctae et ueteres et nouae quas canonicas appellamus (xix. 18 B).

* Exod. xx. 13, 16. † Matt. xxii. 39.

prohibitum, ut aduersus se ipsum quisque falsus testis adsistat: quanto magis intellegendum est non licere homini se ipsum occidere, eum in eo, quod scriptum est: *Non occides*, nihilo deinde addito, nullus, nec ipse utique cui praecipitur, intellegatur exceptus! Unde[2] quidam hoc praeceptum etiam in bestias ac pecora conantur extendere, ut ex hoc nullum etiam illorum liceat occidere. Quur ergo non et herbas et quicquid humo radicitus alitur ac figitur? Nam et hoc genus rerum, quamuis non sentiat, dicitur uiuere ac per hoc potest et mori, proinde etiam, cum uis adhibetur, occidi. Unde et apostolus, cum de huius modi seminibus loqueretur: *Tu, inquit, *quod seminas non uiuificatur, nisi moriatur;* et in psalmo scriptum est: (c) †*Occidit uites eorum in grandine.* Num igitur ob hoc, cum audimus: *Non occides*, uirgultum uellere nefas ducimus et Manichaeorum errori insanissime adquiescimus? His igitur deliramentis remotis cum legimus: *Non occides*, si propterea non accipimus hoc dictum de frutectis esse, quia nullus eis sensus est, nec de inrationabilibus animantibus, uolatilibus natatilibus, ambulatilibus reptilibus, quia nulla nobis ratione sociantur, quam non eis datum est nobiscum habere communem (unde ‡iustissima ordinatione creatoris et uita et mors eorum nostris usibus subditur): restat ut de homine intellegamus, quod dictum est: *Non occides*, nec alterum ergo nec te. Neque enim qui se occidit aliud quam hominem occidit.

CAPUT XXI.

DE INTERFECTIONIBUS HOMINUM, QUAE AB HOMICIDII CRIMINE EXCIPIUNTUR.

(A) [1] Quasdam uero exceptiones eadem ipsa diuina fecit auctoritas, ut non liceat hominem occidi. Sed his exceptis, quos Deus occidi iubet siue data lege siue ad personam pro tempore expressa iussione, (non autem ipse occidit, qui ministerium debet iubenti, sicut

2. quidam hoc praeceptum, etc.—probably the Marcionites and Manichaeans, who were vegetarians. For the former see Epiphanius ("Ad Haer.," i. 3; Haer., xlii. "Refut." 61). For the latter A. ("Con. Faust. Manich.," vi. 6 and 8). A.'s reply is strikingly modern. It is that Nature recognises no sharp dividing line between the vegetable and the animal kingdoms, but an ascending scale of Creation from the lowest to the highest form of life; if therefore it is wrong to kill an animal, it must be wrong (if not equally wrong) to kill a plant. Cp. note on iv. 13 A. A. refers to the vegetarian habits of the Manichaeans and to their theories of the pain and death of trees and plants ("De Haeres." 46; "De Morib. Manich." 54 [xvii]).

CHAPTER XXI.

Of cases in which the act of killing a man does not involve the crime of homicide.

1. Quasdam uero exceptiones . . . ut non liceat = "certain exceptions to the rule that it is not lawful."

* 1 Cor. xv. 36. † Ps lxxviii. 47. ‡ Gen. ix. 23.

adminiculum gladius utenti; et ideo nequaquam contra hoc praeceptum fecerunt, quo dictum est: *Non occides*, qui Deo auctore bella gesserunt aut personam gerentes publicae potestatis secundum eius leges, hoc est iustissimae rationis imperium, sceleratos morte punierunt.

(B) Et *Abraham non solum non est culpatus crudelitatis crimine, uerum etiam laudatus est nomine pietatis, quod uoluit filium nequaquam scelerate, sed oboedienter occidere; et merito quaeritur utrum pro iussu Dei sit habendum, quod †Iephte filiam, quae patri occurrit, occidit, cum id se uouisset immolaturum Deo, quod ei redeunti de proelio uictori primitus occurrisset; nec ‡Samson aliter excusatur, quod se ipsum cum hostibus ruina domus obpressit, nisi quia [2]Spiritus latenter hoc iusserat, qui per illum miracula faciebat—his igitur exceptis, quos uel lex iusta generaliter uel ipse fons iustitiae Deus specialiter occidi iubet, quisquis hominem uel se ipsum uel quemlibet occiderit, homicidii crimine innectitur.

CAPUT XXII.

AN UMQUAM POSSIT MORS VOLUNTARIA AD MAGNITUDINEM ANIMI PERTINERE.

(A) Et quicumque hoc in se ipsis perpetrauerunt, animi magnitudine fortasse mirandi, non sapientiae sanitate laudandi sunt. Quamquam si rationem diligentius consulas, ne ipsa quidem animi magnitudo recte nominabitur, ubi quisque non ualendo tolerare uel quaeque aspera uel aliena peccata se ipse interemerit. Magis enim mens infirma deprehenditur, quae ferre non potest uel duram sui corporis seruitutem uel stultam uulgi opinionem, maiorque animus merito dicendus est, qui uitam aerumnosam magis potest ferre quam fugere et humanum iudicium maximeque uulgare, quod plerumque caligine erroris inuoluitur, prae conscientiae luce ac puritate contemnere.

(B) Quam ob rem si magno animo fieri putandum est, cum sibi homo ingerit mortem, ille potius [1]Theobrotus in hac animi magni-

2. Spiritus, "The Spirit of the Lord" (רוּחַ יְהוָה) is associated with Samson's life (Judg. xiii. 25; xiv. 19; xv. 14); as indeed with the lives of other Judges (*ibid.* iv. 10; vi. 34). A. repeats the suggestion here made in regard to Samson (i. 26 B).

CHAPTER XXII.

Whether suicide can ever be an evidence of magnanimity.

1. Theobrotus. Cicero tells the same story as A., but he tells it of the Ambraciot Academical philosopher Cleombrotus, upon whose death Callimachus, as he says, composed an epigram: *quem ait, cum nihil ei accidisset aduersi, e muro se in mare abiecisse, lecto Platonis libro* ("Tusc. Disp.," i. 34, 84). It seems clear that A.'s

* Gen. xxii. 1-13. † Judg. xi. 30-39. ‡ Judg. xvi. 25-30.

tudine reperitur, quem ferunt lecto [2]Platonis libro, ubi de inmortalitate animae disputauit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro adque ita ex hac uita emigrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil enim urguebat aut calamitatis aut criminis seu uerum seu falsum, quod non ualendo ferre se auferret: sed ad capessendam mortem adque huius uitae suauia uincla rumpenda sola adfuit animi magnitudo. Quod tamen magne potius factum esse quam bene testis ei esse potuit Plato ipse quem legerat, qui profecto id praecipue potissimumque fecisset uel etiam praecepisset, nisi ea mente, qua inmortalitatem animae uidit, nequaquam faciendum, quin etiam prohibendum esse iudicasset.

(C) At enim multi se interemerunt, ne in manus hostium peruenirent. Non modo quaerimus utrum sit factum, sed utrum fuerit faciendum. Sana quippe ratio etiam exemplis anteponenda est, cui quidem et exempla concordant, sed illa, quae tanto digniora sunt imitatione, quanto excellentiora pietate. Non fecerunt patriarchae, non prophetae, non apostoli, quia et ipse Dominus Christus, quando eos, si persecutionem paterentur, *fugere admonuit de ciuitate in ciuitatem, potuit admonere ut sibi manus inferrent, ne in manus persequentium peruenirent. Porro si hoc ille non iussit aut monuit, ut eo modo sui [3]ex hac uita emigrarent, quibus migrantibus †mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse se promisit, [4]quaelibet exempla proponant gentes, quae ignorant Deum, manifestum est hoc non licere colentibus unum uerum Deum.

CAPUT XXIII.

QUALE EXEMPLUM SIT CATONIS, QUI SE VICTORIAM CAESARIS NON FERENS INTEREMIT.

(A) Sed tamen etiam illi praeter Lucretiam, [1]de qua ‡supra quod uidebatur diximus, non facile reperiunt [2]de cuius auctoritate prae-

memory was at fault, as it was in i. 5 A. The MSS. here practically all give Theobrotus or Theobrutus as the name. Lucian ("Philopatris," i.) refers to *τὸ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου πήδημα*.

2. Platonis libro—the *Phaedo*, which Cato of Utica also read before his suicide.

3. ex hac uita emigrarent. It would seem natural to read either *migrarent . . . migrantibus* or *emigrarent . . . emigrantibus*. *Emigrauit* is the simple inscription on Albert Dürer's grave at Nüremberg.

4. quaelibet exempla, etc. A. uses *quilibet* in the sense of *quicumque*—*e.g.*, i. 26 C.

CHAPTER XXIII.

What was the nature of Cato's example, who put himself to death because he could not endure Cæsar's victory.

1. de qua supra. Some MSS. insert *satis* after *supra*.

2. de cuius auctoritate praescribant = "whose authority will supply them with a model."

* Matt. x. 23. † John xiv. 2. ‡ i. 19.

scribant, nisi [3]illum Catonem, qui se Uticae occidit; non quia solus id fecit, sed quia uir doctus et probus habebatur, ut merito putetur etiam recte fieri potuisse uel posse quod fecit. De cuius facto quid potissimum dicam, nisi quod [4]amici eius etiam docti quidam uiri, qui hoc fieri prudentius dissuadebant, inbecillioris quam fortioris animi facinus esse censuerunt, quo demonstraretur non honestas turpia praecauens, sed infirmitas aduersa non sustinens ?

(B) Hoc et ipse Cato [5]in suo carissimo filio iudicauit. Nam si turpe erat sub uictoria Caesaris uiuere, quur auctor huius turpitudinis filio fuit, quem de Caesaris benignitate omnia sperare praecepit ? Quur non et illum secum coegit ad mortem ? Nam si eum filium, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnauerat, etiam uictorem laudabiliter [6]Torquatus occidit, quur uictus uicto filio pepercit Cato, qui non pepercit sibi ? An turpius erat contra imperium esse uictorem, quam contra decus ferre uictorem ? Nullo modo igitur Cato turpe esse iudicauit sub uictore Caesare uiuere; alioquin ab hac turpitudine paterno ferro filium liberaret. Quid ergo, nisi quod filium quantum amauit, cui parci a Caesare et sperauit et uoluit, tantum gloriae ipsius Caesaris, ne ab illo etiam sibi parceretur, [7]ut ipse Caesar dixisse fertur, inuidit—ut aliquid nos mitius dicamus, erubuit ?

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3. illum Catonem. See note on i. 5 A. The story of Cato's death is fully told by Dion Cassius ("Hist. Rom.," xlii. 10-13); also by Plutarch ("Cato Minor," 65-70).

4. amici eius. According to Plutarch the philosophers Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic, as well as the physicians Cleanthes and Butas, spent the last hours of Cato's life with him.

5. in suo carissimo filio. Dion Cassius relates that Cato entreated his son not to follow his own example of suicide, but to yield himself a prisoner to Caesar. *ἐγὼ μὲν*, he said, *ἔν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ τραφεὶς οὐ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γήρως μαθεῖν, σοὶ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ κατασταίσει καὶ γενηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει* ("Hist. Rom.," xliii. 10).

6. Torquatus. T. Manlius Torquatus, Consul in the Latin war, put his gallant young son to death for having engaged, against his orders, in single combat with a Tusculan warrior (B.C. 340). Hence the proverbial *Manliana imperia* (Cic., "De Fin.," ii. 32, 105). See Livy viii. 7; Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Att.," ix. 13). A. refers again to the action of Torquatus (v. 18 D).

7. ut ipse Caesar dixisse fertur, *ὦ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τῆς σαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας*, were Caesar's words on hearing the news of Cato's death (Plutarch, "Cato Minor," 72; "Iul. Caes.," 54). Yet Caesar himself, according to Suetonius ("Caes.," 56), wrote an attack upon Cato in two volumes (*duo Caesaris Anti-Catones*. Juvenal, "Sat." vi. 338) as a reply to Cicero's panegyric of Cato: *ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμενος Κάτωνα* (Plutarch, "Iul. Caes.," 54). Dion Cassius says Caesar admired Cato so much that he did not take offence at Cicero's panegyric, but contented himself with replying to it in a book: *ὃ καὶ Ἀντικάτων ἐκάλεσε.*

CAPUT XXIV.

QUOD IN EA VIRTUTE, QUA REGULUS CATONE PRAESTANTIOR FUIT, MULTO MAGIS EMINEANT CHRISTIANI.

(A) Nolunt autem isti, contra quos agimus, ut sanctum uirum Iob, qui tam horrenda mala in sua carne perpeti maluit quam inlata sibi morte omnibus carere cruciatibus, uel alios sanctos ex litteris nostris summa auctoritate celsissimis fideque dignissimis, qui captiuitatem dominationemque hostium ferre quam sibi necem inferre maluerunt, Catoni praeferamus; sed ex litteris eorum eundem illum M. Catoni Regulum praeferamus,

(B) Cato enim numquam Caesarem uicerat, cui uictus dedignatus est subici et, ne subiceretur, a se ipso elegit occidi: Regulus autem Poenos iam uicerat imperioque Romano Romanus imperator non ex ciuibus dolendam, sed ex hostibus laudandam uictoriam reportauerat; ab eis tamen postea uictus maluit eos ferre seruiendo quam eis se auferre moriendo. Proinde seruauit et sub Carthaginiensium dominatione patientiam et in Romanorum dilectione constantiam, nec uictum auferens corpus ab hostibus nec inuictum animum a ciuibus. Nec quod se occidere noluit, uitae huius amore fecit. Hoc probauit, cum causa promissi iurisque iurandi ad eosdem hostes, quos grauius in senatu uerbis quam bello armis offenderat, sine ulla dubitatione remeauit.

(C) Tantus itaque uitae huius contemtor, cum saeuientibus hostibus per quaslibet poenas eam finire quam se ipse perimere maluit, magnum scelus esse, si se homo interimat, procul dubio iudicauit. Inter omnes suos laudabiles et uirtutis insignibus inlustres uiros non proferunt Romani meliorem, quem neque felicitas corruperit, nam in tanta uictoria mansit [1] pauperrimus, nec infelicitas fregerit, nam ad tanta exitia reuertit intrepidus.

(D) Porro si fortissimi et praeclarissimi uiri terrenae patriae defensores deorumque licet falsorum, non tamen fallaces cultores, sed ueracissimi etiam iuratores, qui hostes uictos more ac iure belli ferire potuerunt, hi ab hostibus uicti se ipsos ferire noluerunt et, cum mortem minime formidarent, uictores tamen dominos ferre quam eam sibi inferre maluerunt: quanto magis Christiani, uerum Deum colentes et supernae patriae suspirantes, ab hoc facinore tem-

CHAPTER XXIV.

That in the virtue in which Regulus surpassed Cato, Christians are far more highly distinguished.

1. pauperrimus —Livy (" Epit.," xviii.) speaks of the *agellus* of Regulus; Valerius Maximus (" Dict. Fact. Memorab.," iv. 6) of the *agellus quem septem iugerum in Pupinia habebat.*

perabunt, si eos [2]diuina dispositio uel probandos uel emendandos ad tempus hostibus subiugauerit, quos in illa humilitate non deserit, qui propter eos [3]tam humiliter altissimus uenit, [4]praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis uel talis militiae iura constringunt ipsum hostem ferire superatum !

(E) Quis ergo tam malus error obrepit, ut homo se occidat, uel quia in eum peccauit, uel ne in eum peccet inimicus, cum uel peccatorem uel peccaturum ipsum occidere non audeat inimicum ?

CAPUT XXV.

QUOD PECCATUM NON PER PECCATUM DEBEAT DECLINARI.

(A) [1]At enim timendum est et cauendum, ne libidini subditum corpus inlecebrosissima uoluptate animum adliciat consentire peccato. Proinde, inquiunt, non iam propter alienum, sed propter suum suum peccatum, antequam hos quisque committat, se debet occidere. Nullo modo quidem hoc faciet animus, ut consentiat libidini carnis suae aliena libidine concitatae, qui Deo potius eiusque sapientiae quam corpori eiusque concupiscentiae subiectus est.

(B) Verum tamen si detestabile facinus et damnabile scelus est etiam se ipsum hominem occidere, sicut ueritas manifesta proclamat, quis ita desipiat ut dicat: " Iam nunc perpetremus homicidium, ne postea forte incidamus in adulterium " ? Nonne si tantum dominatur iniquitas, ut non innocentia, sed peccata potius eligantur, satius est incertum de futuro adulterium quam certum de praesenti homicidium ? Nonne satius est flagitium committere, quod paenitendo sanetur, quam tale facinus, ubi locus salubris paenitentiae non relinquitur ? Haec dixi propter eos uel eas, quae non alieni, sed proprii peccati deuitandi causa, ne sub alterius libidine etiam excitatae suae forte consentiant, uim sibi, qua moriantur, inferendam putant. Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, quae Deo suo fidit in eoque spe posita eius adiutorio nititur, absit, inquam, ut mens talis quibuslibet carnis uoluptatibus ad consensum turpitudinis cedat. Quod si illa concupiscentialis inoboedientia, quae adhuc [2]in membris

2. diuina dispositio = " Divine Providence."

3. tam humiliter altissimus uenit. Cp. such passages as 2 Cor. viii. 9; Philip. ii. 6-8.

4. praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis, etc.— a hint of the influence which Christianity had begun or was destined, until 1914, to exercise with progressive effect upon the laws and usages of warfare, among all civilised nations.

CHAPTER XXV.

That it is not right to avoid one sin by the commission of another.

1. At enim—as usual introduces a supposed objection to which A. makes reply.

2. in membris moribundis. A. is evidently thinking of Rom. vi. 12: *μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι.*

moribundis habitat, praeter nostrae uoluntatis legem quasi lege sua mouetur, quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis !

CAPUT XXVI.

DE HIS, QUAE FIERI NON LICENT, CUM A SANCTIS FACTA NOSCUNTUR, QUA RATIONE FACTA CREDENDA SINT.

(A) Sed quaedam, inquiunt, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis, ut insectatores suae pudicitiae deuitarent, in rapturum adque necaturum se fluuium proiecerunt eoque modo defunctae sunt, earumque [1]martyria in catholica ecclesia ueneratione celeberrima frequentantur. De his nihil temere audeo iudicare.

(B) Utrum enim ecclesiae aliquibus fide dignis testificationibus, ut earum memoriam sic honoret, diuina persuaserit auctoritas, nescio; et fieri potest ut ita sit. Quid si enim hoc fecerunt, non humanitus deceptae, sed diuinitus iussae, nec errantes, sed oboedientes ? [2]sicut de Samsone aliud nobis fas non est credere. Cum autem Deus iubet seque iubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat, quis oboedientiam in crimen uocet ? quis obsequium pietatis accuset ? Sed non ideo sine scelere facit, quisquis Deo filium immolare decreuerit, [3]quia hoc Abraham etiam laudabiliter fecit.

(C) [4]Nam et miles cum oboediens potestati, sub [5]qualibet legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit, nulla ciuitatis suae lege reus est homicidii, immo, nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti adque contemti; quod si sua sponte adque auctoritate fecisset, crimen effusi humani sanguinis incidisset. Itaque [6]unde punitur si fecit iniussus, inde, punietur nisi fecerit iussus. Quod si ita est iubente imperatore,

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the principle on which it is to be believed that things unlawful in themselves were done, when they are known to have been done, by the saints.

1. martyria = " martyrdoms." Such a martyrdom was that of Pelagia and her mother and sisters, upon whom, for having thrown themselves into the river to escape pollution, Ambrose, widely dissenting from A.'s condemnation of all suicide, pronounced so moving an eulogy (" De Virginibus," iii. 7, pp. 183-4; and " Epist.," xxxvii. 38-39, p. 939 Ad Simplicianum).

2. sicut de Samsone—whose self-destruction, with the destruction of his enemies, may (as A. suggests i. 21 B) have been due to a secret Divine inspiration.

3. quia hoc Abraham, etc. The principle of an immediate Divine command, as A. here enunciates it, takes Scriptural characters, to a large extent, out of the category of examples; but it does not remove the apparent contrariety between the Divine command and the law or sense of human morality.

4. Nam et miles, etc. Cp. " De Lib. Arbitr.," i. 11 and 12 (v.).

5. qualibet = *quacunque*, as i. 22 C; but some MSS. read *qua*.

6. unde punitur, etc. = " The cause of his punishment, if he acted not under command, will itself be the cause of his punishment if he fails to act under command."

quanto magis iubente Creatore! Qui ergo audit non licere se occidere, faciat, si iussit cuius non licet iussa contemnere; tantummodo uideat utrum diuina iussio nullo nutet incerto.

(D) Nos [7]per aurem conscientiam conuenimus, occultorum nobis iudicium non usurpamus. *[8]*Nemo scit quid agatur in homine nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est.* Hoc dicimus, hoc adserimus, hoc modis omnibus adprobamus, neminem spontaneam mortem sibi inferre debere [9]uelut fugiendo molestias temporales, ne incidat in perpetuas; neminem propter aliena peccata, ne hoc ipse incipiat habere grauissimum proprium, quem non polluebat alienum; neminem propter sua peccata praeterita, propter quae magis hac uita opus est, ut possint paenitendo sanari; neminem uelut desiderio uitae melioris, quae post mortem speratur, quia reos suae mortis melior post mortem uita non suscipit.

CAPUT XXVII.

AN PROPTER DECLINATIONEM PECCATI MORS SPONTANEA ADPETENDA SIT.

(A) Restat una causa, de qua dicere coeperam, qua utile putatur ut se quisque interficiat, scilicet ne in peccatum inruat uel blandiente uoluptate uel dolore saeuiente. Quam causam si uoluerimus admittere, eo usque progressa perueniet, ut hortandi sint homines tunc se potius interimere, cum †[1]lauacro sanctae regenerationis abluti uniuersorum remissionem acceperint peccatorum. Tunc enim tempus est cauendi omnia futura peccata, cum sunt omnia deleta praeterita.

(B) Quod si morte spontanea recte fit, quur non tunc potissimum fit? Quur baptizatus sibi quisque parcit? Quur liberatum caput tot rursus uitae huius periculis inserit, cum sit facillimae potestatis inlata sibi nece omnia deuitare scriptumque sit: ‡*Qui amat periculum,*

7. per aurem conscientiam conuenimus = "We address the conscience through the ear"—*i.e.*, we can learn what is the state of a man's conscience only in so far as he speaks to us or we to him about it. For *conuenire* cp. ii. 4 A.

8. Nemo scit, etc. = *τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ* (1 Cor. ii. 11).

9. uelut fugiendo = "under the plea of escaping."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Whether it is right to have recourse to suicide as a means of avoiding sin.

1. lauacro sanctae regenerationis—a phrase taken from St. Paul's *λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας*. A. frequently uses it; he understood by *λουτρόν*, and rightly understood, not "washing" (A.V. and R.V.), but "laver" (R.V. marg.) or "font." He holds a strong doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

* 1 Cor. ii. 11. † Tit. iii. 5. ‡ Ecclus. iii. 26.

incidet in illud? Quur ergo amantur tot et tanta pericula uel certe, etiamsi non amantur, suscipiuntur, cum manet in hac uita, cui abscedere licitum est?

(c) An uero tam insulsa peruersitas cor euertit et a consideratione ueritatis auertit, ut, si se quisque interimere debet, ne unius captiuantis dominatu conruat in peccatum, uiuendum sibi existimet, ut ipsum perferat mundum per omnes horas tentationibus plenum, et talibus, qualis sub uno domino formidatur, et innumerabilibus ceteris, sine quibus haec uita non ducitur? Quid igitur causae est, quur in eis exhortationibus tempora consumamus, quibus baptizatos adloquendo studemus accendere siue ad uirginalem integritatem siue ad continentiam uidualem siue ad ipsam tori coniugalis fidem, cum habeamus meliora et ab omnibus peccandi periculis remota [2]conpendia, ut, quibuscumque post remissionem recentissimam peccatorum adripiendam mortem sibique ingerendam persuadere potuerimus, eos ad Dominum saniores purioresque mittamus?

(d) Porro si quisquis hoc adgrediendum et suadendum putat, non dico desipit, sed insanit: qua tandem fronte homini dicit: "Interfice te, ne paruis tuis peccatis adicias grauius, dum uiuis sub domino barbaris moribus inpudico," qui non potest nisi sceleratissime dicere: "Interfice te peccatis tuis omnibus absolutis, ne rursus talia uel etiam peiora committas, dum uiuis in mundo tot inpuris uoluptatibus inlecebroso, tot nefandis crudelitatibus furioso, tot [3]erroribus et terroribus inimico"? Hoc quia nefas est dicere, nefas est profecto se occidere. Nam si hoc sponte faciendi ulla causa iusta esse posset, procul dubio iustior quam ista non esset. Quia uero nec ista est, ergo nulla est.

CAPUT XXVIII.

QUO IUDICIO DEI IN CORPORA CONTINENTIUM LIBIDO HOSTILIS PECCARE PERMISSA SIT.

(a) Non itaque uobis, o fideles Christi, sit taedio uita uestra, si ludibrio fuit hostibus castitas uestra. Habetis magnam ueramque consolationem, si fidam conscientiam retinetis non uos consensisse peccatis eorum, qui in uos peccare permissi sunt. Quod si forte, quur permissi sint, quaeritis, alta quidem est prouidentia Creatoris mundi adque rectoris, **et inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius et inuestigabiles uiae eius;* uerum tamen interrogate fideliter animas uestras,

2. **compendia**="short cuts."

3. **erroribus et terroribus**—one of A.'s favourite assonances. See Appendix B.

* Rom. xi. 33.

ne forte de isto integritatis et continentiae uel pudicitiae bono uos inflatius extulistis et humanis laudibus [1]delectatae [2]in hoc etiam aliquibus inuidistis.

(B) Non accuso quod nescio, nec audio quod nobis interrogata uestra corda respondent. Tamen si ita esse responderint, nolite admirari [3]hoc uos amisisse, unde hominibus placere gestiistis, [4]illud uobis remansisse, quod ostendi hominibus non potest. Si peccantibus non consensistis, diuinae gratiae, ne amitteretur, diuinum accessit auxilium; humanae gloriae, ne amaretur, humanum successit obprobrium. In utroque consolamini, pusillanimes, illinc probatae hinc castigatae, illinc iustificatae hinc emendatae.

(C) Quarum uero corda interrogata respondent numquam se de bono uirginitatis uel uiduitatis uel coniugalis pudicitiae superbiisse, sed *humilibus consentiendo de dono Dei cum tremore exultasse, nec inuidisse cuiquam paris excellentiam sanctitatis et castitatis, sed humana laude postposita, [5]quae tanto maior deferri solet, quanto est bonum rarius quod exigit laudem, optasse potius ut amplior earum numerus esset, quam ut ipsae in paucitate amplius eminerent: nec istae, quae [6]tales sunt, si earum quoque aliquas barbarica libido conpressit, permissum hoc esse causentur, nec ideo Deum credant [7]ista neglegere, quia permittit quod nemo inpune committit.

(D) Quaedam enim ueluti [8]pondera malarum cupiditatum et per occultum praesens diuinum iudicium relaxantur et manifesto ultimo reseruantur. Fortassis autem istae, quae bene sibi sunt consciae non se ex isto castitatis bono cor inflatum extulisse, et tamen uim hostilem in carne perpessae sunt, habebant aliquid

CHAPTER XXVIII.

What was the Divine judgment by which the lust of enemies was permitted to work its sinful will upon the bodies of the chaste.

1. delectatae. The feminine shows the *fideles Christi*, whom A. apostrophises, to be *sanctimoniales*, "nuns."

2. in hoc etiam aliquibus inuidistis. in hoc—*sc.* virginity or chastity, as appears below: *inuidisse cuiquam paris excellentiam sanctitatis et castitatis.* A.'s suggestion is that the virgin who had lost her chastity, although not by any fault of her own, would feel envious of others who had not lost theirs.

3. hoc . . . amisisse—*sc.* virginity or chastity.

4. illud . . . remansisse—*sc.* the love of virginity or chastity.

5. quae tanto maior deferri solet, etc. = "which is wont to be more abundantly paid in proportion to the rarity of the good which demands it."

6. tales—chaste, but not envious or vainglorious because of their chastity.

7. ista—*sc.* the qualities implied in *tales*.

8. pondera malarum cupiditatum . . . relaxantur = "aggravated evil desires are let loose."

* Rom. xii. 16.

latentis infirmitatis, quae posset in superbiae fastum, si hanc humilitatem in uastatione illa euasissent, extolli. Sicut ergo quidam morte rapti sunt, ne *malitia mutaret intellectum eorum, ita quiddam ab istis ui raptum est, ne prosperitas mutaret modestiam earum. Utrisque igitur, quae de carne sua, quod turpem nullius esset perpessa contactum, uel iam superbiebant uel superbire, si nec hostium uiolentia contrectata esset, forsitan poterant, non ablata est castitas, sed humilitas persuasa; illarum tumori [9]succursum est inmanenti, istarum occursum est inminenti.

(E) Quamquam et illud non sit tacendum, quod quibusdam, quae ista perpessae sunt, potuit uideri continentiae bonum [10]in bonis corporalibus deputandum et tunc manere, si nullius libidine corpus adtrectaretur; non esse autem positum in solo adiuto diuinitus robore uoluntatis, ut sit sanctum et corpus et spiritus; nec tale bonum esse, quod inuito animo non possit auferri; qui error eis fortasse sublatus est. Cum enim cogitant, qua conscientia Deo seruierint, et fide inconcussa non de illo sentiunt, quod ita sibi seruientes eumque inuocantes deserere ullo modo potuerit, quantumque illi castitas placeat dubitare non possunt, uident esse consequens nequaquam illum fuisse permissurum, ut haec acciderent sanctis suis, si eo modo perire posset sanctitas, quam contulit eis et diligit in eis.

CAPUT XXIX.

QUID FAMILIA CHRISTI RESPONDERE DEBEAT INFIDELIBUS, CUM EXPROBRANT, QUOD EAM A FURORE HOSTIUM NON LIBERAVERIT CHRISTUS.

(A) Habet itaque omnis [1]familia summi et ueri Dei consolationem suam, non fallacem nec in spe rerum nutantium uel labentium constitutam, uitamque etiam ipsam temporalem minime paenitendam, in qua eruditur ad aeternam, bonisque terrenis tamquam peregrina utitur nec capitur, malis autem aut probatur aut emendatur. Illi uero, qui probitati eius insultant eique dicunt, cum forte in aliqua temporalia mala deuenerit: †*Ubi est Deus tuus ?* ipsi

9. succursum est inmanenti . . . occursum est inminenti. A characteristic play on words or sounds. See Appendix B.

10. in bonis corporalibus deputandum = "to be reckoned among goods of the body."

CHAPTER XXIX.

What should be the reply of the household of Christ to the taunt of unbelievers that Christ did not deliver the household from the fury of their enemies.

1. familia—in A. = "family" in the Christian sense, although Christians could never forget that they were the slaves of Jesus Christ: τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε (1 Cor. vii. 20). Cp. *redempta familia Domini Christi* (i. 35 A); *famulatum deditum Christo* (ii. 2 A); *Christi famuli* (ii. 19 D). *Familia* retains its pagan sense of "slaves" (vi. 3 E).

* Wisdom, iv. 11. † Ps. xlii. 3; lxxix. 10; cxv. 2.

dicant, ubi sint di eorum, cum talia patiuntur, pro quibus euitandis eos uel colunt uel colendos esse contendunt.

(B) Nam [2]ista respondet: Deus meus ubique praesens, ubique totus, [3]nusquam inclusus, qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus; ille cum me aduersis rebus exagitat, aut merita examinat aut peccata castigat mercedemque mihi aeternam pro toleratis pie malis temporalibus seruat; uos autem qui estis, [4]cum quibus loqui dignum sit [5]saltem de dis uestris, quanto minus de Deo meo, qui **terribilis est [6]super omnes deos, quoniam di gentium, daemonia, Dominus autem caelos fecit?*

CAPUT XXX.

QUAM PUDENDIS PROSPERITATIBUS AFLUERE VELINT, QUI DE CHRISTIANIS TEMPORIBUS CONQUERUNTUR.

(A) Si [1]Nasica ille Scipio uester quondam pontifex uiueret, quem sub terrore belli Punici in suscipiendis Phrygiis sacris, cum uir optimus quaereretur, uniuersus senatus elegit, cuius os fortasse non auderetis aspicere, ipse uos ab hac inpudentia cohiberet. Quur enim adflicti rebus aduersis de temporibus querimini Christianis, nisi quia uestram luxuriam cupitis habere securam et perditissimis moribus remota omni molestiarum asperitate [2]diffluere?

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2. ista—sc. *familia summi et ueri Dei.*

3. nusquam inclusus = *immensus* in the *Quicumque Vult.*

4. cum quibus loqui dignum sit = "that we should deign to speak with you."

5. saltem de dis uestris = "even about your own gods."

6. super omnes deos = *ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς θεούς* (LXX). A.'s argument against his pagan adversaries is briefly this: Your gods are gods of the present world; it is for worldly ends such as safety, riches, fortune, that you pay them honour; but these they do not give you, and there is nothing more that they can give. But the God of the Christians does not promise worldly blessings, and He uses the losses and sufferings of the world to discipline human souls for eternity. Thus persecution itself, which you deplore and resent, as feeling that your gods, if they do not avert it, have played you false, may be to Christians an evidence of Divine favour.

CHAPTER XXX.

How shameful are the forms of prosperity and luxury desired by those who complain of the Christian dispensation.

1. Nasica ille Scipio—P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (= "the long-nosed," a descriptive epithet which was hereditary among the Scipios) was Consul B.C. 191. It was B.C. 204, when the issue of the Second Punic War was still in the balance, that the statue of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, the mother of the gods, was transported from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome, for the deliverance of the State; and Scipio, although *adolescens nondum quaestorius* (Livy, xxix. 14), was, in accordance with a command of the Delphic Oracle, chosen as the man, who in the judgment of his fellow-citizens deserved the title of "the best citizen," to receive the statue upon its arrival at Ostia. Cp. ii. 5 A; 18 B. The choice of Scipio was made by the Senate, *sacris* as A. says (i. 31 B). Cp. Cic., "De Harusp. Respons.," xiii. 27. By *Phrygiis* are meant the rites of Cybele. Cp. ii. 4 B.

2. diffluere—a word often used by A. to signify dissolute conduct—*e.g.*, ii. 20 C; vii. 9 C; xxi. 25 G. In much the same sense the simple *fluere* is used (i. 33 B).

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* Ps. xcvi. 4, 5.

(B) Neque enim propterea cupitis habere pacem et omni genere copiarum abundare, ut his bonis honeste utamini, hoc est modeste sobrie, temperanter, pie, sed ut infinita uarietas uoluptatum insanis effusionibus exquiratur, secundisque rebus ea mala oriantur in moribus, quae saeuientibus peiora sunt hostibus. At ille Scipio pontifex maximus uester, ille iudicio totius senatus uir optimus, istam uobis metuens calamitatem [3]nolebat aemulam tunc imperii Romani Carthaginem dirui et decernenti ut dirueretur contradicebat [4]Catoni, timens infirmis animis hostem securitatem, et tamquam pupillis ciuibus idoneum tutorem necessarium uidens esse terrorem.

(C) Nec eum sententia fefellit: re ipsa probatum est quam uerum diceret. [5]Deleta quippe Carthagine magno scilicet terrore Romanae rei publicae depulso et extincto tanta de rebus prosperis orta mala continuo subsecuta sunt, ut corrupta diruptaque concordia prius saeuis cruentisque [6]seditionibus, deinde mox malarum conexione causarum [7]bellis etiam ciuilibus tantae strages ederentur, tantus sanguis effundereter, tanta cupiditate proscriptionum ac rapinarum ferueret inmanitas, ut Romani illi, qui uita integriore mala metuebant ab hostibus, perdita integritate uitae crudeliora paterentur a ciuibus; eaque ipsa libido dominandi, quae inter alia uitia generis humani meracior inerat uniuerso populo Romano, [8]postea quam in paucis potentioribus uicit, obtritos fatigatosque ceteros etiam iugo seruitutis obpressit.

CAPUT XXXI.

QUIBUS VITIORUM GRADIBUS AUCTA SIT IN ROMANIS CUPIDO REGNANDI.

(A) Nam quando [1]illa quiesceret in superbissimis mentibus, donec continuatis honoribus ad potestatem regiam peruenirent?

3. nolebat . . . Carthaginem dirimi. It would seem that A. has confused Scipio Nasica, the father, who was chosen to receive the statue of Cybele, with Scipio Nasica, the son, called, because of his remarkable legal acumen, Corculum, who opposed both the destruction of Carthage and the construction of the first theatre in Rome. See note on i. 31 B.

4. Catoni—the famous Censor who was wont to conclude every speech which he made in the Senate, whatever its object or occasion might be, with the words *Delenda est Carthago*.

5. Deleta quippe Carthagine, etc. A.'s historical judgment is confirmed by Sallust ("Jugurth.," 41); and Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," ii. 1).

6. seditionibus—under the Gracchi.

7. bellis etiam ciuilibus—the wars of Marius and Sylla, Caesar and Pompey, Octavius and Brutus and Cassius.

8. postea quam in paucis potentioribus uicit—"when it had won its victory in a few men of exceptional power."

CHAPTER XXXI.

By what progressive steps in vice the lust of empire was increased among the Romans.

1. illa—sc. *libido dominandi*.

Honorum porro continuandorum facultas non esset, nisi ambitio praeualeret. Minime autem praeualeret ambitio, nisi in populo auaritia luxuriaque corrupto. Auarus uero luxuriosusque populus secundis rebus effectus est, quas Nasica ille prouidentissime cauendas esse censebat, quando ciuitatem hostium maximam, fortissimam, opulentissimam nolebat auferri, ut timore libido premeretur, libido pressa non luxuriaretur, luxuriaque cohibita nec auaritia grassaretur; quibus uitiis obseratis ciuitati utilis uirtus floreret et cresceret eique uirtuti libertas congrua permaneret.

(B) Hinc etiam erat et ex hac prouidentissima patriae caritate ueniebat, quod idem ipse uester pontifex maximus, a senatu illius temporis (quod saepe dicendum est) electus sine ulla sententiarum discrepantia uir optimus, [2]caueam theatri senatum construere molientem ab hac dispositione et cupiditate conpescuit persuasitque oratione grauissima, ne Graecam luxuriam uirilibus patriae moribus paterentur obrepere et ad uirtutem labefactandam eneruandamque Romanam peregrinae [3]consentire nequitiae, tantumque auctoritate ualuit, ut uerbis eius commota senatoria prouidentia etiam [4]subsellia quibus ad horam congestis in ludorum spectaculo iam uti ciuitas coeperat, deinceps prohiberet adponi.

(C) Quanto studio iste ab urbe Roma ludos ipsos scaenicos abstulisset, si auctoritati eorum, quos deos putabat, resistere auderet, quos esse noxios daemones non intellegebat aut, [5]si intelle-

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2 caueam theatri, etc. It was B.C. 155 that P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum persuaded the Senate in his second Consulship to pull down the pit or body (*cauea*) of the first stone theatre which had been partly erected in Rome. *Cum locatum a censoribus theatrum exstrueretur, P. Cornelio Nasica auctore tamquam inutile et nociturum publicis moribus ex S.C. destructum est, populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectauit* (Livy xlviii., "Frag.," 48). Cp. Valerius Maximus ("De Fact. Dict. Memorab," ii. 42 B); but he says that all the *apparatus* of the projected theatre was sold by auction. Appian ("Rom. Hist.," i. 28) tells the story of the destruction of the theatre, but gives as the reason for it: ὡς καὶ τότε στασιῶν ἄρξον ἑτέρων ἢ οὐ χρήσιμον ὅλως Ἑλληνικαῖς ἡδυπαθείαις Ῥωμαίους ἐθίζεσθαι. This Scipio was Pontifex Maximus, B.C. 150. See note on i. 30 A. A. plainly confuses the elder and the younger Scipios. Just a century later, B.C. 53, the first stone theatre in Rome was completed by Pompey.

3. consentire. The reading is correct in grammar, but the sense demands *consentirent* (which possesses little authority in the MSS.); and it is probable that A. expressed himself carelessly.

4. subsellia . . . prohiberet adponi. Cp. *populus . . . stans ludos spectauit* (Livy *supra*). A. does not assert or imply the complete destruction of the theatre.

5. si intellegebat. A. seems to have doubted (not without good reason) if the creed of paganism had been or could be honestly accepted by enlightened pagans. It is evident that he regarded the pagan deities, not as mere phantoms of the mind or impersonations of natural objects, but as actual demons (*noxios daemones*) or evil spirits. Cp. such passages of his as *inmundi spiritus deorum nomine decipientes* (ii. 4 D); *maligni spiritus quos isti deos putant* (ii. 10 B); *inmundissimos spiritus et malignissimos ac fallacissimos daemones* (iv .1 B). Cp. ii. 25 C; 29 D; vii. 33 A, etc. His references to Scipio Nasica's moral energy in reform (ii. 5 and to

gebat, placandos etiam ipse potius quam contemnendos existimabat! Nondum enim fuerat declarata gentibus superna doctrina, quae fide cor mundans ad caelestia uel supercaelestia capessenda humili pietate humanum mutaret adfectum et a dominatu superborum daemonum liberaret.

CAPUT XXXII.

DE SCAENICORUM INSTITUTIONE LUDORUM.

(A) Verum tamen scitote, qui ista nescitis, et qui uos scire dissimulatis, aduertite, qui aduersus [1]liberatorem a talibus dominis murmuratis: [2]ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia uanitatum, non hominum uitiis, sed [3]deorum uestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt. Tolerabilius diuinos honores deferretis illi Scipioni quam deos huius modi coleretis. Neque enim erant illi di suo pontifice meliores. Ecce adtendite, si mens tam diu potatis erroribus ebria uos aliquid sanum cogitare permittit. Di propter sedandam corporum pestilentiam ludos sibi scaenicos exhiberi iubebant; pontifex autem propter animorum cauendam pestilentiam ipsam scaenam constitui prohibebat. Si aliqua luce mentis animum corpori praeponitis, eligite quem colatis.

(B) Neque enim et illa corporum pestilentia ideo conquieuit, quia populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus adsueto ludorum scaenicorum delicata subintrauit insania; sed astutia spirituum nefandorum praeuidens illam pestilentiam iam fine debito cessaturam aliam longe grauiorem, qua plurimum gaudet, ex hac occasione non corporibus, sed moribus curauit inmittere, quae animos miserorum tantis obcaecauit tenebris, tanta foedauit deformitate, ut etiam modo (quod incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris

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Varro's theological system (vi. 2 and 6) are equally expressive of his attitude towards the pagan faith and worship. In vi. "Praef.," he moderates his language so far as to speak of the *multi dei et falsi* in whom the pagans believed as *inutilia simulacra uel inmundi spiritus et perniciosa daemonia uel certe creaturae.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the institution of scenic entertainments.

1. liberatorem a talibus dominis—*sc.* God.

2. ludi scaenici. A. agrees with the fathers of the Church generally in his unsparing condemnation of the stage. See Appendix C. The *ludi scaenici*, he says, *ingrauescente pestilentia . . . auctoritate pontificum Romae primitus instituti sunt* (ii. 8 A). It is worth while, perhaps, to quote Livy's statement (vii. 2): *Et cum uis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope diuina leuaretur, uictis superstitione animis, ludi quoque scaenici, noua res bellicoso populo (nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat) inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur.*

3. deorum uestrorum iuisse—seems = *auctoritate pontificum* (ii. 8 A). Cp. *uelut diuino testimonio* (ii. 5 C; also ii. 13 A).

audietur) Romana urbe uastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit adque inde fugientes Carthaginem peruenire potuerunt, in theatris cottidie certatim [4]pro histrionibus insanirent.

CAPUT XXXIII.

DE VITIIS ROMANORUM, QUOS PATRIAE NON CORREXIT EVERSIO.

(A) [1]O mentes amentes ! quis est hic tantus non error, sed furor, ut exitium uestrum, sicut audiuimus, [2]plangentibus orientalibus populis et maximis ciuitatibus in remotissimis terris publicum luctum maeroremque ducentibus uos theatra quaereretis, intraretis, inpleretis, et multo insaniora quam fuerant antea faceretis ? Hanc animorum labem ac pestem, hanc probitatis et honestatis euersionem uobis Scipio ille metuebat, quando construi theatra prohibebat, quando rebus prosperis uos facile corrumpi adque euerti posse cernebat, quando uos securos esse ab hostili terrore nolebat.

(B) Neque enim censebat ille felicem esse rem publicam stantibus moenibus, ruentibus moribus. Sed in uobis plus ualuit quod daemones inpii seduxerunt, quam quod homines prouidi praecauerunt. Hinc est quod mala, quae facitis, uobis inputari non uultis, mala uero, quae patimini, Christianis temporibus inputatis. Neque enim in uestra securitate pacatam rem publicam, sed luxuriam quaeritis inpunitam, qui deprauati rebus prosperis nec corrigi potuistis aduersis. Volebat uos ille Scipio terreri ab hoste, ne in luxuriam [3]flueretis : nec contriti ab hoste luxuriam repressistis, perdidistis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis et pessimi permansistis.

CAPUT XXXIV.

DE CLEMENTIA DEI, QUAE URBIS EXCIDIUM TEMPERAVIT.

(A) Et tamen quod uiuitis Dei est, qui uobis parcendo admonet, ut corrigamini paenitendo; qui uobis etiam ingratis praestitit,

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4. pro histrionibus insanirent. If A. does not exaggerate, the love of stage-plays among the Romans who had fled to Carthage during the Gothic invasion of Italy (*etiam modo*), equalled and actually surpassed the love which kept the theatres open in Paris through the worst days of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the vices of the Romans which were not reformed by the overthrow of their country.

1. O mentes amentes = " O minds out of their minds !" See Appendix B.

2. plangentibus orientalibus populis. Jerome describes the effect created by the news of the Fall of Rome upon the Eastern world (" Epist.," cxxvii. 12 Ad Principiam) and upon himself (" Epist.," cxxvi. 2 Ad Marcellinum et Anapsychiam).

3. flueretis. *Fluere* in the sense which usually belongs to *diffluere*. See note on i. 30 A. Translate *in luxuriam flueretis*, " became luxurious and dissolute."

ut uel [1]sub nomine seruorum eius uel in [2]locis martyrum eius hostiles manus euaderetis. [3]Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur, quo quisquis confugeret ab omni noxa liber esset, augere quaerentes creandae multitudinem ciuitatis. Mirandum in honorem Christi processit exemplum. Hoc constituerunt euersores Urbis, quod constituerant antea conditores. Quid autem magnum, si hoc fecerunt[4] illi, ut ciuium suorum numerus subpleretur, quod fecerunt [5]isti, ut suorum hostium numerositas seruaretur ?

CAPUT XXXV.

DE LATENTIBUS INTER INPIOS ECCLESIAE FILIIS ET DE FALSIS INTRA ECCLESIAM CHRISTIANIS.

(A) Haec et talia, si qua uberius et commodius potuerit, respondeat inimicis suis [1]redemta familia domini Christi et [2]peregrina ciuitas regis Christi. Meminerit sane in ipsis inimicis latere ciues futuros, ne infructuosum uel aput ipsos putet, quod, donec perueniat ad confessos, portat infensos; [3]sicut ex illorum numero etiam Dei ciuitas habet secum, quamdiu peregrinatur in mundo, conexos communione sacramentorum, nec secum futuros in aeterna sorte sanctorum, qui partim in occulto, partim in aperto sunt, qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis aduersus Deum, [4]cuius sacramentum gerunt,

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the Divine clemency which moderated the destruction of the city.

1. sub nomine seruorum eius—*i.e.*, by professing to be Christians. See note on i. 1 C.

2. locis martyrum eius. See note on i. 1 B.

3. Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur—Livy (i. 8) describes the original asylum in the words: *Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an seruus esset, auida nouarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit.* A. often treats the *asylum* as typical of the deliverance wrought for humanity by Jesus Christ—*e.g.*, ii. 29 B: *cuius (patriae) quodam modo asylum est uera remissio peccatorum* (v. 17 E) *remissio peccatorum, quae ciues ad aeternam collegit patriam, habet aliquid cui per umbram simile fuit asylum illud Romuleum.*

4. illi—the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus.

5. isti—the destroyers of Rome, the Goths under Alaric.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of the sons of the Church who are hidden among the ungodly and of the false Christians within the Church.

1. redemta familia, etc. Christians are both slaves or servants of Christ as their Master, and citizens of the State of which He is King.

2. peregrina. See note on 1 "Praef.," A.

3. sicut ex illorum, etc.—in accordance with the parable of the wheat and the tares. Cp. *Perplexae . . . sunt istae duae ciuitates in hoc saeculo inuicemque permixtae,* below.

4. cuius sacramentum gerunt—means undoubtedly "whose soldiers they are"; but it is not so clear whether *sacramentum* is here the soldier's oath or, rather, as *gerunt* suggests, some object associated with the soldier's oath. For *sacramentum*

murmurare non dubitant, modo cum illis theatra, modo ecclesias nobiscum replentes.

(B) De correctione autem quorundam etiam talium multo minus est desperandum, si aput apertissimos aduersarios praedestinati amici latitant, adhuc ignoti etiam sibi. [5]Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae ciuitates in hoc saeculo inuicemque permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur; de quarum exortu et procursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum diuinitus adiuuabor, expediam propter gloriam ciuitatis Dei, quae alienis a contrario comparatis clarius eminebit.

CAPUT XXXVI.

DE QUIBUS CAUSIS SEQUENTI DISPUTATIONE SIT DISSERENDUM.

(A) Sed adhuc mihi quaedam dicenda sunt aduersus eos, qui Romanae rei publicae clades in religionem nostram referunt, qua [1]dis suis sacrificare prohibentur. Commemoranda sunt enim [2]quae et quanta occurrere potuerint uel satis esse uidebuntur mala, quae illa ciuitas pertulit uel ad eius imperium prouinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent; quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam uel illis clareret nostra religio, uel ita eos [3]a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet.

(B) Deinde monstrandum est, quos eorum mores et quam ob causam Deus uerus ad augendum imperium adiuuare dignatus est, in cuius potestate sunt regna omnia, quamque nihil eos adiuuerint hi, quos deos putant, et potius quantum decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint.

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in A.'s use may mean anything which is regarded with a feeling of solemn and almost sacred awe; and *sacramentum gerere* is not a natural phrase for "to take (or 'to have taken') the oath." The best translation is perhaps, "under whose colours they serve." A.'s various uses of *sacramentum* are exemplified in the note on iv. 33 B.

5. Perplexae . . . istae duae ciuitates. See Appendix A, where the impossibility of drawing a sharp line in the present world (*in hoc saeculo*) between the City of God and the city of earth is shown to be an essential element in A.'s conception as expounded in the whole book *D.C.D.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Of the matters to be discussed in the following treatise.

1. dis suis sacrificare prohibentur—by the law of Constantine according to Eusebius ("Vit. Constant.," ii. 44 and 45; iv. 43); also Nicephorus Callistus ("Eccles. Hist.," vii. 46, p. 54); and of his sons according to Theodoret ("Eccles. Hist.," v. 20).

2. qui et quanta, etc. = "what and how serious are the evils which have actually occurred or as many of those evils as shall seem to be sufficient."

3. a sacris sacrilegis. The same epigrammatic phrase, an oxymoron, occurs in a passage much like this (iv. 2 A). Perhaps *mentes amentes* (i. 33 A) is the closest parallel to it. See Appendix B.

(c) Postremo[4] aduersus eos dicetur, qui manifestissimis documentis confutati adque conuicti conantur adserere non propter uitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam, quae post mortem futura est, colendos deos. Quae, nisi fallor, quaestio multo erit operosior et subtiliore disputatione dignior, ut et contra philosophos in ea disseratur, non quoslibet, sed qui aput illos excellentissima gloria clari sunt et [5]nobiscum multa sentiunt, et de animae inmortalitate et quod Deus uerus mundum condiderit et de prouidentia eius, qua uniuersum quod condidit regit. Sed quoniam et ipsi in illis, quae contra nos sentiunt, refellendi sunt, deesse huic officio non debemus, ut refutatis inpiis contradictionibus pro uiribus, quas Deus impertiet, adseramus ciuitatem Dei ueramque pietatem et Dei cultum, in quo uno ueraciter sempiterna beatitudo promittitur. Hic itaque modus sit huius uoluminis, ut [6]deinceps disposita ab alio sumamus exordio.

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4. aduersus eos, etc.—a position essentially foreign to paganism as also to Judaism before the Captivity.

5. nobiscum multa sentiunt. A. is thinking of Plato and the Neo-Platonists.

6. deinceps disposita = "the points next in order."

LIBER II

CAPUT I.

DE MODO, QUI NECESSITATI DISPUTATIONIS ADHIBENDUS EST.

(A) Si rationi perspicuae ueritatis [1]infirmus humanae consuetudinis sensus non auderet obsistere, sed doctrinae salubri languorem suum tamquam medicinae subderet, donec diuino adiutorio fide pietatis inpetrante sanaretur, non multo sermone opus esset ad conuincendum quemlibet uanae opinationis errorem his, qui recte sentiunt et sensa uerbis sufficientibus explicant.

(B) Nunc uero quoniam ille est maior et taetrior insipientium morbus animorum, quo inrationabiles motus suos, etiam post rationem plene redditam, quanta homini ab homine debetur, siue nimia caecitate, qua nec aperta cernuntur, siue obstinatissima peruicacia, qua et ea quae cernuntur non feruntur, tamquam ipsam rationem ueritatemque defendunt, fit necessitas copiosius dicendi plerumque res claras, uelut eas non spectantibus intuendas, sed quodam modo tangendas palpantibus et coniuentibus offeramus. Et tamen quis disceptandi finis erit et loquendi modus, si respondendum esse respondentibus semper existimemus ?

(C) Nam qui uel non possunt intellegere quod dicitur, uel tam duri sunt aduersitate mentis, ut, etiamsi intellexerint, non oboediant, respondent, ut scriptum est, et *loquuntur iniquitatem adque infatigabiliter uani sunt. Quorum dicta contraria si totiens uelimus refellere, quotiens obnixa fronte statuerint non cogitare quid dicant, dum quocumque modo nostris disputationibus contradicant, quam sit infinitum et aerumnosum et infructuosum uides. Quam ob rem nec te ipsum, [2]fili Marcelline, nec alios, quibus hic labor noster in Christi caritate utiliter ac liberaliter seruit, tales meorum scriptorum uelim iudices, qui responsionem semper desiderent, cum his quae leguntur audierint aliquid contradici, ne fiant similes

CHAPTER I.

Of the limit to be set to the necessary length of the treatise.

1. infirmus humanae consuetudinis sensus—"the infirmity of sense which is usually found in man."

2. fili Marcelline—*fili carissime Marcelline* (1 "Praef.," A). See Introduction, pp. viii.-x.

* Ps. xciv. 4.

earum [3]muliercularum, quas commemorat apostolus **semper discentes et numquam [4]ad ueritatis scientiam [5]peruenientes.*

CAPUT II.

DE HIS, QUAE PRIMO VOLUMINE EXPEDITA SUNT.

(A) Superiore itaque libro, cum de ciuitate Dei dicere instituissem, unde hoc uniuersum opus illo adiuuante in manus sumtum est, occurrit mihi resistendum esse primitus eis, qui haec bella, quibus mundus iste conteritur, maximeque Romanae urbis [1]recentem a barbaris uastationem Christianae religioni tribuunt, qua prohibentur nefandis sacrificiis seruire daemonibus, cum potius hoc tribuere deberent Christo, quod propter eius nomen contra institutum moremque bellorum eis, quo confugerent, religiosa et amplissima loca barbari libera praebuerunt, adque in multis [2]famulatum deditum Christo non solum uerum, sed [3]etiam timore confictum sic honorauerunt, ut, quod in eos belli iure fieri licuisset, inlicitum sibi esse iudicarent.

(B) Inde incidit quaestio, quur haec diuina beneficia et ad inpios ingratosque peruenerint, et quur itidem illa dura, quae hostiliter facta sunt, pios cum inpiis pariter adflixerint ? Quam quaestionem per multa diffusam (in omnibus enim cottidianis uel Dei muneribus uel hominum cladibus, quorum utraque bene ac male uiuentibus permixte adque indiscrete saepe accidunt, solet multos mouere) ut pro suscepti operis necessitate dissoluerem, aliquantum inmoratus sum, maxime [4]ad consolandas sanctas feminas et pie castas, in quibus ab hoste aliquid perpetratum est, quod intulit uerecundiae dolorem, etsi non abstulit pudicitiae firmitatem, ne paeniteat eas uitae, [5]quas non est unde possit paenitere nequitiae.

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3. muliercularum. For A.'s use of diminutives see note on "Graeculorum" (i. 4 B).

4. ad ueritatis scientiam=εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.

5. peruenientes=ἐλθεῖν ἐυνάμενα.

CHAPTER II.

Of the contents of Book I.

1. recentem a barbaris uastationem—perhaps four years before. See note on i. 7 A. The *D.C.D.* is full of allusions to Alaric's sack of Rome.

2. famulatum deditum Christo. See note on i. 29 A.

3. etiam timore confictum -because there were pagans who sought safety by professing themselves Christians. See note on i. 1 D.

4. ad consolandas sanctas feminas—the nuns (*sanctimoniales*); Cp. i. 16 A.

5. quas non est unde possit paenitere nequitiae="when there can be no possible reason why they should feel sorry for having done wrong."

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* 2 Tim. iii. 7.

(c) Deinde pauca dixi in eos, qui Christianos aduersis illis rebus adfectos et praecipue pudorem humiliatarum feminarum quamuis castarum adque sanctarum proteruitate inpudentissima exagitant, cum sint nequissimi et inreuerentissimi, longe ab eis ipsis Romanis degeneres, quorum praeclara multa laudantur et litterarum memoria celebrantur, immo illorum gloriae uehementer aduersi. Romam quippe partam uctcrum auctamque laboribus foediorem stantem fecerant quam ruentem, quando quidem in ruina eius lapides et ligna, in istorum autem uita omnia [6]non murorum, sed morum munimenta adque ornamenta ceciderunt, cum funestioribus eorum corda cupiditatibus quam ignibus tecta illius urbis arderent.

(d) Quibus dictis primum terminaui librum. Deinceps itaque dicere institui, quae mala ciuitas illa perpessa sit ab origine sua siue aput se ipsam siue in prouinciis sibi iam subditis, quae omnia Christianae religioni tribuerent, si iam tunc euangelica doctrina aduersus falsos et fallaces eorum deos testificatione liberrima personaret.

CAPUT III.

DE ADSUMENDA HISTORIA, QUA OSTENDATUR, QUAE MALA ACCIDERINT ROMANIS, CUM DEOS COLERENT, ANTEQUÁM RELIGIO CHRISTIANA OBCRESCERET.

(a) Memento autem me ista commemorantem adhuc contra inperitos agere, ex quorum inperitia illud quoque ortum est uulgare prouerbium: [1]Pluuia defit, causa Christiani sunt. Nam qui eorum studiis liberalibus instituti amant historiam, facillime ista nouerunt; sed ut nobis ineruditorum turbas infestissimas reddant, [2]se nosse dissimulant adque hoc aput uulgus confirmare nituntur, clades,

6. non murorum, sed morum. Cp. *Stantibus moenibus . . . ruentibus moribus* (i. 33 b).

CHAPTER III.

Of calling in history to show what evils happened to the Romans, when they were worshippers of the gods, before the rival growth of the Christian religion.

1. Pluuia defit, causa Christiani sunt. A. refers to this proverb frequently—*e.g.*, "Enarr. in Psalm" lxxx., n. 1. Cp. the well-known passage of Tertullian: *Si Tiberis descendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arua, si caelum stetit, si terra mouit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem* ("Apol.," 40). Arnobius ("Ad Gentes," i. 1-27) elaborates a defence of the Christians against the calumny of their pagan enemies.

2. se nosse dissimulant. If there is any particular man in A.'s mind, he may not improbably be Symmachus, the pagan statesman and soldier, who made unsuccessful appeals for the restoration of pagan worship, first to the Emperor Gratian (A.D. 382), and then to the Emperor Valentinian (A.D. 384). The second of his appeals was resisted by Ambrose ("Epist.," 18, a letter addressed to the Emperor Valentinian). The best statement of the case as put forward by Symmachus is contained in Ambrose's 17th Epistle. In reply to him Orosius, at the instance of A. himself, wrote his History.

quibus per certa interualla locorum et temporum genus humanum oportet adfligi, causa accidere nominis Christiani, quod contra deos suos ingenti fama et praeclarissima celebritate per cuncta diffunditur.

(B) Recolant ergo nobiscum, antequam Christus uenisset in carne, antequam eius nomen ea, cui frustra inuident, gloria populis innotesceret, quibus calamitatibus res Romanae multipliciter uarieque contritae sint, et in his defendant, si possunt, deos suos, si propterea coluntur, ne ista mala patiantur cultores eorum; quorum si quid nunc passi fuerint, nobis inputanda esse contendunt. Quur enim ea, quae dicturus sum, permiserunt accidere cultoribus suis, antequam eos declaratum Christi nomen offenderet eorumque sacrificia prohiberet ?

CAPUT IV.

QUOD CULTORES DEORUM NULLA UMQUAM A DIS SUIS PRAECEPTA PROBITATIS ACCEPERINT ET IN SACRIS EORUM TURPIA QUAEQUE CELEBRAVERINT.

(A) Primo ipsos mores ne pessimos haberent, quare di eorum curare noluerunt ? Deus enim uerus eos, a quibus non colebatur, merito neglexit; di autem illi, a quorum cultu se prohiberi homines ingratissimi conqueruntur, cultores suos ad bene uiuendum quare nullis legibus adiuuerunt ? Utique dignum erat, ut, quo modo isti illorum sacra, ita illi istorum facta curarent. Sed respondetur, quod uoluntate propria quisque malus est. Quis hoc negauerit ? Verum tamen pertinebat ad consultores deos uitae bonae praecepta non occultare populis cultoribus suis, sed clara praedicatione praebere, per uates etiam [1]conuenire adque arguere peccantes, palam minari poenas male agentibus, praemia recte uiuentibus polliceri.

(B) Quid umquam tale in deorum illorum templis prompta et eminenti uoce concrepuit ? [2]Veniebamus etiam nos aliquando adulescentes ad spectacula ludibriaque sacrilegiorum, spectabamus [3]arrepticios, audiebamus [4]synphoniacos, ludis turpissimis, qui dis

CHAPTER IV.

That the worshippers of the gods have never received from their gods any moral precepts, and in celebrating the worship of their gods have performed every kind of immorality.

1. conuenire = "address." Cp. i. 26 D.

2. Veniebamus . . . ad spectacula. Cp. "Confess.," iii. 2. *Rapiebant me spectacula theatrica*, says A., speaking of his life at Carthage, when he was a young man of seventeen or eighteen years.

3. arrepticios = "fanatics," a word which occurs in Vulg. (Jer. xxix. 26): *ut sis dux in domo Domini super omnem uirum arrepticium et prophetantem* (προφητεύοντι καὶ . . . μαινομένῳ, LXX). It is the etymological equivalent of ἐπίληπτος. An Oriental fakir or dervish is exactly ἐπίληπτος or *arrepticius*. The reference is probably to the priests of Cybele in particular.

4. synphoniacos = "choir."

deabusque exhibebantur, oblectabamur, [5]Caelesti uirgini et [6]Berecynthiae matri omnium, ante cuius lecticam [7]die sollemni lauationis eius talia per publicum cantitabantur a nequissimis scaenicis, qualia, non dico matrem deorum, sed matrem qualiumcumque senatorum uel quorumlibet honestorum uirorum, immo uero qualia nec matrem ipsorum scaenicorum deceret audire. Habet enim quiddam erga parentes humana uerecundia, quod nec ipsa nequitia possit auferre.

(C) Illam proinde turpitudinem obscenorum dictorum adque factorum scaenicos ipsos domi suae [8]proludendi causa coram matribus suis agere puderet, quam per publicum agebant coram deum matre spectante adque audiente utriusque sexus frequentissima multitudine. Quae si inlecta curiositate adesse potuit circumfusa, saltem offensa castitate debuit abire confusa.

(D) Quae sunt sacrilegia, si illa sunt sacra ? aut quae inquinatio, si illa lauatio ? Et haec [9]fercula appellabantur, quasi celebraretur conuiuium, quo uelut suis epulis inmunda daemonia pascerentur. Quis enim non sentiat cuius modi spiritus talibus obscenitatibus delectentur, nisi uel nesciens, utrum omnino sint ulli inmundi spiritus deorum nomine decipientes, uel talem agens uitam, in qua istos potius quam Deum uerum et optet propitios et formidet iratos ?

5. Caelesti uirgini—a divinity worshipped in Africa and especially at Carthage. See Tertullian ("Apol.," 24). A. makes frequent reference to her—*e.g.*, ii. 26 D; "Enarr. in Psalm" lxii. 7 and xcviii. 14. In one of his Sermons (iv. 9), he says: *Carthago in nomine Christi manet, et olim euersa est Caelestis, quia non fuit caelestis sed terrestris.* Prosper of Aquitaine, if he wrote "e Essay ascribed to him on the Destruction of Pagan Idols and Temples, relates the fall of the temple of the *Virgo Caelestis* at Carthage ("De Promiss. et Praedict. Dei," iii. 38); but the Essay is probably spurious.

6. Berecynthiae matri—*sc.* Cybele, the mother of the gods, whose title was derived from Berecynthus, the seat of her worship in Phrygia. Cp. *mater Phrygia* (x. 16 F); *Phrygia sacra* (i. 30 A).

7. die sollemni lauationis. According to Livy the statue of Cybele, when it was brought to Rome (see note on i. 30 A), arrived there on the day before the Ides of April (April 12th); that day was therefore made her festival day; and every year, as the day came round, her statue was ceremoniously bathed at the junction of the little tributary stream the Almon with the Tiber, not far from Rome. See Ovid. ("Fast.," iv. 337-56); Lucan ("Phars.," i. 599-600).

8. proludendi causa="at a rehearsal."

9. fercula. A. plays upon the two meanings of the word: (1) litters (= *lecticae* above) used for carrying images of gods or goddesses; (2) dishes. A *lectisternium* would correspond with both meanings (ii. 11 C).

CAPUT V.

DE OBSCENITATIBUS, QUIBUS MATER DEUM A CULTORIBUS SUIS HONORABATUR.

(A) Nequaquam istos, qui flagitiosissima consuetudinis uitiis [1]oblectari magis quam obluctari student, sed illum ipsum [2]Nasicam Scipionem, qui uir optimus a senatu electus est, cuius manibus [3]eiusdem daemonis simulacrum susceptum est in Urbemque peruectum, habere de hac re iudicem uellem. Diceret nobis, utrum matrem suam tam optime de re publica uellet mereri, ut ei diuini honores decernerentur; sicut et Graecos et Romanos aliasque gentes constat quibusdam decreuisse mortalibus, quorum erga se beneficia magnipenderant, eosque inmortales factos adque [4]in deorum numerum receptos esse crediderant. Profecto ille tantam felicitatem suae matri, si fieri posset, optaret.

(B) Porro si ab illo deinde quaereremus, utrum inter eius diuinos honores uellet illa turpia celebrari: nonne se malle clamaret, ut sua mater sine ullo sensu mortua iaceret, quam ad hoc dea uiueret, ut illa libenter audiret? Absit ut senator populi Romani ea mente praeditus, qua theatrum aedificari in urbe fortium uirorum prohibuit, sic uellet coli matrem suam, ut talibus dea sacris propitiaretur, qualibus matrona uerbis offenderetur. Nec ullo modo crederet uerecundiam laudabilis feminae ita in contrarium diuinitate mutari, ut honoribus eam talibus aduocarent cultores sui, qualibus conuiciis in quempiam iaculatis, cum inter homines uiueret, nisi aures clauderet seseque subtraheret, erubescerent pro illa et propinqui et maritus et liberi.

(C) Proinde talis mater deum, qualem habere matrem puderet quemlibet etiam pessimum uirum, Romanas occupatura mentes quaesiuit optimum uirum, non quem monendo et adiuuando faceret, sed quem fallendo deciperet, ei similis de qua scriptum est: **Mulier autem uirorum pretiosas animas captat*, ut ille magnae indolis animus hoc uelut diuino testimonio [5]sublimatus et uere se optimum

CHAPTER V.

Of the obscenities with which the mother of the gods was honoured by her worshippers.

1. oblectari . . . quam obluctari —"to be content rather than contentious."

2. Nasicam Scipionem. See note on i. 30 A.

3. eiusdem daemonis—*sc.* Cybele.

4. in deorum numerum receptos. Cp. Cicero's words: *Suscepit autem uita hominum consuetudoque communis ut beneficiis excellentes uiros in caelum fama ac uoluntate tollerent* ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 24, 62).

5. sublimatus—seems clearly to be the true reading, although Cod. Corb. gives *subleuatus*, which would mean "supported."

* Prov. vi. 26.

existimans ueram pietatem religionemque non quaereret, sine qua omne quamuis laudabile ingenium superbia uanescit et decidit. Quo modo igitur nisi insidiose quaereret dea illa optimum uirum, cum talia quaerat in suis sacris, qualia uiri optimi abhorrent suis adhibere conuiuiis ?

CAPUT VI.

DEOS PAGANORUM NUMQUAM BENE VIVENDI SANXISSE DOCTRINAM.

(A) [1]Hinc est quod de uita et moribus ciuitatum adque populorum a quibus colebantur illa numina non curarunt, ut tam horrendis eos et detestabilibus malis non in agro et uitibus, non in domo adque pecunia, non denique in ipso corpore, quod menti subditur, sed in ipsa mente, in ipso rectore carnis animo, eos inpleri ac pessimos fieri sine ulla sua terribili prohibitione permitterent. Aut si prohibebant, hoc ostendatur potius, hoc probetur.

(B) Nec nobis nescio [2]quos susurros paucissimorum auribus anhelatos et arcana uelut religione traditos iactent, quibus uitae probitas castitasque discatur; sed demonstrentur uel commemorentur loca talibus aliquando conuenticulis consecrata, non ubi ludi agerentur obscenis uocibus et motibus histrionum, nec ubi [3]Fugalia celebrantur effusa omni licentia turpitudinum (et uere Fugalia, sed pudoris et honestatis); sed ubi populi audirent quid di praeciperent de cohibenda auaritia, ambitione frangenda, luxuria refrenanda, ubi discerent miseri, quod discendum Persius increpat dicens:

*Discite, o miseri, et causas cognoscite rerum,
Quid sumus et [4]quidnam uicturi gignimur, ordo
Quis datus aut metae qua mollis flexus et unde,
Quis modus argenti, quid fas optare, quid [5]asper
Utile nummus habet, patriae carisque propinquis
Quantum largiri deceat, quem te Deus esse
Iussit et humana qua parte locatus es in re.

CHAPTER VI.

That the gods of the pagans have never inculcated morality.

1. Hinc est quod = "This is the reason that."

2. quos susurros, etc.—in reference to the esoteric doctrine which was sometimes believed, and oftener asserted, to lie behind the rites of paganism—*e.g.*, behind the Eleusinian mysteries. Cp. *uelut secretior eorum doctrina* (ii. 15 A). A. speaks of it in the same terms as here (ii. 26 F). There is an interesting chapter upon the esoteric side of Roman religion in Macrobius ("Saturn.," iii. 9).

3. Fugalia—a festival commemorative of the expulsion of the kings from Rome, commonly known as *Regifugium*. The date of it was February 24th. Cp. Ovid., "Fast.," ii. 685-6:

Nunc dicenda mihi regis fuga. Traxit ab illa
Sextus ab extremo nomina mense dies.

4. quidnam uicturi gignimur = "what is the object of the life into which we are born."

5. asper. Vives understands by *asper nummus*, "coin fresh from the mint." So

* "Sat.," iii. 66-72.

(c) Dicatur in quibus locis haec docentium deorum solebant praecepta recitari et a cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri, sicut nos ostendimus ad hoc ecclesias institutas, quaqua uersum religio Christiana diffunditur.

CAPUT VII.

INUTILIA ESSE INVENTA PHILOSOPHICA SINE AUCTORITATE DIVINA, UBI QUEMQUE AD VITIA PRONUM MAGIS MOVET QUID DI FECERINT, QUAM QUID HOMINES DISPUTARINT.

(a) An forte nobis philosophorum scholas disputationesque memorabunt? Primo haec non Romana, sed Graeca sunt; aut si propterea iam Romana, quia et [1]Graecia facta est Romana prouincia, non deorum praecepta sunt, sed hominum inuenta, qui utcumque conati sunt ingeniis acutissimis praediti ratiocinando uestigare, [2]quid in rerum natura latitaret, [3]quid in moribus adpetendum esset adque fugiendum, [4]quid in ipsis ratiocinandi regulis certa conexione [5]traheretur, aut quid non esset consequens uel etiam repugnaret.

(b) Et quidam eorum quaedam magna, quantum diuinitus adiuti sunt, inuenerunt; quantum autem humanitus inpediti sunt, errauerunt, maxime cum eorum [6]superbiae iuste prouidentia diuina resisteret, ut uiam pietatis ab humilitate in superna surgentem etiam istorum conparatione monstraret; unde [7]postea nobis erit in Dei ueri Domini uoluntate disquirendi ac disserendi locus. Verum tamen si philosophi aliquid inuenerunt, quod agendae bonae uitae beataeque adipiscendae satis esse possit: quanto iustius talibus diuini honores decernerentur!

Conington (on Pers., 1 c) says: "Possibly Persius may mean, What is the good of money hoarded up and not circulated (*tritus*)?" But the meaning may be only "coin of the realm," which would be "rough" as being stamped, in contrast with *argentum* or plate.

CHAPTER VII.

The philosophical theories, apart from a divine sanction, are valueless, as every man, being disposed to vice, is influenced more by the actions of the gods than by the arguments of men.

1. Graecia facta est Romana prouincia—probably B.C. 146, after the capture of Corinth by Mummius. The province was known as Achaia. But it may not have been actually constituted a province until the time of Julius Caesar.

2. quid in rerum natura, etc.—"Physics."

3. quid in moribus, etc.—"Ethics."

4. quid in ipsis ratiocinandi regulis, etc.—"Logic."

5. quid traheretur="what was a necessary induction."

6. superbiae—the inherent vice of the world according to A. Cp. 1 "Praef.," B.

7. postea. The reference is not to any particular passage, but to the general argument of the books (VIII.-XII.) in which A. discusses the systems or ideas of pagan philosophy and sets them in contrast with Christianity.

(c) Quanto melius et honestius in Platonis templo libri eius legerentur, quam in templis daemonum [8]Galli absciderentur, molles consecrarentur, insani secarentur, et quidquid aliud uel crudele uel turpe, uel turpiter crudele uel crudeliter turpe in sacris talium deorum celebrari solet! Quanto satius erat ad erudiendam iustitia iuuentutem publice recitari leges deorum quam laudari inaniter leges adque instituta maiorum! Omnes enim cultores talium deorum, mox ut eos libido perpulerit *feruenti, ut ait Persius, tincta ueneno, magis intuentur quid Iuppiter fecerit, quam quid docuerit Plato uel censuerit Cato.

(d) Hinc aput Terentium flagitiosus adulescens spectat [9]tabulam quandam pictam in pariete,

†ubi inerat pictura haec, Iouem
Quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum,

adque ab hac tanta auctoritate adhibet patrocinium turpitudini suae, cum in ea se iactat imitari deum.

At quem deum!

inquit;

qui templa caeli summo sonitu concutit.
Ego homuncio id non facerem? Ego uero illud feci ac libens.

CAPUT VIII.

DE LUDIS SCAENICIS, IN QUIBUS DI NON OFFENDUNTUR EDITIONE SUARUM TURPITUDINUM, SED PLACANTUR.

(a) At enim non traduntur ista sacris deorum, sed fabulis poetarum. Nolo dicere illa mystica quam ista theatrica esse turpiora; hoc dico, quod negantes conuincit historia, eosdem illos ludos, in quibus regnant figmenta poetarum, non per inperitum obsequium

8. Galli—the priests of Cybele, called Galli (it is said) after the little river Gallus in Galatia; for its waters which they drank produced upon them an intoxicating effect. See Ovid. ("Fast.," iv. 361-66). The Galli were eunuchs (*molles*). It is worth while to quote the whole sentence of Persius, if only for its sonorous and impressive final verse.

"*Magne Pater diuom, saeuos punire tyrannos*
Haud alia ratione uelis, cum dira libido
Mouerit ingenium, feruenti tincta ueneno,
Virtutem uideant, intabescantque relicta."

Prudentius evinces the Christian horror of the mutilation practised upon the Galli ("Peristeph." x.; "Passio S. Romani Martyris," vv. 196-200).

9. tabulam quandam. Dods refer to Dionysius of Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," ii. 20) and Seneca ("De Breu. Vit.," 16) as authors who realised the pernicious influence of pagan theology upon morals. But A.'s allusion to painting as a possible source of demoralisation is best illustrated by the famous passage of Plato's "Republic" (iii. 401 a.-d).

* "Sat.," iii. 36, 37. † "Eun.," iii. 5, 36, 37, 42, 43.

sacris deorum suorum intulisse Romanos, sed ipsos deos, ut sibi sollemniter ederentur et honori suo consecrarentur, acerbe imperando et quodam modo extorquendo fecisse; quod in *primo libro breui commemoratione perstrinxi. Nam ingrauescente pestilentia [1]ludi scaenici auctoritate pontificum Romae primitus instituti sunt.

(B) Quis igitur in agenda uita non ea sibi potius sectanda arbitretur, quae actitantur ludis auctoritate diuina institutis, quam ea, quae scriptitantur legibus humano consilio promulgatis? Adulterum Iouem si poetae fallaciter prodiderunt, di utique casti, quia tantum nefas per humanos ludos confictum est, non quia neglectum, irasci ac uindicare debuerunt. Et haec sunt scaenicorum tolerabiliora ludorum, comoediae scilicet et tragoediae, hoc est fabulae poetarum agendae in spectaculis multa rerum turpitudine, sed nulla saltem, sicut alia multa, uerborum obscenitate conpositae; [2]quas etiam inter studia, quae honesta ac liberalia uocantur, pueri legere et discere coguntur a senibus.

CAPUT IX.

QUID ROMANI VETERES DE COHIBENDA POETICA LICENTIA SENSERINT, QUAM GRAECI DEORUM SECUTI IUDICIUM LIBERAM ESSE VOLUERUNT.

(A) Quid hinc autem senserint Romani ueteres, [1]Cicero testatur in libris, quos de re publica scripsit, ubi Scipio disputans ait:

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the theatrical entertainments in which the gods are not offended but are propitiated by the exhibition of their own immoralities.

1. ludi scaenici. See notes on i. 32 A and C.

2. quas etiam inter studia, etc. It is one of the strange results arising from the twofold character of the movement which began in the fifteenth century to be known on its spiritual side as the Reformation and on its intellectual side as the Renaissance, that the higher education in the best educated countries of Europe, and nowhere more conspicuously than in Great Britain, came to be largely, if not almost wholly, based upon the study of classical pagan literature. It is evident that A. would have felt surprised at the almost complete dissociation of Christian schools from Christian books, except the Bible. The *studia quae honesta ac liberalia uocantur* might, he would say, produce gentlemen and scholars; but they could scarcely be expected to produce Christians. In his account of his own training in the Classics, A. dwells upon the disagreeableness or the infructuousness as much as upon the demoralising tendency of the lessons which he was forced to learn ("Confess.," i. 12-14); and in one passage (i. 16-25) he almost repeats what he has said here (ii. 7 C and D).

CHAPTER IX.

What was the opinion of the ancient Romans as to the duty of restraining the poetical license which the Greeks, in accordance with the judgment of the gods, wished to be unrestrained.

1. Cicero testatur. Cicero's treatise "De Re Publica" is now sadly incomplete; but, apart from the MS. discovered by Cardinal Mai in the Vatican Library, a

* i. 32.

*Numquam comoediae, nisi consuetudo uitae pateretur, probare sua theatris flagitia potuissent. Et Graeci quidem antiquiores uitiosae suae opinionis quandam [2]conuenientiam seruarunt, aput quos fuit etiam lege concessum, ut [3]quod uellet comoedia, de quo uellet, nominatim diceret. Itaque, sicut in cisdem libris loquitur [4]Africanus, quem illa non adtigit, uel potius quem non uexauit ? cui pepercit ?

(B) Esto, populares homines inprobos, in re publica seditiosos, [5]Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum laesit. Patiamur, inquit, etsi eius modi ciues a censore melius est quam a poeta [6]notari. Sed Periclen, cum iam suae ciuitati maxima auctoritate plurimos annos domi et belli praefuisset, uiolari uersibus et eos agi in scaena non plus decuit, quam si [7]Plautus, inquit, noster uoluisset aut [8]Naeuius Publio et Gn. Scipioni aut [9]Caecilius [10]Marco Catoni maledicere.

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good many fragments of it remain as quoted by A., especially in *D.C.D.*, and by other authors both pagan and Christian. It seems to have been a treatise in six books. All that is known about it will be found in Teuffel's "History of Roman Literature," vol. i., § 173.

2. conuenientiam = "consistency," as in ii. 11 A.

3. quod uellet comoedia. A. refers to the Old Comedy, the comedy of Cratinus and Eupolis and, in the main, of Aristophanes. See Horace, "Sat.," i. 4, 1-4.

4. Africanus—the younger Scipio Africanus, who is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's "De Re Publica."

5. Cleonem, Cleophontem, Hyperbolum—Athenian demagogues (of whom Cleon is the best known), all alike objects of attack in the plays of Aristophanes, especially the "Acharnians" and the "Knights."

6. notari—a technical word relating to the Censor's office; cp. *notatio censoria* (v. 18 N). The *nota censoria* was a black mark affixed by the Censors to the name of a bad citizen in Rome.

7. Plautus—the great comic poet, of whose 130 plays, written between B.C. 224 and 184, only 20 survive.

8. Naeuius—the senior contemporary of Plautus. In his comedies he attacked the aristocracy of Rome, and especially the family of the Metelli, with great bitterness. Hence the familiar Saturnian line:

Dabunt malum Metelli Naeuio poetae.

It would seem that, so far as A.'s knowledge went, Naeuius had not made an attack upon the Scipios. But Aulus Gellius asserts, or suggests, that he did not spare Scipio Africanus Major ("Noct. Att.," vi. 8). A. mentions the two Scipios, Publius and Gnaeus, again (ii. 12 B). If the former was Africanus Major, the latter was probably his uncle, the conqueror of the Insubrians (B.C. 222). According to Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Att.," iii. 3), Naevius was thrown into prison at Rome *ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in principes ciuitatis de Graecorum poetarum more dicta.*

9. Caecilius—Statius Caecilius mentioned by Horace ("Epist.," ii. 159): *Vincere Caecilius grauitate, Terentius arte.* He wrote as many as forty plays, but only a few fragments of them remain. The plays were called *palliatae* as being adaptations of Greek comedies to Roman life. Caecilius, who may be regarded as standing in dramatic composition between Plautus and Terence, died B.C. 168. Jerome ("Interpr. Chron. Euseb. Olymp.," 150) speaks of Statius Caecilius as a *comoediarum scriptor* of high repute.

10. Marco Catoni—the Censor.

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* "De Re Publ.," iv. 10, 33.

(C) Deinde paulo post: "Nostrae, inquit, contra [11]duodecim tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putauerunt, si quis [12]occentauisset siue carmen condidisset, quodi nfamiam faceret flagitiumue alteri. Praeclare. Iudiciis enim magistratuum, disceptationibus legitimis propositam uitam, non poetarum ingeniis habere debemus, nec probrum audire nisi ea lege, ut respondere liceat et iudicio defendere." Haec ex Ciceronis quarto de re publica libro [13]ad uerbum excerpenda arbitratus sum, nonnullis propter faciliorem intellectum uel praetermissis uel paululum commutatis.

(D) Multum enim ad rem pertinent, quam molior explicare, si potero. Dicit deinde alia et sic concludit hunc locum, ut ostendat ueteribus displicuisse Romanis uel laudari quemquam in scaena uiuum hominem uel uituperari. Sed, ut dixi, hoc Graeci quamquam inuerecundius, tamen conuenientius licere uoluerunt, cum uiderent dis suis accepta et grata esse obprobria non tantum hominum, uerum et ipsorum deorum in scaenicis fabulis, siue a poetis essent illa conficta, siue flagitia eorum uera commemorarentur et agerentur in theatris adque ab eorum cultoribus utinam solo risu, ac non etiam imitatione digna uiderentur. Nimis enim superbum fuit famae parcere principum ciuitatis et ciuium, ubi suae famae parci numina noluerunt.

CAPUT X

QUA NOCENDI ARTE DAEMONES VELINT VEL FALSA DE SE CRIMINA VEL VERA NARRARI.

(A) Nam quod adfertur pro defensione, non illa uera in deos dici, sed falsa adque conficta, id ipsum est scelestius, si pietatem consulas religionis; si autem malitiam daemonum cogites, quid astutius ad decipiendum adque callidius? Cum enim probrum iacitur in principem patriae bonum adque utilem, nonne tanto est indignius, quanto a ueritate remotius et a uita illius alienius? Quae igitur supplicia sufficiunt, cum deo fit ista tam nefaria, tam insignis iniuria?

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11 duodecim tabulae. See Table VIII. in Wordsworth's "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin," pp. 259 and 526. The mode of death prescribed for libel was known technically as *fustuarium* (in Greek *ξυλοκοπία*), the process of being beaten or clubbed to death. Cp. Horace ("Epist.," ii. 1, 150-56).

12. occentauisset="had composed a pasquinade"; for the verb denotes the singing of such songs, or perhaps the publishing of such verses, as were composed by or in the name of the notorious Italian tailor Pasquino in the fifteenth century.

13. ad uerbum excerpenda. A. is the sole authority for the quotation here made from Cicero's "De Re Publica"; his word must therefore be taken as a guarantee of its accuracy.

(B) Sed[1] maligni spiritus, quos isti deos putant, etiam flagitia, quae non admiserunt, de se dici uolunt,[2] dum tamen humanas mentes his opinionibus uelut retibus induant et ad praedestinatum supplicium secum trahant, siue homines ista commiserint, quos deos haberi gaudent, [3]qui humanis erroribus gaudent, pro quibus se etiam colendos mille nocendi fallendique artibus interponunt; siue etiam non ullorum hominum illa crimina uera sint, quae tamen de numinibus fingi libenter accipiunt fallacissimi spiritus, ut ad scelesta ac turpia perpetranda uelut ab ipso caelo traduci in terras satis idonea uideatur auctoritas.

(C) Cum igitur Graeci talium numinum seruos se esse sentirent, inter tot et tanta eorum theatrica obprobria parcendum sibi a poetis nullo modo putauerunt, uel dis suis etiam sic consimilari adpetentes, uel metuentes, ne honestiorem famam ipsi requirendo et eis se hoc modo praeferendo illos ad iracundiam prouocarent.

CAPUT XI.

DE SCAENICIS APUT GRAECOS IN REI PUBLICAE ADMINISTRATIONEM RECEPTIS, EO QUOD PLACATORES DEORUM INIUSTE AB HOMINIBUS SPERNERENTUR.

(A) Ad hanc conuenientiam pertinet, quod etiam scaenicos actores earundem fabularum non paruo ciuitatis honore dignos existimarunt, si quidem, quod *in eo quoque de re publica libro commemoratur, [1]Aeschines Atheniensis, uir eloquentissimus, cum adulescens tra-

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CHAPTER X.

How the daemons in order to injure mankind are clever enough to let crimes, whether false or true, be ascribed to themselves.

1. maligni spiritus, quos isti deos putant—sc. *daemones*. See note on i. 31 c. Cp. ii. 22 A.

2. dum tamen . . uelut retibus induant—"so long as even at this cost"—*i.e.*, by encouraging defamatory charges against themselves—"they may as it were, entangle." So *tamen* below "although they are not crimes which men have committed."

3. qui humanis erroribus gaudent—sc. *maligni spiritus*.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the admission of stage-players to offices of State among the Greeks on the ground that it was unjust that they who propitiated the gods should be contemptuously treated by men.

1. Aeschines. That Aeschines had been an actor is stated by Plutarch ("Orator, Vit.," 10), who says that at one time ὑπογραμματεύων καὶ τριταγωνιστῶν Ἀριστοδήμῳ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις διετέλει, and by Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Attic.," xi. 9). Demosthenes ("De Cor.," §§ 209 and 262) declaims against him as having been not only an actor (ὑποκριτής), but a third-rate actor or an actor of third-rate parts (τριταγωνιστής).

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* iv. 11, 35.

goedias actitauisset, rem publicam capessiuit et [2]Aristodemum, tragicum item actorem, maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum ad Philippum Athenienses saepe miserunt. Non enim consentaneum putabatur, cum easdem artes eosdemque scaenicos ludos etiam dis suis acceptos uiderent, illos, per quos agerentur, infamium loco ac numero deputare.

(B) Haec Graeci turpiter quidem, sed sane dis suis omnino congruenter, qui nec uitam ciuium lacerandam linguis poetarum et histrionum subtrahere ausi sunt, a quibus cernebant deorum uitam eisdem ipsis dis uolentibus et libentibus carpi, et ipsos homines, per quos ista in theatris agebantur, quae numinibus quibus subditi erant grata esse cognouerant, non solum minime spernendos in ciuitate, uerum etiam maxime honorandos putarunt.

(C) Quid enim causae reperire possent, quur sacerdotes honorarent, quia per eos uictimas dis acceptabiles offerebant, et scaenicos probrosos haberent, per quos illam uoluptatem siue honorem dis exhiberi petentibus et, nisi fieret, irascentibus eorum admonitione didicerant? cum praesertim [3]Labeo, quem huiusce modi rerum peritissimum praedicant, numina bona a numinibus malis ista etiam cultus diuersitate distinguat, ut malos deos propitiari caedibus et tristibus supplicationibus adserat, bonos autem obsequiis laetis adque iucundis, qualia sunt, ut ipse ait, ludi, conuiuia, [4]lectisternia.

(D) Quod totum quale sit, [5]postea, si Deus iuuerit, diligentius disseremus. Nunc ad rem praesentem quod adtinet, siue omnibus omnia tamquam bonis permixte tribuantur (neque enim esse decet

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2. Aristodemum—who had also been an actor, according to Aulus Gellius, became also, like Aeschines, a statesman; he was sent first informally and then as one of the ten Commissioners, among whom were Demosthenes and Aeschines, to negotiate peace with Philip of Macedon after the fall of Olynthus (B.C. 347). See Grote, "History of Greece," pt. ii., ch. 89 (vol. xi., pp. 177 and 184). Aulus Gellius tells a story of an encounter of wits between Aristodemus (*actor fabularum*) and Demosthenes ("Noct. Att.," xi. 9).

3. Labeo. There were several well-known persons named Labeo in Roman history—three or four at least—but this is probably M. Antistius Labeo the jurist, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era, B.C. 54 to A.D. 17. He was the founder of one, as Capito of the other, of the two great legal schools at Rome. A. mentions him elsewhere—*e.g.*, iii. 25 B. There are, however, passages in which reference is apparently made to Cornelius Labeo, whose writings are more or less known from Macrobius; and of him A. must, I suppose, be thinking in ii. 14 C; viii. 13 D; ix. 19 A, etc. But A. does not distinguish the two Labeos—Antistius and Cornelius—and they may have been the same person. In Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography" the distinction between Antistius and Cornelius Labeo is scarcely made out. Servius (on Virg., "Aen.," iii. 168) speaks of Labeo's books *de diis animalibus, in quibus ait esse quaedam sacra quibus animae humanae uertantur in deos qui appellantur animales.*

4. lectisternia—"feasts of the gods," in which their images were placed on couches and plates of viands set before them. Cp. iii. 17 F, where A. explains the word.

5. postea, si Deus iuuerit. The promise is not, I think, fulfilled.

deos malos, [6]cum potius isti, [7]qui inmundi sunt spiritus, omnes sint mali), siue certa discretione, sicut Labeoni uisum est, illis illa, istis ista distribuantur obsequia, conpetentissime Graeci utrosque [8]honori ducunt, et sacerdotes, per quos uictimae ministrantur, et scaenicos, per quos ludi exhibentur, ne uel omnibus dis suis, si et ludi omnibus grati sunt, uel, quod est indignius, his, quos bonos putant, si ludi ab eis solis amantur, facere conuincantur iniuriam.

CAPUT XII.

QUOD ROMANI AUFERENDO LIBERTATEM POETIS IN HOMINES, QUAM DEDERUNT IN DEOS, MELIUS DE SE QUAM DE DIS SUIS SENSERINT.

(A) At Romani, sicut in illa de re publica disputatione Scipio gloriatur, probris et iniuriis poetarum subiectam uitam famamque habere noluerunt, [1]capite etiam sancientes, tale carmen condere si quis auderet. Quod erga se quidem satis honeste constituerunt, sed erga deos suos superbe et inreligiose; quos cum scirent non solum patienter, uerum etiam libenter poetarum probris maledictisque lacerari, se potius quam illos huiusce modi iniuriis indignos esse duxerunt seque ab eis etiam lege munierunt, illorum autem ista etiam sacris sollemnitatibus miscuerunt. Itane tandem, Scipio, laudas hanc poetis Romanis negatam esse licentiam, ut cuiquam obprobrium infligerent Romanorum, cum uideas eos nulli [2]deorum pepercisse uestrorum ?

(B) Itane pluris tibi habenda est existimatio [3]curiae uestrae quam [4]Capitolii, immo Romae unius quam caeli totius, ut linguam maledicam in ciues tuos exercere poetae etiam lege prohiberentur,

6. cum postius isti, etc.—the pagan gods or, rather, the evil spirits whom the pagans regard as gods.

7. qui inmundi sunt spiritus. The MSS. vary between *qui* and *quia; qui* would seem to be slightly preferable.

8. honori ducunt Undoubtedly the true reading, as the MSS. show. The variants *honori dicunt, honore ducunt,* and, above all, *honore dignos ducunt* (which the Benedictine editors adopt) are attempts at getting over a supposed difficulty of construction. But *honori ducere* is good Latin, meaning to "hold in honour" or "treat with honour." Cp. Sallust's *quod apud Numidas honori ducitur* ("Jugurth," ii.) and Cicero's *si quis despicatui ducitur* ("Pro Flac.," 27, 65).

CHAPTER XII.

That the Romans, by depriving the poets of the liberty in the treatment of men which they allow them in the treatment of the gods, have been more respectful of themselves than of their gods.

1. capite etiam sancientes, etc. Cp. ii. 9 c.

2. deorum . . . uestrorum = "the gods of your country."

3. curiae—the house of the Senate.

4. Capitolii—the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

et in deos tuos securi tanta conuicia nullo senatore, nullo censore, nullo principe, nullo pontifice prohibente iacularentur ? Indignum uidelicet fuit, ut [5]Plautus aut Naeuius [6][Publio et] Gn. Scipioni aut Caecilius M. Catoni malediceret, et dignum fuit, ut [7]Terentius uester flagitio Iouis optimi maximi adulescentium nequitiam concitaret ?

CAPUT XIII.

DEBUISSE INTELLEGERE ROMANOS, QUOD DI EORUM, QUI SE TURPIBUS LUDIS COLI EXPETEBANT, INDIGNI ESSENT HONORE DIVINO.

(A) Sed [1]responderet mihi fortasse, si uiueret: Quo modo nos ista inpunita esse nollemus, quae ipsi di sacra esse uoluerunt, cum ludos scaenicos, ubi talia celebrantur, dictitantur, actitantur, et Romanis moribus [2]inuexerunt et suis honoribus dicari exhiberique iusserunt ? Quur non ergo hinc magis ipsi intellecti sunt non esse di ueri nec omnino digni, quibus diuinos honores deferret illa res publica ? Quos enim coli minime deceret minimeque oporteret, si ludos expeterent agendos conuiciis Romanorum, quo modo quaeso colendi putati sunt, quo modo non detestandi spiritus intellecti, qui cupiditate fallendi inter suos honores sua celebrari crimina poposcerunt ?

(B) Itemque Romani, quamuis iam superstitione noxia premerentur, ut illos deos colerent, quos uidebant sibi uoluisse scaenicas turpitudines consecrari, suae tamen dignitatis memores ac pudoris actores talium fabularum nequaquam honorauerunt more Graecorum, sed, sicut aput Ciceronem idem Scipio loquitur, *cum artem ludicram scaenamque totam in probro ducerent, genus id hominum non modo honore ciuium reliquorum carere, sed etiam [3]tribu moueri notatione censoria uoluerunt."

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5. Plautus aut Naeuius. See note on ii. 9 B.

6. [Publio et]. The authority of the MSS. is against these words; if they stand, they bring the passage into verbal agreement with ii. 9 B.

7. Terentius uester. See the quotation in ii. 7 D.

CHAPTER XIII.

That the Romans ought to have understood that their gods who desired to be worshipped with immoral entertainments were unworthy of divine honour.

1. responderet. The subject is Scipio.

2. inuexerunt. Cp. i. 32 B.

3. tribu moueri. In Rome actors were not accounted citizens; they were not enrolled as members of any tribe; and if a Roman citizen went on the stage, his name, as A. here says, was by the Censors struck off the roll of his tribe. See Livy, vii. 2. Tertullian insists in his rhetorical fashion upon the treatment of the theatrical profession, even in his day: *Damnant ignominia et capitis minutione, arcentes curia, rostris, senatu, equite ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul ac ornamentis*

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* "De Re Publ.," iv. 10, 32.

(c) Praeclara sane et Romanis laudibus adnumeranda prudentia; sed uellem se ipsa sequeretur, se imitaretur. Ecce enim recte, quisquis ciuium Romanorum esse scaenicus elegisset, non solum ei nullus ad honorem dabatur locus, uerum etiam censoris nota tribum tenere propriam minime sinebatur. O animum ciuitatis laudis auidum germaneque Romanum! Sed respondeatur mihi: qua consentanea ratione homines scaenici ab omni honore pelluntur, et ludi scaenici deorum honoribus admiscentur? [4]Illas theatricas artes diu uirtus Romana non nouerat, quae si ad oblectamentum uoluptatis humanae quaererentur, uitio morum inreperent humanorum.

(d) Di eas sibi exhiberi petierunt: quo modo ergo abicitur scaenicus, per quem colitur Deus? et theatricae illius turpitudinis qua fronte notatur [5]actor, si adoratur exactor? In hac controuersia Graeci Romanique concertent. Graeci putant recte se honorare homines scaenicos, quia colunt ludorum scaenicorum flagitatores deos; Romani uero hominibus scaenicis nec plebeiam tribum, quanto minus senatoriam curiam dehonestari sinunt. In hac disceptatione huiusce modi ratiocinatio [6]summam quaestionis absoluit. Proponunt Graeci: Si di tales colendi sunt, profecto etiam tales homines honorandi. Adsumunt Romani: Sed nullo modo tales homines honorandi sunt. Concludunt Christiani: Nullo modo igitur di tales colendi sunt.

CAPUT XIV.

MELIOREM FUISSE PLATONEM, QUI POETIS LOCUM IN BENE MORATA URBE NON DEDERIT, QUAM HOS DEOS, QUI SE LUDIS SCAENICIS VOLUERINT HONORARI.

(a) Deinde quaerimus, ipsi poetae talium fabularum conpositores, qui [1]duodecim tabularum lege prohibentur famam laedere

quibusdam ("De Spect.," 22). Macrobius relates that Julius Cæsar at one time compelled the knight Laberius, who was an author of mimes, to appear in one of his own mimes upon the stage, and that Laberius so acutely felt the indignity to which he was subjected as to make a personal attack upon Cæsar from the stage ("Saturn.," ii. 7). Upon the whole subject of the stage see Appendix C.

4. Illas theatricas artes, etc. Livy's account (vii. 2) is that stage-plays were not introduced into Rome until the year of the City 389 (B.C. 364); that they were then introduced from Etruria; and that the *ludiones* began then to be known as *histriones*, a name derived from the Tuscan *hister* = "a stage-player." See note on i. 32 A. Rome then lived as a State nearly 400 years without stage-plays.

5. actor . . . exactor. For this characteristic specimen of A.'s literary style see Appendix B. The *exactor* or *flagitator* is the God who demands the plays.

6. summam quaestionis absoluit = "puts the question in a nutshell."

CHAPTER XIV.

That Plato, who refused poets a place in a well-ordered city, was superior to these gods, who chose to be honoured by theatrical exhibitions.

1. duodecim tabularum lege. See note on ii. 9 C.

ciuium, tam probrosa in deos conuicia iaculantes quur non ut scaenici habeantur inhonesti. Qua ratione rectum est, ut poeticorum figmentorum et ignominiosorum deorum infamentur actores, honorentur auctores ? An forte Graeco [2]Platoni potius palma danda est, qui cum ratione formaret, qualis esse ciuitas debeat, tamquam aduersarios ueritatis poetas censuit urbe pellendos ? Iste uero et deorum iniurias indigne tulit et fucari corrumpique figmentis animos ciuium noluit.

(B) Confer nunc Platonis humanitatem a ciuibus decipiendis poetas urbe pellentem cum deorum diuinitate honori suo ludos scaenicos expetente. Ille, ne talia uel scriberentur, etsi non persuasit disputando, tamen suasit leuitati lasciuiaeque Graecorum; isti, ut talia etiam agerentur, iubendo extorserunt grauitati et modestiae Romanorum. Nec tantum haec agi uoluerunt, sed sibi dicari, sibi sacrari, sibi sollemniter exhiberi. Cui tandem honestius diuinos honores decerneret ciuitas ? utrum Platoni haec turpia et nefanda prohibenti, an daemonibus hac hominum deceptione gaudentibus, quibus ille uera persuadere non potuit ?

(C) Hunc Platonem [3]Labeo [4]inter semideos commemorandum putauit, sicut Herculem, sicut Romulum. Semideos autem heroibus anteponit; sed utrosque inter numina conlocat. Verum tamen istum, quem appellat semideum, non heroibus tantum, sed etiam dis ipsis praeferendum esse non dubito. Propinquant autem Romanorum leges disputationibus Platonis, quando ille cuncta poetica figmenta condemnat, isti autem poetis adimunt saltem in homines maledicendi licentiam; ille poetas ab urbis ipsius habitatione, isti saltem actores poeticarum fabularum remouent a societate ciuitatis; et si contra deos ludorum scaenicorum expeditores aliquid auderent, forte undique remouerent.

(D) Nequaquam igitur leges ad instituendos bonos aut corrigendos malos mores a dis suis possent accipere seu sperare Romani, quos legibus suis uincunt adque conuincunt. Illi enim honori suo deposcunt ludos scaenicos, isti ab honoribus omnibus repellunt homines scaenicos; illi celebrari sibi iubent figmentis poeticis obprobria

2. Platoni. The reference is to such passages as "Republ.," iii., p. 398 A; viii., p. 568 B; x., p. 605 A, p. 607 A. But the latter part of the second and the earlier part of the third book in Plato's "Republic" are mainly occupied with the danger of poetry—*i.e.*, the existent Greek poetry—to public morals. Cp. "Laws" vii. 816 D—817 E.

3. Labeo. See note on ii. 11 D.

4. inter semideos. The Benedictine editors speak of Varro and other authors as recognising three orders of beings, either superhuman or supermen—viz., (1) gods; (2) demi-gods (*semidei*), the children of one divine and one human parent; (3) heroes whose parents were both human. Labeo, however, according to A. *inter numina conlocat* not only the demi-gods, but the heroes as well.

deorum, isti ab obprobriis hominum deterrent inpudentiam poetarum. Semideus autem ille Plato et talium deorum libidini restitit, et ab indole Romanorum quid perficiendum esset ostendit, qui poetas ipsos uel pro arbitrio mentientes uel hominibus miseris quasi deorum facta pessima imitanda proponentes omnino in ciuitate bene instituta uiuere noluit.

(E) Nos quidem Platonem nec deum nec semideum perhibemus, nec ulli sancto angelo summi Dei nec ueridico prophetae nec apostolo alicui nec cuilibet Christi martyri nec cuiquam Christiano homini conparamus; cuius nostrae sententiae ratio Deo prosperante suo loco explicabitur. Sed eum tamen, quando quidem ipsi uolunt fuisse semideum, praeferendum esse censemus, si non Romulo et Herculi (quamuis istum [5]nec fratrem occidisse, [6]nec aliquod perpetrasse flagitium quisquam historicorum uel poetarum dixit aut finxit), certe uel [7]Priapo uel alicui [8]Cynocephalo, postremo uel [9]Febri, quae Romani numina partim peregrina receperunt, partim sua propria sacrauerunt.

(F) Quo modo igitur tanta animi et morum mala bonis praeceptis et legibus uel inminentia prohiberent, uel insita extirpanda curarent di tales, qui etiam seminanda et augenda flagitia curauerunt, talia uel sua uel quasi sua facta per theatricas celebritates populis innotescere cupientes, ut tamquam auctoritate diuina sua sponte nequissima libido accenderetur humana, frustra hoc exclamante Cicerone, qui cum de poetis ageret: *" Ad quos cum accessit, inquit,

5. nec fratrem occidisse—like Romulus.

6. nec aliquod perpetrasse flagitium—like Hercules, whose mythical twelve labours were often deeds of criminal violence.

7. Priapo—the god of fertility, in particular the god who presided over orchards and vineyards. See iv. 11 D. A. often insists upon the indecency of the worship paid to Priapus—*e.g.*, iv. 11 C; vi. 7 B, 9 I; vii. 24 H.

8. Cynocephalo—a deity introduced into Rome from Egypt (iii. 12 B), no doubt the dog-headed Anubis. Lucan (" Phars.," viii. 851-2) says, in reference to the gods of Egypt:

Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin
Semideosque canes.

Cp. *latrator Anubis* (Virg., " Aen.," viii. 698).

9. Febri. A. comments elsewhere (iii. 25 B) upon the building of a temple at Rome *Febri sicut Saluti*. There are also allusions to the goddess Febris (iii. 12 B; iv. 15 B, 23 C). Cicero mentions *Febris fanum in Palatio* (" De Nat. Deor.," iii. 25, 63); and Aelian says: Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ Πυρετοῦ καὶ νεὼν καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσαντο (" Var. Hist.," xii., 11). Cp. Pliny (" Nat. Hist.," ii. 7, 16). Lactantius, who says that the Greeks were wont *alios deos colere ut prosint, alios ne noceant*, adds that the last was always the excuse given by persons *qui mala sua pro diis habent, ut Romani Rubiginem ac Febrem*. (" De Fals. Relig.," i. 20). Valerius Maximus (" Dict· Fact. Memorab.," ii. 5, 6) recounts the building of the three temples of Febris in succession at Rome. A. himself (" Epist.," xvii. 2) gives instances of temples erected to evil powers or influences. It is proper to recognise that in Greece and Rome, as in India, apotheosis was a means of propitiating maleficent, no less than of honouring beneficent, powers.

* " De Re Publ.," iv. 9, 30.

clamor et adprobatio populi quasi cuiusdam magni et sapientis magistri, quas illi obducunt tenebras, quos inuehunt metus, quas inflammant cupiditates !"

CAPUT XV.

QUOD ROMANI QUOSDAM SIBI DEOS NON RATIONE, SED ADULATIONE INSTITUERINT.

(A) Quae autem illic eligendorum deorum etiam ipsorum falsorum ratio ac non potius adulatio est ? quando istum Platonem, quem semideum uolunt, tantis disputationibus laborantem, ne animi malis, quae praecipue cauenda sunt, mores corrumperentur humani, nulla sacra aedicula dignum putarunt, et Romulum suum dis multis praetulerunt, quamuis et ipsum semideum potius quam deum [1]uelut secretior eorum doctrina commendet.

(B) Nam etiam flaminem illi instituerunt, quod sacerdotii genus adeo in Romanis sacris [2]testante apice excelluit, ut [3]tres solos flamines haberent tribus numinibus institutos, Dialem Ioui, Martialem Marti, Quirinalem Romulo. Nam beneuolentia ciuium uelut receptus in caelum [4]Quirinus est postea nominatus. Ac per hoc et Neptuno et Plutoni, fratribus Iouis, et ipsi Saturno, patri eorum, isto Romulus honore praelatus est, ut pro magno sacerdotium, quod Ioui tribuerant, hoc etiam huic tribuerent, et Marti tamquam patri eius forsitan propter ipsum.

CAPUT XVI.

QUOD, SI DIS ULLA ESSET CURA IUSTITIAE, AB EIS ROMANI ACCIPERE DEBUERINT PRAECEPTA VIVENDI POTIUS QUAM LEGES AB ALIIS HOMINIBUS MUTUARI.

(A) Si autem a dis suis Romani uiuendi leges accipere potuissent, non [1]aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus

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CHAPTER XV.

That it was not reason but adulation which led the Romans to originate some of their gods.

1. uelut secretior . . . doctrina—the esoteric doctrine. Coques refers to various authors who all more or less clearly indicate that in Rome at least there were, or were believed to be, secret religious truths not disclosed to the *profanum uulgus;* Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxviii. 2, 4); Plutarch ("Antiqq. Rom.," iv. 62); Valerius Maximus (i. 1, 13).

2. testante apice. Valerius Maximus tells a story of one Sulpicius, presumably a flamen, that *Sulpicio inter sacrificandum apex e capite prolapsus sacerdotium abstulit* (i. 1, 4). No flamen might appear in public without his peaked cap or *apex.*

3. tres solos flamines. See Livy, i. 20.

4. Quirinus. Upon the deification of Romulus as Quirinus see Ovid ("Fast.," ii. 475-80).

CHAPTER XVI.

That, if the gods of Rome had cared at all for justice, the Romans ought to have received rules of living from them rather than to have borrowed laws from other men.

1. aliquot annos—about 300 years (Livy, iii. 31-33).

[2]mutuarentur leges Solonis, quas tamen non ut acceperunt [3]<tenuerunt>, sed meliores et emendatiores facere conati sunt, quamuis [4]Lycurgus Lacedaemoniis leges ex Apollinis auctoritate se instituisse confinxerit, quod prudenter Romani credere noluerunt, propterea non [5]inde acceperunt.

(B) Numa Pompilius, qui Romulo successit, in regnum, quasdam leges, quae quidem regendae ciuitati nequaquam sufficerent, condidisse fertur, qui eis multa etiam sacra constituit; [6]non tamen perhibetur easdem leges a numinibus accepisse. Mala igitur animi, mala uitae, mala morum, quae ita magna sunt, ut his doctissimi eorum uiri [7]etiam stantibus urbibus res publicas perire confirment, di eorum, ne suis cultoribus acciderent, minime curarunt [8][immo uero ut augerentur, sicut supra disputatum est, omni modo curarunt].

CAPUT XVII.

DE RAPTU SABINARUM ALIISQUE INIQUITATIBUS, QUAE IN CIVITATE ROMANA ETIAM LAUDATIS VIGUERE TEMPORIBUS.

(A) An forte populo Romano propterea leges non sunt a numinibus constitutae, quia, sicut Sallustius ait, *" ius bonumque aput eos non legibus magis quam natura ualebat ?" Ex hoc iure ac bono credo [1]raptas Sabinas. Quid enim iustius et melius quam filias alienas fraude spectaculi inductas non a parentibus accipi, sed

2. mutuarentur leges Solonis. The famous mission of the three Roman delegates to Athens, B.C. 454 (which A. mentions again iii. 17 E), is related by Livy (iii. 31, 32). It was the immediate prelude to the promulgation of the Decemviral Twelve Tables, the primary code of Roman law. See Mommsen, " History of Rome," part ii., ch. 6.

3. <tenuerunt>. The word is necessary to the sense and should almost certainly be inserted (although without the authority of the MSS.) in the text. But there are cases where A. seems to omit a word which it is easy to supply in thought. See note on vi. 5 H.

4. Lycurgus—who obtained from Delphi the original ῥῆτραι of the Constitution which he established at Sparta. See Grote, " History of Greece," part ii., ch. 6; vol. ii., p. 345.

5. inde—*sc.* from Sparta.

6. non tamen perhibetur, etc. A. forgets or ignores the spiritual converse of Numa with the nymph Egeria (Livy, i. 12).

7. etiam stantibus urbibus. The Benedictine editors quote a striking passage of Plautus (" Pers.," iv. 4, 5-11). Beside it may be set Sir W. Jones's lines (translated from an Eastern source) beginning " What constitutes a State ?"

8. [immo uero ut augerentur, etc.]—a clause which should be omitted alike on external and internal grounds; for it lacks the authority of the best MSS., and it impairs, instead of enhancing, the force of the sentence which it concludes.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the rape of the Sabine women and other iniquities which flourished in the Roman State even during its palmy days.

1. raptas Sabinas. See Livy, i. 9.

* " Catil.," 9.

ui, ut quisque poterat, auferri ? Nam si [2]inique facerent Sabini negare postulatas, quanto fuit iniquius rapere non datas ? Iustius autem bellum cum ea gente geri potuit, quae filias suas ad matrimonium conregionalibus et confinalibus suis negasset petitas, quam cum ea, quae repetebat ablatas.

(B) Illud ergo potius fieret; ibi Mars filium suum pugnantem iuuaret, ut coniugiorum negatorum armis ulcisceretur iniuriam, et eo modo ad feminas, quas uoluerat, perueniret. Aliquo enim fortasse iure belli iniuste negatas iuste uictor auferret; nullo autem iure pacis non datas rapuit et iniustum bellum cum earum parentibus iuste suscensentibus gessit. [3]Hoc sane utilius feliciusque successit, quod, etsi ad memoriam fraudis illius [4]circensium spectaculum mansit, facinoris tamen in illa ciuitate et imperio non placuit exemplum, faciliusque Romani in hoc errauerunt, ut post illam iniquitatem deum sibi Romulum consecrarent, quam ut in feminis rapiendis factum eius imitandum lege ulla uel more permitterent.

(C) Ex hoc " iure ac bono " post expulsum cum liberis suis regem Tarquinium, cuius filius Lucretiam stupro uiolenter obpresserat, Iunius Brutus consul L. Tarquinium [5]Conlatinum, maritum eiusdem Lucretiae, collegam suum, bonum adque innocentem uirum, propter nomen et propinquitatem Tarquiniorum coegit magistratu se abdicare nec uiuere in ciuitate permisit. Quod scelus fauente uel patiente populo fecit, a quo populo consulatum idem Conlatinus sicut etiam ipse Brutus acceperat.

(D) Ex hoc " iure ac bono " [6]M. Camillus, illius temporis uir egregius, qui Veientes, grauissimos hostes populi Romani, [7]post decennale bellum, quo Romanus exercitus totiens male pugnando grauiter adflictus est, iam ipsa Roma de salute dubitante adque trepidante facillime superauit eorumque [8]urbem opulentissimam

2. inique facerent . . . negare. The Infinitive (which would in classical Latin be the Gerund *negando*) is loosely constructed, as often in A. See note on i. 3 B.

3. Hoc—is undoubtedly interpreted by the succeeding clauses *quod . . . non placuit exceptum*. A. means that the Romans, despite the apotheosis of Romulus, might still feel proud of their own legal prohibition of rape in general.

4. circensium spectaculum. Livy relates (i. 9) that Romulus invented *ludos Neptuno equestri sollemnes*, called *Consualia* (probably after *Consus*, a native Italian god, who came to be identified with *Neptunus Equester*) as a means of attracting the Sabine maidens to Rome. Cp. Valerius Maximus ("Dict. Fact. Memorab.," ii. 4, 4). *Consualia dicta a Conso*, says Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 20). See note on Consus (iv. 11 D).

5. Conlatinum. L. Iunius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Conlatinus were appointed the first consuls after the expulsion of the Kings (Livy, i. 60). Livy narrates how Conlatinus resigned his Consulship and retired to Lauinium (ii. 2).

6. M. Camillus. See Livy, v. 19 *sqq*. A. repeats the story of Camillus (iii. 17 C; iv. 7 B).

7. post decennale bellum. B.C. 405-396.

8. urbem opulentissimam—*Veii* which Livy (v. 22) describes as *urbs opulentissima Etrusci nominis*.

cepit, obtrectatorum inuidia uirtutis suae et insolentia tribunorum plebis [9]reus factus est tamque ingratam sensit quam liberauerat ciuitatem, ut de sua damnatione certissimus [10]in exilium sponte discederet et [11]decem milia aeris absens etiam damnaretur, mox iterum [12]a Gallis uindex patriae futurus ingratae.

(E) Multa commemorare iam piget foeda et iniusta, quibus agitabatur illa ciuitas, cum potentes plebem sibi subdere conarentur plebsque illis subdi recusaret, et utriusque partis defensores magis studiis agerent amore uincendi, quam aequum et bonum quidquam cogitarent.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUAE DE MORIBUS ROMANORUM AUT METU CONPRESSIS AUT SECURITATE RESOLUTIS SALLUSTII PRODAT HISTORIA.

(A) Itaque habebo modum et ipsum Sallustium testem potius adhibebo, qui cum in laude Romanorum dixisset, [1]unde nobis iste sermo ortus est: *" Ius bonumque aput eos non legibus magis quam natura ualebat," praedicans illud tempus, quo expulsis regibus incredibiliter ciuitas breui aetatis spatio plurimum creuit, idem tamen [2]in primo historiae suae libro adque ipso eius exordio fatetur etiam tunc, cum ad consules a regibus esset translata res publica, post paruum interuallum iniurias ualidiorum et ob eas [3]discessionem plebis a patribus aliasque in Urbe dissensiones fuisse.

(B) Nam cum optimis moribus et maxima concordia populum Romanum [4]inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginiense

9. reus factus—on a charge of misconduct in the distribution of the booty taken at Veii.

10. in exilium—to Ardea.

11. decem milia aeris—" ten thousand brass (or copper) asses." Livy says " *Absens quindecim millibus grauis aeris damnatur* " (v. 32); cp. Valerius Maximus (" Dict. Fact. Memorab.," v. 3, 2). A. has probably made a slip of memory.

12. a Gallis uindex patriae. The recall of Camillus from Ardea, his successive dictatorships, and his final victory in the long campaign against the Gauls—a victory which won him by general consent the title of a second Romulus—are narrated by Livy (v. 46—vi. 41) and by Plutarch (" Camillus," 24-42).

CHAPTER XVIII.

What the History of Sallust relates about the morals of the Romans, whether about their stringency in time of fear or their laxity in time of security.

1. unde nobis, etc.=" what has given rise to our present discussion."

2. in primo historiae suae libro. Sallust wrote five books of " Historiae," but of these only fragments remain; and A. is the sole authority for the quotations or references which he gives here.

3. discessionem plebis, etc.—in the secession to the Mons Sacer (Livy, ii. 32; cp. D below).

4. inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginiense—*i.e.*, between B.C. 202,

* " Catil.," 9.

commemorasset egisse causamque huius boni non amorem iustitiae, sed stante Carthagine metum pacis infidae fuisse dixisset (unde et [5]Nasica ille ad reprimendam nequitiam seruandosque istos mores optimos, ut metu uitia cohiberetur, Carthaginem nolebat euerti): continuo subiecit idem Sallustius et ait: *" At discordia et auaritia adque ambitio et cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala post Carthaginis excidium maxime aucta sunt," ut intellegeremus etiam ante oriri solere et augeri.

(C) Unde subnectens quur hoc dixerit: "Nam iniuriae, inquit, ualidiorum et ob eas discessio plebis a patribus aliaeque dissensiones domi fuere iam inde a principio, neque amplius quam regibus exactis, [6]dum metus a Tarquinio et [7]bellum graue cum Etruria positum est, aequo et modesto iure agitatum." Vides quem ad modum etiam illo breui tempore, ut regibus exactis, id est eiectis, aliquantum aequo et modesto iure ageretur, metum dixit fuisse causam, quoniam metuebatur bellum, quod rex Tarquinius regno adque Urbe pulsus Etruscis sociatus contra Romanos gerebat.

(D) Adtende itaque quid deinde contexat: "Dein," inquita, "seruili imperio patres plebem exercere, [8]de uita adque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere et [9]ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere. Quibus saeuitiis et maxime faenore obpressa plebes cum adsiduis bellis tributum et militiam simul toleraret, armata [10]montem sacrum adque Auentinum insedit, tumque [11]tribunos plebis et alia iura sibi parauit. Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum Punicum bellum." Cernis ex quo tempore, id est [12]paruo interuallo post reges exactos, quales Romani fuerint, de quibus ait: "Ius bonumque aput eos non legibus magis quam natura ualebat."

(E) Porro si illa tempora talia reperiuntur, quibus pulcherrima adque optima fuisse praedicatur Romana res publica, quid iam de

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the date of the battle of Zama, and B.C. 149, when the Third Punic War broke out, or perhaps B.C. 146, the date of the Fall of Carthage.

5. Nasica. See i. 30 A (note) and B; 31 A.

6. dum metus . . . et bellum . . . positum est="during the prevalence of the fear . . . and the continuance of the war." *Positum est*=more literally, "held the field." The phrase is clearly Sallust's (as in iii. 16 A).

7. bellum graue cum Etruria—the war of Lars Porsenna.

8. de uita adque tergo . . . consulere="order them to be executed and flogged."

9. ceteris expertibus soli in imperio, etc.="to behave like tyrants to the others who had got no stake in the soil."

10. montem sacrum adque Auentinum. According to Livy (ii. 32) the scene of the first *secessio* was Mons Sacer beyond the Anio and not Mons Auentinus; according to him also (iii. 50) that of the second was Mons Auentinus.

11. tribunos plebis. See Livy, ii. 33.

12. paruo interuallo—sixteen years. See the account in Livy (ii. 32).

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* "Hist.," i. 9.

consequenti aetate dicendum aut cogitandum arbitramur, cum *"paulatim mutata," ut eiusdem historici uerbis utar, "ex pulcherrima adque optima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta est," post Carthaginis uidelicet, ut commemorauit, excidium ?

(F) Quae tempora ipse Sallustius quem ad modum breuiter recolat et describat, in eius historia legi potest; quantis malis morum, quae secundis rebus exorta sunt, usque ad bella ciuilia demonstret esse peruentum. †"Ex quo tempore," ut ait, "maiorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati; adeo iuuentus luxu adque auaritia corrupta, ut merito dicatur genitos esse, qui neque ipsi habere possent res familiares neque alios pati." Dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Syllae uitiis ceteraque foeditate rei publicae, et alii scriptores in haec consentiunt, quamuis [13]eloquio multum inpari.

(G) Cernis tamen, ut opinor, et quisquis aduerterit, facillime perspicit, conluuie morum pessimorum quo illa ciuitas prolapsa fuerit ante nostri superni regis aduentum. Haec enim gesta sunt non solum antequam Christus in carne praesens docere coepisset, uerum etiam antequam de uirgine natus esset. Cum igitur tot et tanta mala temporum illorum uel tolerabiliora superius, uel post euersam Carthaginem intoleranda et horrenda, dis suis inputare non audeant, opiniones humanis mentibus, unde talia uitia siluescerent, astutia maligna inserentibus: quur mala praesentia Christo inputant, qui doctrina saluberrima et falsos ac fallaces deos coli uetat et istas hominum noxias flagitiosasque cupiditates diuina auctoritate detestans adque condemnans his malis tabescenti ac labenti mundo ubique familiam suam sensim subtrahit, qua condat aeternam et non plausu uanitatis, sed iudicio ueritatis [14]gloriosissimam ciuitatem ?

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13. eloquio. This is a word which A. uses in a variety of senses, all more or less cognate; and it may be worth while to enumerate them here:

(1) Language: vii. 27 A; xv. 19 B; xviii. 43 A. "Retract.," ii. 3; "Quaest. in Gen." CV.

(2) Literary style, as here: vi. 2 A; xiii. 12 B (*eloquium Platonis*); ix. 4 D (*Gellius uir elegantissimi eloquii*); x. 1 E (where Virgil is called *Latini eloquii magnus auctor*), etc.

(3) A word or expression, xvii. 3 B; especially the word of God (*eloquium Domini*), xvii. 5 B.

(4) A statement or description, xxii. 21 C.

(5) Testimony, xvi. 1 A.

(6) Eloquence, iv. 30 D; xxv. 5 F.

(7) An oracle (of God), x. 1 D; xiii. 2 B; xvii. 4 M (in all these passages *diuina eloquia*); xviii. 43 A (*sacra eloquia*); x. 16 D (*eloquia ueritatis*). Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," ii. 20 (ix.). In this use *eloquia*=λόγια, as in Rom. iii. 2 (Vulg.).

14 gloriosissimam ciuitatem. See note on "Praef.," 1 A.

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* "Catil.," 5. † "Hist.," i. 12.

CAPUT XIX.

DE CORRUPTIONE ROMANAE REI PUBLICAE, PRIUSQUAM CULTUM DEORUM CHRISTUS AUFERRET.

(A) Ecce Romana res publica (quod non ego primus dico, sed auctores eorum, unde [1]haec mercede didicimus, tanto ante dixerunt ante Christi aduentum) "paulatim mutata ex pulcherrima adque optima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta est." Ecce ante Christi aduentum, post deletam Carthaginem "maiorum mores non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati; adeo iuuentus luxu adque auaritia corrupta est."

(B) Legant nobis contra luxum et auaritiam praecepta deorum suorum populo Romano data; [2]cui utinam tantum casta et modesta reticerent, ac non etiam ab illo probrosa et ignominiosa deposcerent, [3]quibus per falsam diuinitatem perniciosam conciliarent auctoritatem. [4]Legant nostra et per prophetas et per sanctum euangelium et per apostolicos actus et per epistulas tam multa contra auaritiam adque luxuriam ubique populis ad hoc congregatis quam excellenter, quam diuine non tamquam ex philosophorum concertationibus strepere, sed tamquam ex oraculis et Dei nubibus intonare.

(C) Et tamen luxu adque auaritia saeuisque ac turpibus moribus ante aduentum Christi rem publicam pessimam ac flagitiosissimam factam non inputant dis suis; adflictionem uero eius, quamcumque [5]isto tempore superbia deliciaeque eorum perpessae fuerint, religioni increpitant Christianae. Cuius praecepta de iustis probisque moribus si simul audirent adque curarent *"reges terrae et omnes populi, principes et omnes iudices terrae, iuuenes et uirgines, seniores cum iunioribus," actas omnis capax et uterque sexus, et †quos baptista Iohannes adloquitur, [6]exactores ipsi adque milites: et terras uitae praesentis ornaret sua felicitate res publica, et uitae aeternae culmen beatissime regnatura conscenderet.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the corruption of the Roman Republic before Christ abolished the worship of the gods.

1. haec mercede didicimus. The allusion is to school fees. A. gives an account of his own education in "Confess.," i. 20 *sqq.*

2. cui utinam tantum casta, etc.="Would they had only refrained from saying a word to the people about chastity and modesty!"

3. quibus . . . perniciosam conciliarent auctoritatem="won a pernicious authority for these things."

4. Legant nostra et per prophetas, etc.—*nostra* (sc. *praecepta*), the moral teachings of the Bible.

5. isto tempore="at the present time."

6. exactores—the publicans (*publicani*) or tax-collectors; with a natural reference to the Baptist's counsel (Luke ii. 13).

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* Ps. cxlviii. 11, 12. † Luke iii. 12-14.

(D) Sed quia [7]iste audit, ille contemnit, pluresque uitiis male blandientibus quam utili uirtutum asperitati sunt amiciores: tolerare Christi famuli iubentur, siue sint reges siue principes siue iudices, siue milites siue prouinciales, siue diuites siue pauperes, siue liberi siue serui, utriuslibet sexus, etiam pessimam, si ita necesse est, flagitiosissimamque rem publicam et in illa angelorum quadam sanctissima adque augustissima curia caelestique re publica, ubi Dei uoluntas lex est, clarissimum sibi locum etiam ista conparare tolerantia.

CAPUT XX.

QUALI VELINT FELICITATE GAUDERE ET QUIBUS MORIBUS VIVERE, QUI TEMPORA CHRISTIANAE RELIGIONIS INCUSANT.

(A) Verum tales cultores et dilectores deorum istorum, quorum etiam imitatores in sceleribus et flagitiis se esse laetantur, nullo modo curant pessimam ac flagitiosissimam non esse rem publicam. Tantum stet, inquiunt, tantum floreat copiis referta, uictoriis gloriosa, uel, quod est felicius, pace secura sit. Et quid ad nos? Immo id ad nos magis pertinet, si diuitias quisque augeat semper, quae cottidianis effusionibus subpetant, per quas sibi etiam infirmiores subdat quisque potentior.

(B) Obsequantur diuitibus pauperes causa saturitatis adque ut eorum patrociniis quieta inertia perfruantur, diuites pauperibus ad clientelas et ad ministerium sui fastus abutantur. Populi plaudant non consultoribus utilitatum suarum, sed largitoribus uoluptatum. Non dura iubeantur, non prohibeantur inpura. Reges non curent quam bonis, sed quam subditis regnent. Prouinciae regibus non tamquam rectoribus morum, sed tamquam rerum dominatoribus et deliciarum suarum prouisoribus seruiant, eosque non sinceriter honorent, sed [1][nequiter ac] seruiliter timeant. Quid alienae uiti potius quam quid suae uitae quisque noceat, legibus aduertatur.

(C) Nullus ducatur ad iudicem, nisi qui alienae rei, domui, saluti uel cuiquam inuito fuerit inportunus aut noxius; ceterum de suis uel cum suis uel cum quibusque uolentibus faciat quisque quod libet. Abundent publica scorta uel propter omnes, quibus frui placuerit,

7. iste audit, ille contemnit = "while one person is a listener, another is a scoffer."

CHAPTER XX.

What is the kind of happiness in which the accusers of the Christian dispensation wish to delight themselves, and what is the moral code by which they wish to live.

1. [**nequiter ac**]. The words should be omitted from the text, not only as lacking authority, but for the reason alleged by Hoffmann, as disturbing the *isocolon* or balance of the clauses; *seruiliter timeant* corresponds with *sinceriter honorent*.

uel propter eos maxime, qui habere priuata non possunt. Exstruantur amplissimae adque ornatissimae domus, opipara conuiuia frequententur, ubi cuique libuerit et potuerit, diu noctuque ludatur, bibatur, [2]uomatur, [3]diffluatur. Saltationes undique concrepent, theatra inhonestae laetitiae uocibus adque omni genere siue crudelissimae siue turpissimae uoluptatis exaestuent.

(D) Ille sit publicus inimicus, cui haec felicitas displicet; quisquis eam mutare uel auferre tentauerit, eum libera multitudo auertat ab auribus, euertat a sedibus, auferat a uiuentibus. Illi habeantur di ueri, qui hanc adipiscendam populis procurauerint adeptamque seruauerint. Colantur ut uoluerint, ludos exposcant quales uoluerint, quos [4]cum suis uel de suis possint habere cultoribus: tantum efficiant, ut tali felicitati nihil ab hoste, nihil a peste, nihil ab ulla clade timeatur.

(E) Quis hanc rem publicam sanus, non dicam Romano imperio, sed domui [5]Sardanapali conparauerit ? qui quondam rex ita fuit uoluptatibus deditus, ut in sepulcro suo scribi fecerit ea sola se habere mortuum, quae libido eius, etiam cum uiueret, hauriendo consumserat. Quem regem si isti haberent sibi in talibus indulgentem nec in eis cuiquam ulla seueritate aduersantem, huic libentius quam Romani ueteres Romulo templum et flaminem consecrarent.

CAPUT XXI.

QUAE SENTENTIA FUERIT CICERONIS DE ROMANA RE PUBLICA.

(A) Sed si contemnitur qui Romanam rem publicam "pessimam ac flagitiosissimam" dixit, nec curant [1]isti quanta morum pessimorum ac flagitiosissimorum labe ac dedecore inpleatur, sed tan-

2. uomatur—a common means of renewing the appetite amidst the excesses of Roman conviviality. Cp. *Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, uomebatur* (Cic., "Phil.," ii. 41, 104).

3. diffluatur. See note on i. 30 A. A. is fond of the passives of Intransitive Verbs; see note on x. 14 A.

4. cum suis uel de suis . . . cultoribus="in the company or at the expense of their worshippers."

5. Sardanapali—the last and the most luxurious of the Assyrian kings who reigned at Nineveh—*uir muliere corruptior* (Justin. "Hist.," i. 3). Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," v. 35, 101) quotes the epitaph which Sardanapalus is said to have written or chosen for himself:

Haec habeo quae edi, quaeque exsatutata libido
Hausit, at illa iacent multa et praeclara relicta;

then he adds *Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bouis, non in regis, sepulchro inscriberes?* Cp. Athenaeus ("Deipnosophist.," xii. 39).

CHAPTER XXI.

What was Cicero's opinion of the Roman commonwealth.

1. isti="my opponents"—the *pagani*, as often in *D.C.D.*

tummodo ut consistat et maneat: audiant eam non, ut Sallustius narrat, "pessimam ac flagitiosissimam factam," sed, sicut Cicero disputat, iam tunc prorsus perisse et nullam omnino remansisse rem publicam.

(B) Inducit enim Scipionem, eum ipsum qui Carthaginem extinxerat, de re publica disputantem, quando praesentiebatur ea corruptione, quam descibit Sallustius, iam iamque peritura. [2]Eo quippe tempore disputatur, quo iam unus Gracchorum occisus fuit, a quo scribit seditiones graues coepisse Sallustius. Nam mortis eius fit [3]in eisdem libris commemoratio.

(C) Cum autem Scipio in secundi libri fine dixisset, *"ut in fidibus aut tibiis adque cantu ipso ac uocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem inmutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt, isque concentus ex dissimillimarum uocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens: sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus, ut sonis, moderata ratione ciuitatem consensu dissimillimorum concinere, et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, eam esse in ciuitate concordiam, artissimum adque optimum omni in re publica uinculum incolumitatis, eamque sine iustitia nullo pacto esse posse."

(D) Ac deinde cum aliquanto latius et uberius disseruisset, quantum prodesset iustitia ciuitati quantumque obesset, si afuisset, suscepit deinde [4]Philus, unus eorum qui disputationi aderant, et poposcit, ut haec ipsa quaestio diligentius tractaretur ac de iustitia plura dicerentur, propter illud, quod iam uulgo ferebatur †rem publicam [5]regi sine iniuria non posse. Hanc proinde quaestionem discutiendam et enodandam esse adsensus est Scipio responditque nihil esse, quod adhuc de re publica dictum putaret, [6]quo possent longius progredi, nisi esset confirmatum non modo falsum esse

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2. Eo quippe tempore. The dramatic date of Cicero's "De Re Publica" is B.C. 129. Tiberius Gracchus had been murdered B.C. 133.

3. in eisdem libris—*sc.* Cicero's "De Re Publica."

4. Philus—L. Fabius Philus, one of the interlocutors in the "De Re Publica" was a member of the literary coterie, which included, among others, the younger Scipio Africanus and Laelius, whose *mitis sapientia* is commended, like the *uirtus* of Scipio, by Horace ("Sat.," ii. 1, 72).

5. regi. The v. l *geri*, although a more natural reading in connexion with *rempublicam*, lacks authority; and *regi* is repeated just below. But *geri . . . rem publicam* occurs twice in E.

6. quo possent longius progredi. The "*et*," which appears in some editions before *quo possent*, weakens the sentence; it may have been an accidental repetition of the *et* in *putaret*, or, more probably, an insertion made by a copyist who did not understand the clause, which means that nothing had as yet been said "to serve as a basis of further discussion."

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* Cic., "De Re Publ.," ii. 42. † *Ibid.*, ii. 43.

illud, sine iniuria non posse, sed hoc uerissimum esse, sine summa iustitia rem publicam regi non posse.

(E) Cuius quaestionis explicatio cum in diem consequentem dilata esset, in tertio libro magna conflictione res acta est. Suscepit enim Philus ipse disputationem eorum, qui sentirent sine iniustitia geri non posse rem publicam, purgans praecipue, ne hoc ipse sentire crederetur, egitque sedulo pro iniustitia contra iustitiam, ut hanc esse utilem rei publicae, illam uero inutilem, ueri similibus rationibus et exemplis uelut conaretur ostendere. Tum Laelius rogantibus omnibus iustitiam defendere adgressus est adseruitque, quantum potuit, nihil tam inimicum quam iniustitiam ciuitati *nec omnino nisi magna iustitia geri aut [7]stare posse rem publicam.

(F) Qua quaestione, quantum satis uisum est, pertractata Scipio ad intermissa reuertitur recolitque suam adque commendat [8]breuem †rei publicae definitionem, qua dixerat eam esse rem populi. Populum autem "non omnem coetum multitudinis, sed coetum iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociatum" esse determinat. Docet deinde quanta sit in disputando definitionis utilitas, adque ex illis suis definitionibus colligit tunc esse rem publicam, id est rem populi, cum bene ac iuste geritur [9]siue ab uno rege siue a paucis optimatibus siue ab uniuerso populo.

(G) Cum uero iniustus est rex, quem tyrannum more Graeco appellauit, aut iniusti optimates, quorum consensum dixit esse [10]factionem, aut iniustus ipse populus, cui [11]nomen usitatum non repperit, nisi ut etiam ipsum tyrannum uocaret: non iam uitiosam, sicut pridie fuerat disputatum, sed, sicut ratio ex illis definitionibus conexa docuisset, omnino nullam esse rem publicam, quoniam non esset res populi, cum tyrannus eam [12]factioue capesseret, nec ipse populus iam populus esset, si esset iniustus, quoniam non esset multitudo iuris consensu et utilitatis communione sociata, sicut populus fuerat definitus.

7. stare [posse]. *Posse* is not well supported by the MSS., but it makes the sentence correspond with A.'s language above.

8. breuem rei publicae definitionem—*Est autem, inquit Africanus, res publica res populi* (Cic., "De Re Publ.," i. 25). Cp. v. 18 M: *rem publicam, id est rem populi, rem patriae, rem communem.* "The commonwealth is the weal of the commons."

9. siue ab uno rege, etc. Cp. Aristotle's classification of governments ("Pol.," iii. 7, 3-5).

10. factionem=Aristotle's *ὀλιγαρχίαν*.

11. nomen usitatum non repperit. A. calls it *δημοκρατία* in contrast with the benevolent popular government which he calls specifically *πολιτεία*.

12. factioue—the reading demanded by the context, although the MSS. generally give *factione.*

* Cic., "De Re Publ.," ii. 42. † *Ibid.*, i. 25.

(H) Quando ergo res publica Romana talis erat, *qualem illam describit Sallustius, non iam "pessima ac flagitiosissima," sicut ipse ait, sed omnino nulla erat secundum istam rationem, quam disputatio de re publica inter magnos eius tum principes habita patefecit. Sicut etiam ipse Tullius non Scipionis nec cuiusquam alterius, sed suo sermone loquens in principio quinti libri commemorato prius Ennii poetae uersu, quo dixerat:

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque,

"quem quidem ille uersum," inquit, "uel breuitate uel ueritate tamquam ex oraculo quodam mihi[13] effatus uidetur.

(I) Nam neque uiri, nisi ita morata ciuitas fuisset, neque mores, nisi hi uiri praefuissent, aut fundare aut tam diu tenere potuissent tantam et tam iuste longe lateque imperantem rem publicam. Itaque ante nostram memoriam et mos ipse patrius praestantes uiros adhibebat, et ueterem morem ac maiorum instituta retinebant excellentes uiri. Nostra uero aetas cum rem publicam sicut picturam accepisset egregiam, sed euanescentem uetustate, non modo eam coloribus isdem quibus fuerat renouare neglexit, sed ne id quidem curauit, ut formam saltem eius et extrema tamquam lineamenta seruaret.

(K) Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam, quos ita obliuione obsoletos uidemus, ut non modo non colantur, sed iam ignorentur? Nam de uiris quid dicam? Mores enim ipsi interierunt uirorum penuria, cuius tanti mali non modo reddenda ratio nobis, sed etiam tamquam reis capitis quodam modo dicenda causa est. Nostris enim uitiis, non casu aliquo, rem publicam uerbo retinemus, re ipsa uero iam pridem amisimus."

(L) Haec Cicero fatebatur, longe quidem[14] post mortem Africani, quem in suis libris fecit de re publica disputare, adhuc tamen ante aduentum Christi; quae si diffamata et praeualescente religione Christiana sentirentur adque dicerentur, quis non istorum ea Christianis inputanda esse censeret? Quam ob rem quur non curarunt di eorum, ne tunc periret adque amitteretur illa res publica, quam Cicero longe, antequam Christus in carne uenisset, tam lugubriter deplorat amissam?

(M) Viderint laudatores eius etiam illis antiquis uiris et moribus qualis fuerit, utrum in ea uiguerit uera iustitia an forte nec tunc

13. [esse] should probably, in spite of the MSS., be omitted from the text.

14. **post mortem Africani**—which took place B.C. 129. It is believed that Cicero's "De Re Publica" was written in or about B.C. 54.

* "Catil.," 5.

fuerit uiua moribus, sed picta coloribus; quod et ipse Cicero nesciens, cum eam praeferret, expressit. Sed alias, *si Deus uoluerit, hoc uidebimus. Enitar enim suo loco, ut ostendam secundum definitiones ipsius Ciceronis, quibus quid sit res publica et quid sit populus loquente Scipione breuiter posuit (adtestantibus etiam multis siue ipsius siue eorum quos loqui fecit in eadem disputatione sententiis), numquam illam fuisse rem publicam, quia numquam in ea fuerit uera iustitia.

(N) Secundum probabiliores autem definitiones [15]pro suo modo quodam res publica fuit, et melius ab antiquioribus Romanis quam a posterioribus administrata est; uera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius conditor rectorque Christus est, si et ipsam rem publicam placet dicere, quoniam eam rem populi esse negare non possumus. Si autem hoc nomen, quod alibi aliterque uulgatum est, ab usu nostrae locutionis est forte remotius, in ea certe ciuitate est uera iustitia, de qua scriptura sancta dicit: †*Gloriosa dicta de te, ciuitas Dei.*

CAPUT XXII.

QUOD DIS ROMANORUM NULLA UMQUAM CURA FUERIT, NE MALIS MORIBUS RES PUBLICA DEPERIRET.

(A) Sed quod pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem, quamlibet laudabilem dicant istam fuisse uel esse rem publicam, secundum eorum auctores doctissimos iam longe ante Christi aduentum "pessima ac flagitiosissima" facta erat; immo uero nulla erat adque omnino perierat perditissimis moribus. Ut ergo non periret, di custodes eius populo cultori suo dare praecipue uitae ac morum praecepta debuerunt, a quo tot templis, tot sacerdotibus et sacrificiorum generibus, tam multiplicibus uariisque sacris, tot festis sollemnitatibus, tot tantorumque ludorum celebritatibus colebantur; ubi nihil daemones nisi negotium suum egerunt, non curantes quem ad modum illi uiuerent, immo curantes ut etiam perdite uiuerent, dum tamen honori suo illa omnia mĕtu subditi ministrarent.

(B) Aut si dederunt, proferatur, ostendatur, legatur, quas deorum leges illi ciuitati datas contemserint Gracchi, ut seditionibus cuncta turbarent, quas [1]Marius et Cinna et Carbo, ut in bella etiam pro-

15. **pro suo modo . . . respublica** = "a commonwealth of a certain kind."

CHAPTER XXII.

That the gods of the Romans never took any trouble to prevent the ruin of the commonwealth by immorality.

1. **Marius et Cinna et Carbo.** L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo were lieutenants of Marius in the Civil War.

* xix. 21. † Ps. lxxxvii. 3.

grederentur ciuilia causis iniquissimis suscepta et crudeliter gesta crudeliusque finita, quas denique Sylla ipse, cuius uitam, mores, facta describente Sallustio aliisque scriptoribus historiae quis non exhorreat ? quis illam rem publicam non tunc perisse fateatur ?

(C) An forte propter huiusce modi ciuium mores Vergilianam illam sententiam, sicut solent, pro defensione deorum suorum obponere audebunt:

*[2]Discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat ?

Primum si ita est, non habent quur querantur de religione Christiana, quod hac offensi eos di sui deseruerint, quoniam quidem maiores eorum iam pridem moribus suis ab Urbis altaribus tam multos ac minutos deos [3]tamquam muscas abegerunt.

(D) Sed tamen haec numinum turba ubi erat, cum longe antequam mores corrumperentur antiqui [4]a Gallis Roma capta et incensa est ? [5]An praesentes forte dormiebant ? Tunc enim tota Urbe in hostium potestatem redacta collis solus Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, [6]nisi saltem anseres dis dormientibus uigilarent. Unde paene in [7]superstitionem Aegyptiorum bestias auesque colentium Roma deciderat, cum [8]anseri sollemnia celebrabant.

(E) Verum de his aduenticiis et corporis potius quam animi malis, quae uel ab hostibus uel alia clade accidunt, nondum interim disputo: nunc ago de labe morum, quibus primum paulatim decoloratis, deinde " torrentis modo praecipitatis " tanta quamuis integris

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2. Discessere omnes, etc.—lines which A. quotes several times; but, quoting from memory, he substitutes for *excessere*, which is Virgil's word, *discessere* here, *abscessere* (iii. 7 B); he gives the right word *excessere* (iii. 7 E).

3. tamquam muscas. A. says many bitter things about the pagan gods—*e.g.*, *nisi saltem anseres dis dormientibus uigilarent* below—but nothing more contemptuously bitter than this. What he means by *tam . . . minutos deos* is made plain by such passages as iv. 8 and 11. One book of Varro's " Diuin. Antiqq." was headed *De Diis incertis*.

4. a Gallis, etc. B.C. 390.

5. An . . . dormiebant. Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 27.

6. nisi saltem anseres, etc. See Livy, v. 47.

7. superstitionem Aegyptiorum—as observed by many travellers in Egypt from Herodotus (ii. 65-67) downwards.

8. anseri sollemnia. *Anseribus cibaria publice locantur et canes aluntur in Capitolio ut significent si fures uenerint* says Cicero (" Pro Rosc.," 20, 56), but with no special reference to the saving of the Capitol. The geese on the Capitol were sacred to Juno. Pliny speaks *de anserum honore quem meruere Gallorum in Capitolium ascensu deprehenso* (" Nat. Hist.," xxix. 4, 57). Plutarch (" De Fortun. Roman.," p. 325) draws a picture of a goose (*μαλὰ σεμνῶς ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς πολυτελοῦς καὶ φορείου καθήμενος*) at a procession in memory of the deliverance of Rome from the Gauls.

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* " Aen.," ii. 351-2.

tectis moenibusque facta est ruina rei publicae, ut magni auctores eorum eam tunc [9]amissam non dubitent dicere. Recte autem abscesserant, ut amitteretur,

omnes adytis arisque relictis

di, si eorum de bona uita adque iustitia ciuitas praecepta contemserat. Nunc uero quales, quaeso, di fuerunt, si noluerunt cum populo cultore suo uiuere, quem male uiuentem non docuerant bene uiuere ?

CAPUT XXIII.

VARIETATES RERUM TEMPORALIUM NON EX FAVORE AUT INPUGNATIONE DAEMONUM, SED EX VERI DEI PENDERE IUDICIO.

(A) Quid quod etiam uidentur eorum adfuisse cupiditatibus inplendis, et ostenduntur non praefuisse refrenandis, qui enim [1]Marium nouum hominem et ignobilem, cruentissimum auctorem bellorum ciuilium adque gestorem, ut septiens consul fieret adiuuerunt adque ut in septimo suo consulatu moreretur senex nec in manus Syllae futuri mox uictoris inrueret. Si enim ad haec eum di eorum non iuuerunt, non parum est quod fatentur etiam non propitiis dis suis posse accidere homini istam temporalem, quam nimis diligunt, tantam felicitatem et posse homines, sicut fuit Marius, salute, uiribus, opibus, honoribus, dignitate, longaeuitate cumulari et perfrui dis iratis; posse etiam homines, sicut fuit Regulus, captiuitate, seruitute, inopia, uigiliis, doloribus excruciari et emori dis amicis.

(B) Quod si ita esse concedunt, conpendio nihil eos prodesse et coli superfluo confitentur. Nam si uirtutibus animi et probitati uitae, cuius praemia post mortem speranda sunt, magis contraria ut populus disceret institerunt; si nihil etiam in his transeuntibus et temporalibus bonis uel eis quos oderunt nocent, uel eis quos diligunt prosunt, [2]ut quid coluntur, ut quid tanto studio colendi requiruntur ? Quur laboriosis tristibusque temporibus, tamquam offensi abscesserint, murmuratur et propter eos Christiana religio conuiciis indignissimis laeditur ?

(C) Si autem habent in his rebus uel beneficii uel maleficii potesta-

9. amissum. Cp. ii. 21 K.

CHAPTER XXIII.

That the vicissitudes of temporal affairs depend not upon the favour or hostility of daemons, but upon the providence of the true God.

1. Marium. The Marian reign of terror is vividly described by Mommsen (" History of Rome," bk. iv., ch. 9, vol. iii., pp. 322-4). Cp. Plutarch (" Marius," 70-74); Livy (" Epit.," 80).

2. ut quid=" why ?" See note on i. 18 B.

tem, quur in eis adfuerunt pessimo uiro Mario, et optimo Regulo defuerunt ? An ex hoc ipsi intelleguntur iniustissimi et pessimi ? Quod si propterea magis timendi et colendi putantur, [3]neque hoc putentur; neque enim minus eos inuenitur Regulus coluisse quam Marius. Nec ideo uita pessima eligenda uideatur, quia magis Mario quam Regulo di fauisse existimantur. [4]Metellus enim Romanorum laudatissimus, qui habuit quinque filios consulares, etiam [5]rerum temporalium felix fuit, et Catilina pessimus obpressus inopia et in bello sui sceleris prostratus infelix: et uerissima adque certissima felicitate praepollent boni Deum colentes, a quo solo conferri potest.

(D) Illa igitur res publica malis moribus cum periret, nihil di eorum pro dirigendis uel pro corrigendis egerunt moribus, ne periret; immo deprauandis et corrumpendis addiderunt moribus, ut periret. Nec se bonos fingant, quod uelut offensi ciuium iniquitate discesserint. Prorsus ibi erant; produntur, conuincuntur; nec subuenire praecipiendo nec latere tacendo potuerunt. Omitto quod Marius [6]a miserantibus Minturnensibus [7]Maricae deae in luco eius commendatus est, ut ei omnia prosperaret, et ex summa desperatione reuersus incolumis in Urbem duxit crudelem crudelis exercitum; ubi quam cruenta, quam inciuilis hostilique inmanior eius uictoria fuerit, eos qui scripserunt legant qui uolunt.

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3. neque hoc putentur = "This supposition would itself be a mistake."

4. Metellus—Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, the conqueror of the Achaean League. He filled so many offices of State, and all with such success, that his name was treated as a proverb for good fortune well deserved among his fellow-citizens. Cicero gives a brief account of him and his family ("De Fin.," 27, 82); he speaks of him as living to see *tres filios consules . . . quartum autem praetorem*. Cp. *Metellus ille honoratis quattuor filiis* ("Tusc. Disp.," i. 35, 85); also Valer. Max. ("Dict. Fact. Memor.," vii. 1); Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," i. 11), who says he died, leaving four sons, one *consularis et censorius*, one *consularis*, one *consul*, and one *candidatus consulatus ; quem honorem adeptus est*. The Benedictine editors must be wrong in saying he was *Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus*, the nephew of Macedonicus; for Pliny, who confirms Cicero's account, states expressly that he was the Metellus who had won his cognomen from Macedonia ("Nat. Hist.," vii. 44, 142); so, too, Velleius Paterculus, *l.c.*

5. rerum temporalium felix—The Genitive with *felix* is usually post-Augustan, but it occurs in the poetry of the Augustan age—*e.g.*, Ovid. ("Metam.," v. 267-8).

> *Felicesque uocat pariter studiique locique*
> *Mnemonidas.*

6. a miserantibus Minturnensibus. It was in the sacred grove of the nymph Marica, amidst the marshes of Minturnae, that Marius was taken prisoner (B.C. 88). Few events or stories in Roman History are better known than that of the barbarian soldier who, with a drawn sword in his hand, entered the room in which Marius lay, meaning to kill him; but the eyes of Marius, flashing fire upon him in the darkness, and his voice crying: "Man, darest thou murder C. Marius ?" broke him so utterly that he threw down his sword and fled. After this escape the life of Marius was spared by the magistrates of Minturnae (*miserantibus Minturnensibus*) and he was transported to Africa.

7. Maricae deae. Marica is said to have been the name by which Circe, the enchantress, was known after her death.

(E) Sed hoc, ut dixi, omitto, nec Maricae nescio cui tribuo Marii sanguineam felicitatem, sed occultae potius prouidentiae Dei ad istorum ora claudenda eosque ab errore liberandos, [8]qui non studiis agunt, sed haec prudenter aduertunt, quia, etsi aliquid in his rebus daemones possunt, tantum possunt, quantum secreto Omnipotentis arbitrio permittuntur, ne magnipendamus terrenam felicitatem, quae sicut Mario malis etiam plerumque conceditur, nec eam rursus quasi malam arbitremur, cum ea multos etiam pios ac bonos unius ueri Dei cultores inuitis daemonibus praepolluisse uideamus, nec eosdem inmundissimos spiritus uel propter haec ipsa bona malaue terrena propitiandos aut timendos existimemus, quia, sicut ipsi mali homines in terra, sic etiam illi non omnia quae uolunt facere possunt, nisi quantum illius ordinatione sinitur, cuius plene iudicia nemo comprehendit, iuste nemo reprehendit.

CAPUT XXIV.

DE SYLLANIS ACTIBUS, QUORUM SE DAEMONES OSTENTAVERINT ADIUTORES.

(A) Sylla certe ipse, cuius tempora talia fuerunt, ut superiora, quorum uindex esse uidebatur, illorum conparatione quaererentur, cum primum ad Urbem contra Marium castra mouisset, adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse [1]scribit Liuius, ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex uoluerit capitis supplicium subiturus, nisi ea, quae in animo Sylla haberet, dis iuuantibus inpleuisset. Ecce non "discesserant adytis adque aris relictis di," quando de rerum euentu praedicebant nihilque de ipsius Syllae correctione curabant. Promittebant praesagando [2]felicitatem magnam nec malam cupiditatem minando frangebant.

(B) Deinde cum esset in Asia bellum Mithridaticum gerens, [3]per Lucium Titium ei mandatum est a Ioue, quod esset Mithridatem superaturus, et factum est. Ac postea molienti redire in Urbem et suas amicorumque iniurias ciuili sanguine ulcisci, iterum mandatum est ab eodem Ioue per militem quendam legionis sextae, prius se de

8. qui non studiis agunt="who are not active partisans."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Sylla's acts in which the daemons boasted themselves his coadjutors.

1. scribit Liuius—probably in the lost Book lxxvii. Cicero ("De Divin.," i. 33, 72) and Plutarch ("Sylla," 9) both tell the story of the prediction uttered by Postumius, the Augur; but they assign it to different occasions in Sylla's career.

2. felicitatem magnam. Sylla came to be generally known by the title Felix, which he assumed after his triumph over Mithridates (Plutarch, "Sylla," 34).

3. per Lucium Titium . . . per militem quendam. Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 116) gives an account of Sylla's favourable omens.

Mithridate praenuntiasse uictoriam, et tunc promittere daturum se potestatem, qua recuperaret ab inimicis rem publicam non sine multo sanguine.

(C) Tum percontatus Sylla, quae forma militi uisa fuerit, cum ille indicasset, eam recordatus est, quam prius ab illo audierat, qui de Mithridatica uictoria ab eodem mandata pertulerat. Quid hic responderi potest, quare di curauerint uelut felicia ista nuntiare, et nullus eorum curauerit Syllam monendo corrigere mala tanta facturum scelestis armis ciuilibus, qualia non foedarent, sed auferrent omnino rem publicam ? Nempe intelleguntur daemones, sicut saepe dixi notumque nobis est in litteris sacris resque ipsae satis indicant, negotium suum agere ut pro dis habeantur et colantur, ut ea illis exhibeantur, quibus hi qui exhibent sociati unam pessimam causam cum eis habeant in iudicio Dei.

(D) Deinde [4]cum uenisset Tarentum Sylla adque ibi sacrificasset, uidit in capite uitulini iecoris similitudinem coronae aureae. Tunc Postumius haruspex ille respondit praeclaram significare uictoriam iussitque ut extis illis solus uesceretur. Postea paruo interuallo seruus cuiusdam [5]Lucii Pontii uaticinando clamauit: "a Bellona nuntius uenio, uictoria tua est, Sylla." Deinde adiecit [6]arsurum esse Capitolium. Hoc cum dixisset, continuo egressus e castris postero die concitatior reuersus est et Capitolium arsisse clamauit. Arserat autem re uera Capitolium. Quod quidem daemoni et praeuidere facile fuit et celerrime nuntiare.

(E) Illud sane intende, quod ad causam maxime pertinet, sub qualibus dis esse cupiant, qui blasphemant Saluatorem uoluntates fidelium a dominatu daemonum liberantem. Clamauit homo uaticinando: "uictoria tua est, Sylla," adque ut id diuino spiritu clamare crederetur, nuntiauit etiam aliquid et prope futurum et mox factum, [7]unde longe aberat per quem ille spiritus loquebatur; non tamen clamauit: "ab sceleribus parce, Sylla," quae illic uictor tam horrenda commisit, cui corona aurea ipsius uictoriae inlustrissimum signum in uitulino iecore apparuit, qualia signa si di iusti dare solerent ac non daemones inpii, profecto illis extis nefaria potius adque ipsi Syllae grauiter noxia mala futura monstrarent.

(F) Neque enim eius dignitati tantum profuit illa uictoria, quantum nocuit cupiditati; qua factum est, ut inmoderatis inhians

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4. cum uenisset Tarentum Sylla. For the incident here recorded see Plutarch ("Sylla," 27).

5. Lucii Pontii. See Plutarch ("Sylla," 27).

6. arsurum esse Capitolium. The story is repeated by Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 118).

7. unde longe aberat = "in a place from which he was far away."

et secundis rebus elatus ac praecipitatus magis ipse [8]periret in moribus, quam inimicos in corporibus perderet. Haec illi di uere tristia uereque lugenda non extis, non auguriis, non cuiusquam somnio uel uaticinio praenuntiabant. Magis enim timebant ne corrigeretur quam ne uinceretur. Immo satis agebant, ut uictor ciuium gloriosus uictus adque captiuus nefandis uitiis et per haec ipsis etiam daemonibus multo obstrictius subderetur.

CAPUT XXV.

QUANTUM MALIGNI SPIRITUS AD FLAGITIA INCITENT HOMINES, CUM IN COMMITTENDIS SCELERIBUS QUASI DIVINAM EXEMPLI SUI INTERPONUNT AUCTORITATEM.

(A) Illinc uero quis non intellegat, quis non uideat, nisi qui tales deos imitari magis elegit quam diuina gratia ab eorum societate separari, quantum moliantur maligni isti spiritus exemplo suo uelut diuinam auctoritatem praebere sceleribus ? quod etiam [1]in quadam Campaniae lata planitie, ubi non multo post ciuiles acies nefario proelio conflixerunt, ipsi inter se prius pugnare uisi sunt. Namque ibi auditi sunt primum ingentes fragores moxque multi se uidisse nuntiarunt per aliquot dies duas acies proeliari. Quae pugna ubi destitit, uestigia quoque uelut hominum et equorum, quanta de illa conflictatione [2]exprimi poterant, inuenerunt.

(B) Si ergo ueraciter inter se numina pugnauerunt, iam bella ciuilia excusantur humana; consideretur tamen quae sit talium deorum uel malitia uel miseria: si autem se pugnasse finxerunt, quid aliud egerunt, nisi ut sibi Romani bellando ciuiliter tamquam deorum exemplo nullum nefas admittere uiderentur ? Iam enim coeperant bella ciuilia, et aliquot nefandorum proeliorum strages exsecranda praecesserat. Iam multos mouerat, quod [3]miles quidam, dum occiso spolia detraheret, fratrem nudato cadauere agnouit ac detestatus bella ciuilia se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori adiunxit.

8. periret in moribus. Sylla ended his days in debauchery at Puteoli.

CHAPTER XXV.

How strongly the malignant spirits incite men to wickednesses, by interposing, in the commission of crimes, what may almost be called the divine authority of their own example.

1. in Campaniae lata planitie—*inter Capuam et Vulturnam*, says Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 118), who specifies, as the date of the action which he relates, the Consulship of Scipio and Norbanus, B.C. 85.

2. exprimi="to be imprinted."

3. miles quidam. See Livy, lxxix.; Plutarch ("Marius," 39); Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," ii. 19).

(c) Ut ergo huius tanti mali minime taederet, sed armorum scelestorum magis magisque ardor increscerent, noxii daemones, quos illi deos putantes colendos et uenerandos arbitrabantur, inter se pugnantes hominibus apparere uoluerunt, ne imitari tales pugnas ciuica trepidaret adfectio, sed potius humanum scelus diuino excusaretur exemplo. Hac astutia maligni spiritus etiam ludos, unde *multa iam dixi, scaenicos sibi dicari sacrarique iusserunt, ubi tanta deorum flagitia theatricis canticis adque fabularum actionibus celebrata ut quisquis eos fecisse crederet et quisquis non crederet, sed tamen illos libentissime sibi talia exhiberi cerneret, securus imitaretur.

(d) Ne quis itaque existimaret in deos conuicia potius quam eis dignum aliquid scriptitasse, ubicumque illos inter se pugnasse poetae commemorarunt, ipsi ad decipiendos homines poetarum carmina firmauerunt, pugnas uidelicet suas non solum per scaenicos in theatro, uerum etiam per se ipsos in campo humanis oculis exhibentes.

(e) Haec dicere conpulsi sumus, quoniam pessimis moribus ciuium Romanam rem publicam iam antea perditam fuisse nullamque remansisse ante aduentum Christi Iesu domini nostri auctores eorum dicere et scribere minime dubitarunt. Quam perditionem dis suis non inputant, qui mala transitoria,[4] quibus boni, seu uiuant seu moriantur, perire non possunt, Christo nostro inputant: cum Christus noster tanta frequentet pro moribus optimis praecepta contra perditos mores; di uero ipsorum nullis talibus praeceptis egerint aliquid cum suo cultore populo pro illa re publica, ne periret; immo eosdem mores uelut suis exemplis auctoritate noxia corrumpendo egerunt potius, ut periret.

(f) Quam non ideo tunc perisse quisquam, ut arbitror, iam dicere audebit, quia

†discessere omnes adytis arisque relictis

di, uelut amici uirtutibus, cum uitiis hominum offenderentur; quia tot signis extorum, auguriorum, uaticiniorum, quibus se tamquam praescios futurorum adiutoresque proeliorum iactare et commendare gestiebant, conuincuntur fuisse praesentes; qui si uere abscessissent, mitius Romani in bella ciuilia suis cupiditatibus quam illorum instigationibus exarsissent.

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4. **quibus boni . . . perire non possunt** = "which cannot effect the ruin of the good."

* ii. 8, *sqq.* † Virg., "Aen.," ii. 351-2.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE SECRETIS DAEMONUM MONITIS, QUAE PERTINEBANT AD BONOS MORES, CUM PALAM IN SACRIS EORUM OMNIS NEQUITIA DISCERETUR.

(A) Quae cum ita sint, cum palam aperteque turpitudines crudelitatibus mixtae, obprobria numinum et crimina, [1]siue prodita siue conficta, ipsis exposcentibus et nisi fieret irascentibus etiam certis et statis sollemnitatibus consecrata illis et dicata claruerint adque ad omnium oculos ut imitanda proponerentur spectanda processerint: quid est, quod idem ipsi daemones, qui se huiusce modi uoluptatibus inmundos esse spiritus confitentur, qui suis flagitiis et facinoribus, siue indicatis siue simulatis, eorumque sibi celebratione petita ab inpudentibus, extorta a pudentibus auctores se uitae scelestae inmundaeque testantur, perhibentur tamen in adytis suis secretisque penetralibus dare quaedam bona praecepta de moribus quibusdam uelut electis sacratis suis ?

(B) Quod si ita est, hoc ipso callidior aduertenda est et conuincenda malitia spirituum noxiorum. Tanta enim uis est probitatis et castitatis, ut omnis uel paene omnis eius laude moueatur humana natura, nec usque adeo sit turpitudine uitiosa, ut totum sensum honestatis amiserit. Proinde malignitas daemonum, nisi alicubi *se*, quem ad modum scriptum in nostris litteris nouimus, *[2]*transfiguret in angelos lucis*, non inplet negotium deceptionis.

(C) Foris itaque populis celeberrimo strepitu inpietas inpura circumsonat, et intus paucis castitas simulata uix sonat; praebentur propatula pudendis et secreta laudandis; decus latet et dedecus patet; quod malum geritur omnes conuocat spectatores, quod bonum dicitur uix aliquos inuenit auditores, tamquam honesta erubescenda sint et inhonesta glorianda. Sed ubi hoc nisi in daemonum templis ? ubi nisi in fallaciae deuersoriis ? Illud enim fit, ut honestiores, qui pauci sunt, capiantur; hoc autem, ne plures, qui sunt turpissimi, corrigantur.

(D) Ubi et quando sacrati[3] Caelestis audiebant castitatis praecepta, nescimus; ante ipsum tamen delubrum, ubi simulacrum illud

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the secret admonitions of the daemons in relation to good morals, when every iniquity was openly learnt in their own worship.

1. siue prodita siue conficta="whether real or imaginary." Cp. *siue indicatis siue simulatis* below.

2. transfiguret in angelos lucis. The original Greek is εἰς ἄγγελον, the reference being to Satan.

3. Caelestis. See note on ii. 4 B.

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* 2 Cor. xi. 14.

locatum [4]conspiciebamus, uniuersi undique confluentes et ubi quisque poterat stantes ludos qui agebantur intentissimi spectabamus, intuentes alternante conspectu hinc meretriciam pompam, illinc uirginem deam: illam suppliciter adorari, ante illam turpia celebrari; non ibi pudibundos mimos, nullam uerecundiorem scaenicam uidimus; cuncta obscenitatis inplebantur officia. Sciebatur uirginali numini quid placeret, et exhibebatur quod de templo domum matrona doctior reportaret.

(E) Nonnullae pudentiores auertebant faciem ab inpuris motibus scaenicorum et artem flagitii furtiua intentione discebant. [5]Hominibus namque uerecundabantur, ne auderent inpudicos gestus ore libero cernere; sed multo minus audebant sacra eius, quam uenerabantur, casto corde damnare. Hoc tamen palam discendum praebebatur in templo, ad quod perpetrandum saltem secretum quaerebatur in domo, mirante nimium, si ullus ibi erat, pudore mortalium, quod humana flagitia non libere homines committerent, quae aput deos etiam religiose discerent iratos habituri, nisi etiam exhibere curarent.

(F) Quis enim alius spiritus occulto instinctu nequissimas agitans mentes et instat faciendis adulteriis et pascitur factis, nisi qui etiam sacris talibus oblectatur, constituens in templis simulacra daemonum, amans in ludis simulacra uitiorum, [6]susurrans in occulto uerba iustitiae ad decipiendos etiam paucos bonos, frequentans in aperto inuitamenta nequitiae ad possidendos innumerabiles malos ?

CAPUT XXVII.

QUANTA EVERSIONE PUBLICAE DISCIPLINAE ROMANI DIS SUIS PLACANDIS SACRAVERINT OBSCENA LUDORUM.

(A) Vir grauis et [1]philosophaster Tullius [2]aedilis futurus clamat in auribus ciuitatis, inter cetera sui magistratus officia sibi *[3]Floram

4. conspiciebamus. A. speaks as an eye-witness. Cp. "Confess.," i. 10; iii. 2.

5. Hominibus . . . uerecundabantur = "they felt modesty before men."

6. susurrans in occulto. Cp. ii. 6 B.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How great a subversion of public order was involved in the Roman custom of consecrating scenic obscenities for the sake of propitiating their gods.

1. philosophaster—undoubtedly the true reading here; but it is hardly a Latin word. It indicates A.'s poor opinion of Cicero as a philosopher (cp. *poetaster*); and Cicero's philosophical writings lie open, at least, to these two criticisms: (1) that they are not original but almost wholly dependent upon Greek authorities; (2) that they do not express a complete or connected body of speculative opinion. It is not necessary with the Benedictine editors to condemn *inanem Tullii philosophiam quae a tam stultis et sacrilegis erroribus non eum liberauit*; rather would I sympathise with the copyist who, to spare Cicero's memory a disparaging title, altered the

* 2 Verr., v. 14, 36.

matrem ludorum celebritate placandam; qui ludi tanto deuotius, quanto turpius celebrari solent. Dicit *alio loco [4]iam consul [5]in extremis periculis ciuitatis, et ludos per decem dies factos, [6]neque rem ullam quae ad placandos deos pertineret praetermissam; quasi non satius erat tales deos inritare temperantia quam placare luxuria, et eos honestate etiam ad inimicitias prouocare quam tanta deformitate lenire.

(B) Neque enim grauius fuerant quamlibet crudelissima inmanitate nocituri homines, propter quos placabantur, quam nocebant ipsi, cum uitiositate foedissima placarentur. Quando quidem ut auerteretur quod metuebatur ab hoste in corporibus, eo modo di conciliabantur, quo uirtus debellaretur in mentibus, qui non obponerentur defensores obpugnatoribus moenium, nisi prius fierent expugnatores morum bonorum.

(C) Hanc talium numinum placationem petulantissimam, inpurissimam, inpudentissimam, nequissimam, inmundissimam, cuius actores laudanda Romanae uirtutis indoles honore priuauit, tribu mouit, agnouit turpes, fecit infames, hanc, inquam, pudendam ueraeque religioni auersandam et detestandam talium numinum placationem, [7][has] fabulas in deos inlecebrosas adque criminosas, haec ignominiosa deorum uel scelerate turpiterque facta uel sceleratius turpiusque conficta oculis et auribus publicis ciuitas tota discebat, haec commissa numinibus placere cernebat, et ideo non solum illis exhibenda, sed sibi quoque imitanda credebat, non illud nescio quid uelut bonum et honestum, quod tam paucis et tam occulte dicebatur (si tamen dicebatur), ut magis ne innotesceret, quam ne non fieret, timeretur.

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reading to *philosophus Tertullius*. *Philosophaster* = not so much "a philosopher in his way" (Dods) as "a man who affects to be a philosopher."

2. aedilis futurus. Cicero became *curule aedile* B.C. 69.

3. Floram matrem. Flora was the goddess of crops in flower (iv. 8 C). Her festival—the Floralia—was annually celebrated at Rome between April 28th and May 1st. A. practically repeats Cicero's own words ("ii. in Verr.," V. 14, 36).

4. iam consul. Cicero entered upon his consulship on the 1st of January, B.C. 63.

5. in extremis periculis ciuitatis. B.C. 63 was the year of the second Catilinarian conspiracy. Cicero and C. Antonius were Consuls then.

6. neque rem ullam, etc. Again A. repeats Cicero's words ("in Cat.," iii. 8, 20).

7. [**has**]—required by the point and rhythm of the sentence.

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* "Catil.," iii. 8, 20.

CAPUT XXVIII.

DE CHRISTIANAE RELIGIONIS SALUBRITATE.

(A) Ab istarum inmundissimarum potestatum tartareo iugo et societate poenali erui per Christi nomen homines et in lucem saluberrimae pietatis ab illa perniciosissimae inpietatis nocte transferri queruntur et murmurant iniqui et ingrati et illo nefario spiritu altius obstrictiusque possessi, quia populi confluunt ad ecclesiam casta celebritate, [1]honesta utriusque sexus discretione, ubi audiant quam bene hic ad tempus uiuere debeant, ut post hanc uitam beate semperque uiuere mereantur, ubi sancta scriptura iustitiaeque doctrina [2]de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante et qui faciunt audiant ad praemium, et qui non faciunt audiant ad iudicium.

(B) Quo etsi ueniunt quidam talium praeceptorum inrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentina mutatione deponitur, aut timore uel pudore conprimitur. Nihil enim eis turpe at flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur, ubi ueri Dei aut praecepta [3]insinuantur aut miracula narrantur aut dona laudantur aut beneficia postulantur.

CAPUT XXIX.

DE ABICIENDO CULTU DEORUM COHORTATIO AD ROMANOS.

(A) Haec potius concupisce, o indoles Romana laudabilis, progenies Regulorum, Scaeuolarum, Scipionum, Fabriciorum; haec potius concupisce, haec ab illa turpissima uanitate et fallacissima daemonum malignitate discerne. Si quid in te laudabile naturaliter eminet, non nisi uera pietate purgatur adque perficitur, inpietate autem disperditur et punitur. Nunc iam elige quid sequaris, ut non in te, sed in Deo uero sine ullo errore lauderis. Tunc enim tibi

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the wholesome character of the Christian religion.

1. honesta utriusque sexus discretione. See Bingham ("Antiqq. of the Christian Church," viii. 5, 6).

2. de superiore loco—probably the *ambo*, although sermons were not so often preached in the Early Church from the *ambo* as from the altar steps (Bingham, *ibid.*, viii. 5, 5).

3. insinuantur—a verb which A. uses frequently in a number of cognate derivative senses—*e.g.*

1. To suggest, x. 1 D; xi. 21 E, 24 C; xvii. 3 E, etc.
2. To imply, iv. 10 D; xx. 10 D.
3. To signify, xiii. 24 O; xiv. 7 D.
4. To represent, xv. 15 C.
5. To introduce, xv. 20 P.
6. To make known or communicate, viii. 5 D; xii. 11 A.
7. To enjoin or recommend, as here.

It is, in fact, impossible to distinguish the senses, as they all spring from the idea of communication between two persons.

gloria popularis adfuit, sed occulto diuinae prouidentiae iudicio uera religio quam eligeres defuit.

(B) [1]Expergiscere, dies est, sicut experrecta es in quibusdam, de quorum uirtute perfecta et pro fide uera etiam passionibus gloriamur, qui usquequaque aduersus potestates inimicissimas confligentes easque fortiter moriendo uincentes

*sanguine nobis
Hanc patriam peperere suo.

Ad quam patriam te inuitamus et exhortamur, et eius adiciaris numero ciuium, cuius quodam modo [2]asylum est uera remissio peccatorum.

(C) Non audias degeneres tuos Christo Christianisue detrahentes et accusantes uelut tempora mala, cum quaerant tempora, quibus non sit quieta uita, sed potius secura nequitia. Haec tibi numquam nec pro terrena patria placuerunt. Nunc iam caelestem arripe, pro qua minimum laborabis, et in ea ueraciter semperque regnabis. Illic enim tibi non [3]Vestalis focus, non [4]lapis Capitolinus, sed Deus unus et uerus

†nec metas rerum nec tempora ponit,
Imperium sine fine dabit.

(D) Noli deos falsos fallacesque requirere; abice potius adque contemne in ueram emicans libertatem. Non sunt di, maligni sunt spiritus, quibus aeterna tua felicitas poena est. Non tam Iuno Troianis, a quibus carnalem originem ducis, arces uidetur inuidisse Romanas, quam isti daemones, quos adhuc deos putas, omni generi hominum sedes inuident sempiternas. Et tu ipsa non parua ex parte de talibus spiritibus iudicasti, quando ludis eos placasti et per quos homines eosdem ludos fecisti infames esse uoluisti. Patere adseri libertatem tuam aduersus inmundos spiritus, qui tuis ceruicibus inposuerant sacrandam sibi et celebrandam ignominiam suam.

(E) Actores criminum diuinorum remouisti ab honoribus tuis:

CHAPTER XXIX.

An exhortation to the Romans to abandon the worship of the gods.

1. Expergiscere, dies est. Cp. such passages as Rom. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 4-6.

2. asylum. See note on i. 34 A.

3. Vestalis focus—the Vestal altar on which the fire never went out (Livy, v. 52).

4. lapis Capitolinus—the rude statue of Jupiter on the Capitol. Cp. iv. 15 C. Cicero quotes the old phrase, which refers to this statue, *Iouem lapidem iurare* ("Ad Fam.," vii. 12). Cp. Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Attic.," i. 21); Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 5).

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* Virg., "Aen.," xi. 24-5. † "Aen.," i. 278-9.

supplica Deo uero, ut a te remoueat illos deos, qui delectantur criminibus suis, seu ueris, quod ignominiosissimum est, seu falsis, quod malitiosissimum. Bene, quod tua sponte histrionibus et scaenicis societatem ciuitatis patere noluisti; euigila plenius. Nullo modo his artibus placatur diuina maiestas, quibus humana dignitas inquinatur. Quo igitur pacto deos, qui talibus delectantur obsequiis, haberi putas in numero sanctarum caelestium potestatum, cum homines, per quos eadem aguntur obsequia, non putasti habendos in numero qualiumcumque ciuium Romanorum ?

(F) Incomparabiliter superna est ciuitas clarior, ubi uictoria ueritas, ubi dignitas sanctitas, ubi pax felicitas, ubi uita aeternitas. Multo minus habet in sua societate tales deos, si tu in tua tales homines habere erubuisti. Proinde si ad beatam peruenire desideras ciuitatem, deuita daemonum societatem. Indigne abonestis coluntur, qui per turpes placantur. Sic [5]isti a tua pietate remoueantur purgatione Christiana, quo modo [6]illi a tua dignitate remoti sunt notatione censoria.

(G) De bonis autem carnalibus, quibus solis mali perfrui uolunt, et de malis carnalibus, quae sola perpeti nolunt, quod neque in his habeant quam putantur habere isti daemones potestatem (quamquam si haberent, deberemus potius etiam ista contemnere, quam propter ista illos colere et eos colendo ad illa, quae nobis inuident, peruenire non posse), tamen nec in istis eos hoc ualere, quod hi putant, qui propter haec eos coli oportere contendunt, deinceps uidebimus, ut hic sit huius uoluminis modus.

5. isti—the gods.
6. illi—the players.

LIBER III

CAPUT I.

DE ADVERSITATIBUS, QUAS SOLAS MALI METUUNT ET QUAS SEMPER PASSUS EST MUNDUS, CUM DEOS COLERET.

(A) Iam satis dictum arbitror de morum malis et animorum, quae praecipue cauenda sunt, nihil deos falsos populo cultori suo, quo minus eorum malorum aggere premeretur, subuenire curasse, sed potius, ut maxime premeretur, egisse. Nunc de illis malis uideo dicendum, quae sola isti perpeti nolunt, qualia sunt fames, morbus, bellum, exspoliatio, captiuitas, trucidatio, et si qua similia iam in primo libro commemorauimus. Haec enim sola mali deputant mala, quae non faciunt malos; nec erubescunt inter bona, quae laudant, ipsi mali esse qui laudant, magisque [1]stomachantur, si uillam malam habeant, quam si uitam, quasi hoc sit hominis maximum bonum, habere bona omnia praeter se ipsum.

(B) Sed neque talia mala, quae isti sola formidant, di eorum, quando [2]ab eis libere colebantur, ne illis acciderent obstiterunt. Cum enim [3]uariis per diuersa temporibus ante aduentum Redemtoris nostri innumerabilibus nonnullisque etiam incredibilibus cladibus genus contereretur humanum, quos alios quam istos deos mundus colebat, excepto uno populo Hebraeo et [4]quibusdam extra ipsum populum, ubicumque gratia diuina digni occultissimo adque iustissimo Dei iudicio fuerunt ?

(C) Verum ne nimis longum faciam, tacebo aliarum usquequaque gentium mala grauissima: quod ad Romam pertinet Romanumque imperium tantum loquar, id est ad ipsam proprie ciuitatem et quaecumque illi terrarum uel societate coniunctae uel condicione subiectae sunt, quae sint perpessae ante aduentum Christi, cum iam ad eius quasi corpus rei publicae pertinerent.

CHAPTER I.

Of the adversities which are all that the wicked fear, and which were always suffered by the world while worshipping the gods.

1. stomachantur="become angry." See note on i. 3 D.

2. quando ab eis libere colebantur—before the establishment of the Christian religion under Constantine. Cp. i. 36 A.

3. uariis per diuersa temporibus="at various times and in different places."

4. quibusdam extra ipsum populum—such persons as Melchizedek and Job. A.'s general view upon the position of holy men and women in the pagan world before our Lord's Incarnation is expressed in his letter to Deogratias ("Epist.," cii., especially 8-12).

CAPUT II.

AN DI, QUI ET A ROMANIS ET A GRAECIS SIMILITER COLEBANTUR, CAUSAS HABUERINT, QUIBUS ILIUM PATERENTUR EXSCINDI.

(A) Primum ipsa Troia uel Ilium, unde origo est populi Romani, (neque enim praetereundum aut dissimulandum est, quod et in *primo libro adtigi) eosdem habens deos et colens quur a Graecis uictum, captum adque deletum est? Priamo, inquiunt, sunt reddita [1]Laomedontea paterna periuria. Ergo uerum est, quod Apollo adque Neptunus eidem Laomedonti mercennariis operibus seruirerunt? Illis quippe promisisse mercedem falsumque iurasse perhibetur.

(B) Miror Apollinem nominatum diuinatorem in tanto opificio laborasse nescientem quod Laomedon fuerat promissa negaturus. Quamquam nec ipsum Neptunum, patruum eius, fratrem Iouis, regem maris, decuit ignarum esse futurorum. Nam hunc Homerus de stirpe Aencae, a cuius posteris [2][condita] Roma est, cum ante illam urbem conditam idem poeta fuisse dicatur, [3]inducit magnum aliquid diuinantem, quem etiam nube rapuit, ut dicit, ne ab Achille occideretur,

†cuperet cum uertere ab imo,

quod aput Vergilium confitetur,

Structa suis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.

(C) Nescientes igitur tanti di, Neptunus et Apollo, Laomedontem sibi negaturum esse mercedem, structores moenium Troianorum [4]gratis et ingratis fuerunt. Videant ne grauius sit tales deos

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CHAPTER II.

Whether there were reasons why the gods, who were worshipped by the Romans nad the Greeks alike, permitted the destruction of Troy.

1. Laomedontea paterna periuria. Laomedon was Priam's father. He violated the solemn pledge which he had given first to Poseidon and Apollo and afterwards to Hercules. See Homer ("Iliad," xxi. 441-60); Horace ("Carm.," iv. 3, 18-24); both passages in which the destruction of Troy is traced backwards to Laomedon's perjury. A. is plainly thinking of Virgil's lines: *Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae* ("Georg.," i. 502) and *Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis* ("Aen.," iv. 542).

2. [condita]—wanting in best MSS. and not necessary, although natural, to the sense.

3. inducit magnum aliquid diuinantem. Poseidon's (Neptune's) rescue of Aeneas and his prophecy occur in "Iliad," xx. 293-329. A.'s *quem etiam nube rapuit* is justified by vv. 321 sqq.

4. gratis et ingratis—such an epigrammatic phrase as A. loves. *Ingratis* is Dative. Translate "for nothing but the thanks of a thankless people."

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* i. Praef. B; 4 A. † "Aen.," v. 810-1.

credere quam dis talibus peierare. Hoc enim nec ipse Homerus facile credidit, qui Neptunum quidem contra Troianos, Apollinem autem pro Troianis pugnantem facit, cum illo periurio ambos fabula narret offensos. Si igitur fabulis credunt, erubescant talia colere numina; si fabulis non credunt, non obtendant Troiana periuria, aut mirentur deos periuria punisse Troiana, amasse Romana.

(D) Unde enim coniuratio Catilinae *in tanta tamque corrupta ciuitate" habuit etiam eorum grandem copiam, "quos manus adque lingua periurio aut sanguine ciuili alebat?" Quid enim aliud totiens senatores corrupti in iudiciis, totiens populus in suffragiis uel in quibusque causis, quae aput eum contionibus agebantur, nisi etiam peierando peccabant? Namque corruptissimis moribus ad hoc mos iurandi seruabatur antiquus, non ut ab sceleribus metu religionis prohiberentur, sed ut periuria quoque sceleribus ceteris adderentur.

CAPUT III.

NON POTUISSE OFFENDI DEOS PARIDIS ADULTERIO, QUOD INTER IPSOS TRADITUR FREQUENTATUM.

(A) Nulla itaque causa est, quare di, quibus, ut dicunt, †steterat illud imperium, cum a Graecis praeualentibus probentur uicti, Troianis peierantibus fingantur irati. Nec adulterio Paridis, ut rursus [1]a quibusdam defenduntur, ut Troiam desererent, suscensuerunt. Auctores enim doctoresque peccatorum esse adsolent, non ultores. ‡"Urbem Romam," inquit Sallustius, "sicuti ego accepi, condidere adque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi [2]sedibus incertis uagabantur." Si ergo adulterium Paridis uindicandum numina censuerunt, aut magis in Romanis aut certe etiam in Romanis puniendum fuit, quia Aeneae mater hoc fecit.

(B) Sed quo modo in illo illud flagitium oderant, qui in sua socia Venere non oderant (ut alia omittam) quod cum Anchise commiserat, ex quo Aenean peperat? An quia illud factum est indignante

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CHAPTER III.

That the gods would not have been offended by the adultery of Paris, as adultery is related to have been common among the gods themselves.

1. **a quibusdam defenduntur.** Cp. Virg. ("Aen.," ii. 601-3).

Non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae
Culpatusue Paris; diuom inclementia, diuom
Has euertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.

2. **sedibus incertis** = "without having any fixed home."

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* Sallust, "Catil.," 14. † Virg., "Aen.," ii. 352.
‡ "Catil.," 6.

Menelao, illud autem concedente [3]Vulcano ? [4]Di enim, credo, non zelant coniuges suas usque adeo, ut eas etiam cum hominibus dignentur habere communes. Inridere fabulas fortassis existimor, nec grauiter agere tanti ponderis causam.

(c) Non ergo credamus, si placet, Aenean esse Veneris filium: ecce concedo, si nec Romulum Martis. Si autem illud, quur non et illud ? An deos [5][fas est] hominibus feminis, mares autem homines deabus misceri nefas ? Dura uel potius non credenda condicio, quod ex iure Veneris in concubitu Marti licuit, hoc in iure suo ipsi Veneri non licere. At utrumque firmatum est auctoritate Romana. Neque enim minus credidit recentior [6]Caesar auiam Venerem quam patrem antiquior Romulus Martem.

CAPUT IV.

DE SENTENTIA VARRONIS, QUA UTILE ESSE DIXIT, UT SE HOMINES DIS GENITOS MENTIANTUR.

(a) Dixerit aliquis: Itane tu ista credis ? Ego uero ista non credo. Nam et uir doctissimus eorum [1]Varro falsa haec esse, quamuis non audacter neque fidenter, paene tamen fatetur. Sed utile ciuitatibus esse dicit, ut se uiri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, dis

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3. Vulcano—the mythical husband of Venus.

4. Di enim, credo, etc.—one of the sentences in which A.'s sarcastic contempt for pagan polytheism flashes out. Cp. iii. 8 A.

5. [fas est]. The words are necessary to the sense. But the evidence of the MSS. suggests that it may have been A.'s habit (as has been already said) to leave out words which could easily be supplied in thought from the context. Cp. *e.g.*, iii. 7 E; vii. 35 A.

6. Caesar auiam Venerem. Julius Caesar in a funeral oration upon his aunt said of his ancestry: *A Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra* (Suetonius, "Diuus Iulius," 6).

CHAPTER IV.

Of Varro's belief in the utility of the false pretence which men make of being descended from the gods.

1. Varro. He is several times eulogised by A., here as *doctissimus eorum*, sc. *paganorum*, and elsewhere as *auctor acutissimus adque doctissimus* (iv. 31 C). Cp. vi. 2 A, where A. pays a fine tribute to Varro, quoting Cicero's description of him as *homo omnium facile acutissimus et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimus ;* also vi. 6 B. Varro was indeed, as Terentianus Maurus called him, in the line quoted by A. (vi. 2 D),

Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro ;

or, as Quintilian, *Romanorum doctissmus* ("Instit. Orat.," x. 1, 95). Of his encyclopædic learning little now remains. His great work, "Antiquitatum Libri," was divided into two parts—viz., "Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum" in twenty-five books, and "Antiquitates Rerum Diuinarum" in sixteen books. A. gives a succinct account of the whole work (vi. 3). Varro is said to have written seventy-four works in some 620 volumes. See Teuffel, "History of Roman Literature," § 154. The loss of Varro's "Antiquitatum Libri" is a serious misfortune for the student of A.'s writings, and especially of *D.C.D.*, as A. quotes him or refers to him again and again.

genitos esse credant, ut eo modo animus humanus uelut diuinae stirpis fiduciam gerens res magnas adgrediendas praesumat audacius, agat uehementius et ob hoc inpleat [2]ipsa securitate felicius.

(B) Quae Varronis sententia expressa, ut potui, meis uerbis cernis quam latum locum aperiat falsitati, ubi intellegamus plura iam sacra et quasi religiosa potuisse confingi, ubi putata sunt ciuibus etiam de ipsis dis prodesse mendacia.

CAPUT V.

NON PROBARI QUOD DI ADULTERIUM PARIDIS PUNIERINT, QUOD IN ROMULI MATRE NON ULTI SUNT.

(A) Sed utrum potuerit Venus ex concubitu Anchisae Aenean parere uel Mars ex concubitu [1]filiae Numitoris Romulum gignere, in medio relinquamus. Nam paene talis quaestio etiam de scripturis nostris oboritur, qua quaeritur, utrum [2]praeuaricatores angeli *cum filiabus hominum concubuerint, unde natis gigantibus, hoc est nimium grandibus ac fortibus uiris, tunc terra conpleta est. Proinde [3]ad utrumque interim modo nostra disputatio referatur. Si enim uera sunt, quae aput illos de matre Aeneae et de patre Romuli lectitantur, quo modo possunt dis adulteria displicere hominum, quae in se ipsis concorditer ferunt? Si autem falsa sunt, ne sic quidem possunt irasci ueris adulteriis humanis, qui etiam falsis delectantur suis. Huc accedit, quoniam, si illud de Marte non creditur, ut hoc quoque de Venere non credatur, nullo diuini concubitus obtentu matris Romuli causa defenditur.

(B) Fuit autem sacerdos illa [4]Vestalis, et ideo di magis in Romanos sacrilegum illud flagitium quam in Troianos Paridis adulterium uindicare debuerunt. Nam et ipsi Romani antiqui in stupro

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2. **ipsa securitate** = "through the very confidence which the belief inspires."

CHAPTER V.

That it is not credible that the gods punished the adultery of Paris, when they did not avenge adultery in the mother of Romulus.

1. **filiae Numitoris**—*sc.* Rhea Siluia.

2. **praeuaricatores angeli** = "the apostate angels." A. speaks often of the angels who fell from their celestial estate as *praeuaricatores*, and of their sin as *praeuaricatio*. They are the angels who transgressed and therefore fell. Cp. "De Agone Christiano," i. 1: *omnes praeuaricatores angeli quorum diabolus princeps est.* The allusion here is to Gen. vi. 2-4—a passage which A. interprets elsewhere (xv. 22). He repudiates (xv. 23 D) the superstition *Dei angelos sanctos . . . illo tempore sic labi potuisse.*

3. **ad utrumque** = "to the dilemma." Cp. i. 15 B; 19 F; xii. 21 N. Here *utrumque* itself (without any explanatory verb) means "a dilemma."

4. **Vestalis**—Rhea Siluia was one of the Vestal Virgins.

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* Gen. vi. 4.

detectas Vestae sacerdotes uiuas etiam [5]defodiebant, adulteras autem feminas, quamuis aliqua damnatione, nulla tamen morte plectebant: usque adeo grauius quae putabant adyta diuina quam humana cubilia uindicabant.

CAPUT VI.

DE [1]PARRICIDIO ROMULI, QUOD DI NON VINDICARUNT.

(A) Aliud adicio, quia, si peccata hominum illis numinibus displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Troiam ferro ignibusque donarent, magis eos contra Romanos moueret Romuli frater occisus quam contra Troianos Graecus maritus inlusus; magis inritaret parricidium nascentis quam regnantis adulterium ciuitatis. Nec ad causam, quam nunc agimus, interest, utrum hoc fieri Romulus iusserit aut Romulus fecerit, quod multi inpudentia negant, multi pudore dubitant, multi dolore dissimulant. Nec nos itaque in ea re diligentius requirenda per multorum scriptorum perpensa testimonia demoremur: Romuli fratrem palam constat occisum, non ab hostibus, non ab alienis.

(B) Si aut perpetrauit aut imperauit hoc Romulus, [2]magis ipse fuit Romanorum quam Paris Troianorum caput; quur igitur Troianis iram deorum prouocauit ille alienae coniugis raptor, et eorundem deorum tutelam Romanis inuitauit iste sui fratris extinctor? Si autem illud scelus a facto imperioque Romuli alienum est: quoniam debuit utique uindicari, tota hoc illa ciuitas fecit, [3]quod tota contemsit, et non iam fratrem, [4]sed patrem, quod est peius, occidit. Uterque enim fuit conditor, ubi alter scelere ablatus non permissus est esse regnator.

(C) Non est, ut arbitror, quod dicatur quid mali Troia meruerit, ut eam di desererent, quo posset extingui, et quid boni Roma, ut eam di inhabitarent, quo posset augeri; nisi quod uicti inde fugerunt et se ad istos, quos pariter deciperent, contulerunt; immo uero et

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5. defodiebant. *Altera* (says Livy, speaking of the Vestal Virgins who had broken their vow of chastity, xxii. 57) *sub terra, ut mos est, ad portam Collinam necata.* Cp. Livy, viii. 15.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the unnatural murder which Romulus committed and the gods did not avenge.

1. parricidium. It was fratricide, not parricide; but *parricidium* means the murder not only of a parent but of a kinsman, and indeed any unnatural crime private or public—*e.g.*, iii. 15 E. Cp. *parricida Romanae rei publicae* (iii. 7 B).

2. magis ipse fuit, etc.—because Romulus was king and Paris only a king's son

3. quod tota comtensit—" because the whole State treated it as something that did not matter."

4. sed patrem—Romulus being regarded as *pater patriae.*

[5]illic manserunt ad eos more suo decipiendos, qui rursus easdem terras habitarent, et [6]hic easdem artes fallaciae suae magis etiam exercendo maioribus honoribus gloriati sunt.

CAPUT VII.

DE EVERSIONE ILII, QUOD DUX MARII [1]FIMBRIA EXCIDIT.

(A) Certe enim ciuilibus iam bellis scatentibus quid miserum commiserat Ilium, ut a Fimbria, Marianarum partium homine pessimo, euerteretur, multo ferocius adque crudelius quam olim a Graecis? Nam tunc et multi inde fugerunt et multi captiuati saltem in seruitute uixerunt; porro autem Fimbria prius edictum proposuit, ne cui parceretur, adque urbem totam cunctosque in ea homines incendio concremauit. Hoc meruit Ilium non a Graecis quos sua inritauerat iniquitate, sed a Romanis quos sua calamitate propagauerat, dis illis communibus ad haec repellenda nihil iuuantibus seu, quod uerum est, nihil ualentibus.

(B) Numquid et tunc

*Abscessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di,

quibus illud oppidum steterat post antiquos Graecorum ignes ruinasque reparatum? Si autem abscesserant, causam requiro, et oppidanorum quidem quanto inuenio meliorem, tanto deteriorem deorum. Illi enim contra Fimbriam portas clauserant, ut Syllae seruarent integram ciuitatem; hinc eos iratus incendit uel potius penitus extinxit. Adhuc autem [2]meliorum partium ciuilium Sylla dux fuit, adhuc armis rem publicam recuperare moliebatur; horum bonorum initiorum nondum malos euentus habuit. Quid ergo melius ciues urbis illius facere potuerunt, quid honestius, quid

5. illic manserunt—in Troy.

6. hic—in Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the destruction of Ilium, which was overthrown by Fimbria, one of the generals of Marius.

1. Fimbria—C. Flavius Fimbria, who was a strong partisan of Marius in the Civil War against Sylla, served, after his death, under L. Valerius Flaccus in Asia, succeeded him, when he was killed, in the command, and at last, B.C. 84, put an end to his own life, to avoid falling into the hands of Sylla. Of his behaviour at Troy there is a brief account in Livy ("Epit.," 83); Appian ("De Bell. Mithrid.," 53). Cp. Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 116).

2. meliorum partium. Cp. *iustioribus partibus*, below. A phrase like this, conventional though it is, yet reveals A.'s political sympathy. His opinion of Marius is stated below in ii. 23 A. But he admits the moral decline of Sylla's last years elsewhere (ii. 24 E and F), as well as here.

* Virg., "Aen.," ii. 351-2.

fidelius, quid Romana parentela dignius quam meliori causae Romanorum ciuitatem seruare et contra parricidam Romanae rei publicae portas claudere ?

(c) At hoc eis in quantum exitium uerterit, adtendant defensores deorum. [3]Deseruerint di adulteros Iliumque flammis Graecorum reliquerint, ut ex eius cineribus Roma castior nasceretur: quur et postea deseruerunt eandem ciuitatem Romanis cognatam, non rebellantem aduersus Romam nobilem filiam, sed iustioribus eius partibus fidem constantissimam piissimamque seruantem, eamque delendam reliquerunt non Graecorum uiris fortibus, sed uiro spurcissimo Romanorum ?

(d) Aut si displicebat dis causa partium Syllanarum, cui seruantes urbem miseri portas clauserant, quur eidem [4]Syllae tanta bona promittebant et praenuntiabant ? An et hic agnoscuntur adulatores felicium potius quam infelicium defensores ? Non ergo Ilium etiam tunc, ab eis cum desereretur, euersum est. Nam daemones ad decipiendum semper uigilantissimi, quod potuerunt, fecerunt.

(e) Euersis quippe et incensis omnibus cum oppido simulacris solum Mineruae sub tanta ruina templi illius, [5]ut scribit Liuius, integrum stetisse perhibetur, non ut [6][diceretur]

*Di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,

ad eorum laudem, sed ne diceretur:

Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di,

ad eorum defensionem. Illud enim posse permissi sunt, non unde probarentur potentes, sed unde praesentes conuincerentur.

CAPUT VIII.

AN DEBUERIT DIS ILIACIS ROMA COMMITTI.

(a) Dis itaque Iliacis [1]post Troiae ipsius documentum qua tandem prudentia Roma custodienda commissa est ? Dixerit

3. Deseruerint di = " it is urged that the gods deserted."

4. Syllae tanta bona. Cp. ii. 24 b.

5. ut scribit Liuius—presumably in Book lxxxiii. Cp. Julius Obsequens (" Prodig.," 116).

6. [diceretur]—must be supplied in thought, if not in the text; but see note on iii. 3 c.

CHAPTER VIII.

Whether Rome ought to have been committed to the care of the gods of Ilium.

1. post Troiae ipsius documentum—*i.e.*, after the impotence of the gods had been demonstrated at Troy.

* Virg., " Aen.," ix. 247.

quispiam iam eos Romae habitare solitos, quando expugnante Fimbria cecidit Ilium. Unde ergo stetit [2]Mineruae simulacrum ? Deinde, si aput Romam erant, quando Fimbria deleuit Ilium, fortasse aput Ilium erant, quando a Gallis ipsa Roma capta et incensa est; sed ut sunt auditu acutissimi motuque celerrimi, [3]ad uocem anseris cito redierunt, ut saltem Capitolinum collem, [4]qui remanserat, tuerentur; ceterum ad alia defendenda serius sunt redire commoniti.

CAPUT IX.

AN ILLAM PACEM, QUAE SUB NUMAE REGNO FUIT, DEOS PRAESTITISSE CREDENDUM SIT.

(A) Hi etiam Numam Pompilium successorem Romuli adiuuisse creduntur, ut toto regni sui tempore pacem haberet et [1]Iani portas, quae bellis patere adsolent, clauderet, eo merito scilicet, quia Romanis multa sacra constituit. Illi uero homini pro tanto otio gratulandum fuit, si modo id rebus salubribus scisset inpendere et perniciosissima curiositate neglecta Deum uerum uera pietate perquirere.

(B) Nunc autem non ei di contulerunt illud otium, sed eum minus fortasse decepissent, si otiosum minime repperissent. Quanto enim minus eum occupatum inuenerunt, tanto magis ipsi occupauerunt. Nam quid ille molitus sit et quibus artibus deos tales sibi uel illi ciuitati consociare potuerit, [2]Varro prodit, quod, si Domino placuerit, *suo diligentius disseretur loco.

(C) Modo autem quia de beneficiis eorum quaestio est: magnum beneficium est pax, sed Dei ueri beneficium est, plerumque etiam sicut sol, sicut pluuia uitaeque alia subsidia †super ingratos et nequam. Sed si hoc tam magnum bonum di illi Romae uel Pompilio contulerunt, quur imperio Romano per ipsa tempora laudabilia id numquam postea praestiterunt ? An utiliora erant sacra, cum instituerentur, quam cum instituta celebrarentur ?

2. Mineruae simulacrum. Cp. iii. 7 E.

3. ad uocem anseris—according to the well-known story which A. tells (ii. 22 D). But he gives vent here as before (iii. 3 B) to his contempt for the false deities of paganism.

4. qui remanserat—as not captured by the Gauls.

CHAPTER IX.

Whether it is credible that the peace which existed in the reign of Numa was the gift of the gods.

1. Iani portas—three times and three times only closed in Roman History: by Numa, by T. Manlius Torquatus, and by Octavian (Augustus).

2. Varro prodit—no doubt in his " Antiquitates Rerum Diuinarum." See note on iii. 4 B.

* vii. 34. † Matt. v. 45.

(d) Atqui tunc nondum erant, sed ut essent addebantur; postea uero iam erant, quae ut prodessent custodiebantur. Quid ergo est, quod illi [3]quadraginta tres uel, ut alii uolunt, [4]triginta et nouem anni in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa, et postea sacris institutis disque ipsis, qui eisdem sacris fuerant inuitati, iam praesidibus adque tutoribus uix post tam multos annos ab Urbe condita usque ad Augustum pro magno miraculo[5] unus commemoratur annus post primum bellum Punicum, quo belli portas Romani claudere potuerunt ?

CAPUT X.

AN OPTANDUM FUERIT, UT TANTA BELLORUM RABIE ROMANUM AUGERETUR IMPERIUM, CUM EO STUDIO, QUO SUB NUMA AUCTUM EST, ET QUIETUM ESSE POTUISSET ET TUTUM.

(a) An respondent, quod nisi adsiduis sibique continuo succedentibus bellis Romanum imperium tam longe lateque non posset augeri et tam grandi gloria diffamari ? Idonea uero causa ! Ut magnum esset imperium, quur esse deberet inquietum ? Nonne in corporibus hominum satius est modicam staturam cum sanitate habere quam ad molem aliquam giganteam perpetuis adflictionibus peruenire, nec cum perueneris requiescere, sed quanto grandioribus membris, tanto maioribus agitari malis ?

(b) Quid autem mali esset, ac non potius plurimum boni, si ea tempora perdurarent, quae perstrinxit Sallustius, ubi ait: *"Igitur [1]initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diuersi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; etiamtum uita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant." An ut tam multum augeretur imperium, debuit fieri quod Vergilius detestatur, dicens:

†Deterior donec paulatim et decolor aetas
Et belli rabies et amor successit habendi ?

3. quadraginta tres—according to Livy (i. 21).

4. triginta et nouem—according to Cicero ("De Re Publ.," ii. 14) and Polybius, whom Cicero follows.

5. unus commemoratur annus. B.C. 235. The first Punic War had come to an end, B.C. 241.

CHAPTER X.

Whether it was desirable that the Roman Empire should be extended by so furious a lust of warfare when it might have been both quiet and safe by following the spirit in which it was administered under Numa.

1. initio. There has always been in human nature a curious tendency to idealise the primitive or early state of human society, and Sallust exhibits it here; but nothing is more certain than that the "good old times," as they are called, were neither old nor good.

* "Catil.," 2. † "Aen.," viii. 326-7.

(C) Sed plane pro tantis bellis susceptis et gestis iusta defensio Romanorum est, quod inruentibus sibi inportune inimicis resistere cogebat non auiditas adipiscendae laudis humanae, sed necessitas tuendae salutis et libertatis. Ita sit plane. Nam *" postquam res eorum," sicut scribit ipse Sallustius, " legibus, moribus, agris satis prospera satisque pollens uidebatur, sicut pleraque mortalium habentur, inuidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obuiam ire, libertatem, patriam parentesque armis tegere. Post ubi pericula uirtute propulerant, sociis adque amicis auxilia portabant magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant."

(D) Decenter his artibus Roma creuit. Sed regnante Numa, ut tam longa pax esset, utrum inruebant inprobi belloque tentabant, an nihil eorum fiebat, ut posset pax illa persistere ? Si enim bellis etiam tum Roma lacessebatur nec armis arma obuia ferebantur: quibus modis agebatur, ut nulla pugna superati, nullo Martio impetu territi sedarentur inimici, his modis semper ageretur et semper Roma clausis Iani portis pacata regnaret. Quod si in potestate non fuit, non ergo Roma pacem habuit, quamdiu di eorum, sed quamdiu homines finitimi circumquaque uoluerunt, qui eam nullo bello prouocauerunt; [2]nisi forte di tales etiam id homini uendere audebunt, quod alius homo uoluit siue noluit.

(E) Interest quidem iam [3]uitio proprio malas mentes quatenus sinantur isti daemones uel terrere uel excitare; sed si semper hoc possent nec aliud secretiore ac superiore potestate contra eorum conatum saepe aliter ageretur, semper in potestate haberent paces bellicasque uictorias, quae semper fere per humanorum animorum motus accidunt; quas tamen plerumque contra eorum fieri uoluntatem non solae fabulae multa mentientes et uix ueri aliquid uel indicantes uel significantes, sed etiam ipsa Romana confitetur historia.

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2. **nisi forte di tales,** etc.=" unless perchance the character of the gods is such that they will dare to sell a man what another man has willed to be or not to be" —*i.e.*, something which lies in the power not of the gods but of other men.

3. **uitio proprio**—instrumental Ablative in conjunction with *terrere* and *excitare; uitium* being the depravity of the daemons.

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* " Catil.," 6.

CAPUT XI.

DE SIMULACRO CUMANI APOLLINIS, CUIUS FLETUS CREDITUS EST CLADEM GRAECORUM, QUIBUS OPITULARI NON POTERAT, INDICASSE.

(A) Neque enim aliunde [1]Apollo ille Cumanus, cum aduersus [2]Achiuos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quatriduo fleuisse nuntiatus est; quo prodigio haruspices territi cum id simulacrum in mare putauissent esse proiciendum, Cumani senes intercesserunt adque rettulerunt tale prodigium et [3]Antiochi et [4]Persis bello in eodem apparuisse figmento, et quia Romanis feliciter prouenisset, ex senatus consulto eidem Apollini suo [5]dona missa esse testati sunt.

(B) Tunc uelut peritiores acciti haruspices responderunt simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse Romanis, quoniam [6]Cumana colonia Graeca esset, suisque terris, unde accitus esset, id est ipsi Graeciae, luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem. Deinde mox regem Aristonicum uictum et captum esse nuntiatum est, quem uinci utique Apollo nolebat et dolebat et hoc sui lapidis etiam lacrimis indicabat. Unde non usquequaque incongrue quamuis fabulosis, tamen ueritati similibus [7]mores daemonum describuntur carminibus poetarum.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the statue of the Cumaean Apollo, who is believed to have foreshown by his weeping the disaster of the Greeks whom it was not in his power to assist.

1. Apollo ille Cumanus. Cp. Julius Obsequens: *Apollinis simulacrum Cumis lacrimauit per quatriduum; uates responderunt Graeciae fore exitium unde deductum esset* ("Prodig.," 87). Livy says (xliii. 13), *Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tres noctes lacrimauit*, in reference to the war against Perseus.

2. Achiuos regemque Aristonicum. The words would naturally refer to the Roman wars—one against the Achaeans, which Mummius brought to an end by his capture of Corinth, B.C. 146; the other against Aristonicus, who resented and resisted the action of his brother in bequeathing his kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans, and after defeating Crassus was at last taken prisoner and carried to Rome and executed there B.C. 129. But it is probable that A. has made a mistake in associating the Achiui with Aristonicus; for neither Livy ("Epist.," lix.) nor Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 87) mentions them. Cp. Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," ii. 4); Orosius ("Hist.," v. 10). The variations in the MSS. (*Stratonicum, Tratonicum* etc.) show that the apparent association of Aristonicus with the Achaean League was felt by the transcribers to be a historical difficulty.

3. Antiochi—Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, who was conquered by L. Cornelius Scipio at the battle of Mount Sipylus in Thessaly, B.C. 190.

4. Persis—Perseus, king of Macedonia, conquered by L. Aemilius Paulus at the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168. The Gen. of *Persis* must be formed from *Perses*. The Gen. of *Perseus* would be *Perseos* or *Persei*, according as it was declined in the Greek or the Latin manner.

5. dona missa esse. See Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 87).

6. Cumana colonia. That Cumae was a colony of Greek origin appears from Strabo ("Geograph.," v. 4, 4).

7. mores daemonum. A. confines himself to the passages of Virgil; he might have referred to Homer ("Iliad," xvi. 458-461), where Zeus (*πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε*

(C) Nam *Camillam Diana doluit aput Vergilium et †Pallantem moriturum Hercules fleuit. Hinc fortassis et Numa Pompilius pace abundans, sed quo donante nesciens nec requirens, cum cogitaret otiosus, quibusnam dis tuendam Romanam salutem regnumque committeret, nec uerum illum adque omnipotentem summum Deum curare opinaretur ista terrena, adque recoleret Troianos deos, quos Aeneas aduexerat, neque Troianum neque Lauiniense ab ipso Aenea conditum regnum diu conseruare potuisse: alios prouidendos existimauit, quos illis prioribus, qui siue cum Romulo iam Romam transierant, siue quandoque Alba euersa fuerant transituri, uel tamquam fugitiuis custodes adhiberet uel tamquam inualidis adiutores.

CAPUT XII.

QUANTOS SIBI DEOS ROMANI PRAETER CONSTITUTIONEM NUMAE ADIECERINT, QUORUM EOS NUMEROSITAS NIHIL IUVERIT.

(A) Nec his sacris tamen Roma dignata est esse contenta, quae tam multa illic Pompilius constituerat. Nam ipsius summum templum nondum habebat [1]Iouis; rex quippe [2]Tarquinius ibi Capitolium fabricauit; [3]Aesculapius autem ab Epidauro [4]ambiuit ad Romam, ut peritissimus medicus in urbe nobilissima artem gloriosius exerceret; [5]Mater etiam deum [6]nescio unde a Pessinunte.

θεῶν τε) sheds rain-drops of blood (*αἱματοέσσας ψιάδας—i.e.*, probably tears mingled with blood) in sorrow for the death awaiting his son Sarpedon.

CHAPTER XII.

That the Romans added to their gods a great number besides the gods officially recognised by Numa, and that this great number of gods did the Romans no good.

1. Iouis. The Benedictine editors take *Iouis* here to be Nom. as vii. 14 B; but *ipsius* shows that the subject of *habebat* is *Roma*.

2. Tarquinius—*sc.* Tarquinius Superbus; cp. iii. 15 F. Livy (i. 55) says of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—the Capitolium : *Tarquinios reges ambos, patrem uouisse, filium perfecisse.* Tacitus ("Hist.," iii. 72), who ascribes to Tarquinius Priscus the honour of having laid the foundation of the Temple, gives an interesting account of the stages by which it was gradually brought to completion.

3. Aesculapius. Livy relates (x. 47) how the Romans introduced B.C. 293 the cult of the Greek Asclepios (the Latin Aesculapius) from Epidaurus, in the hope of escaping a pestilence. Cp. iii. 17 H.

4. ambiuit="shifted his quarters." There is a sarcastic touch in *ambiuit*.

5. Mater . . . deum—*sc.* Cybele, who has been called *Mater deum* (ii. 4 B, 5 C). Pessinus, a town in Asia Minor, at the foot of Mount Dindymus, was celebrated as a seat of her worship. The transportation of her image to Rome, in conformity with a Sibylline oracle, is recounted by Livy (xxix. 10 and 11). See note on i. 30 A.

6. nescio unde a Pessinunte="from an obscure place called Pessinus." See Livy (xxix. 11); he mentions in the same chapter the coming of Aesculapius from Epidaurus and of Cybele from Pessinus.

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* "Aen.," xi. 836-49. † "Aen.," x. 457-69.

Indignum enim erat, ut, cum eius filius iam colli Capitolino praesideret, adhuc ipsa in loco ignobili latitaret.

(B) Quae tamen si omnium deorum mater est, non solum secuta est Romam quosdam filios suos, uerum et alios praecessit etiam secuturos. Miror sane, si ipsa peperit [7]Cynocephalum, qui longe postea uenit ex Aegypto. Utrum etiam dea Febris ex illa nata sit, uiderit Aesculapius [8]pronepos eius; sed undecumque nata sit, non, opinor, audebunt eam dicere ignobilem di peregrini deam ciuem Romanam.

(C) Sub hoc tot deorum praesidio (quos numerare quis potest, indigenas et alienigenas, caelites, terrestres, infernos, marinos, fontanos, fluuiales, et, ut Varro dicit, [9]certos adque incertos, in omnibusque generibus deorum, sicut in animalibus, mares et feminas ?)—sub hoc ergo tot deorum praesidio constituta Roma non tam magnis et horrendis cladibus, quales ex multis paucas commemorabo, agitari adfligique debuit.

(D) Nimis enim multos deos [10]grandi fumo suo tamquam signo dato ad tuitionem congregauerat, quibus templa, altaria, sacrificia, sacerdotes instituendo adque praebendo summum uerum Deum, cui uni haec rite gesta debentur, offenderet. Et felicior quidem cum paucioribus uixit, sed quanto maior facta est, sicut nauis nautas, tanto plures adhibendos putauit; credo, desperans pauciores illos, sub quibus in conparationem peioris uitae melius uixerat, non sufficere ad opitulandum granditati suae.

Primo enim sub ipsis regibus, excepto Numa Pompilio, de quo iam supra locutus sum, quantum malum discordiosi certaminis fuit, quod fratrem Romuli coegit occidi !

CAPUT XIII.

QUO IURE, QUO FOEDERE ROMANI OBTINUERINT PRIMA CONIUGIA.

(A) Quo modo nec Iuno, quae cum Ioue suo iam

*fouebat

Romanos rerum dominos [1]gentemque togatam,

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7. Cynocephalum. Cp. ii. 14 E; also on *dea Febris*.

8. pronepos eius—as being the son of Apollo.

9. certos adque incertos. For Varro's distinction between *di certi* and *di incerti* see vii. 17 A and B.

10. grandi fumo suo—the smoke of innumerable sacrifices.

CHAPTER XIII.

By what right or by what treaty the Romans obtained their first wives.

1. gentemque togatam. The *toga* was the distinctive garb of Roman life and so of Roman pride. Horace ranks it among the characteristic emblems which made

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* Virg., "Aen.," i. 281-2.

nec Venus ipsa Aeneidas suos potuit adiuuare, ut bono et aequo more coniugia mererentur, cladesque tanta inruit huius inopiae, ut ea dolo raperent moxque conpellerentur pugnare cum soceris, ut miserae feminae nondum ex iniuria maritis conciliatae iam parentum sanguine dotarentur? At enim uicerunt in hac conflictione Romani uicinos suos. Quantis et quam multis utrimque uulneribus et funeribus tam propinquorum et confinium istae uictoriae constiterunt! Propter unum Caesarem socerum et unum generum eius Pompeium iam mortua [2]Caesaris filia, uxore Pompei, quanto et quam iusto doloris instinctu Lucanus exclamat:

*[3]Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos
Iusque datum sceleri canimus.

(B) Vicerunt ergo Romani, ut strage socerorum manibus cruentis ab eorum filiabus amplexus miserabiles extorquerent, nec illae auderent flere patres occisos, ne offenderent uictores maritos, quae adhuc illis pugnantibus pro quibus facerent uota nesciebant. Talibus nuptiis populum Romanum non Venus, sed Bellona donauit; aut fortassis [4]Allecto illa inferna furia iam eis fauente Iunone plus in illos habuit licentiae, quam cum eius precibus contra Aenean fuerat excitata. [5]Andromacha felicius captiuata est, quam illa [6]conubia Romana nupserunt. [7]Licet seruiles, tamen post eius amplexus nullum Troianorum Pyrrhus occidit; Romani autem soceros interficiebant in proeliis, quorum iam filias amplexabantur in thalamis.

(C) Illa uictori subdita dolere tantum suorum mortem potuit, non timere; illae sociatae bellantibus parentum suorum mortes procedentibus uiris timebant, redeuntibus dolebant, nec timorem habentes liberum nec dolorem. Nam propter interitum ciuium, propinquorum, fratrum, parentum aut [8]pie cruciabantur aut crude-

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the strongest appeal to Roman patriotic sentiment when he speaks of the degenerate soldiers as:

Anciliorum et nominis et togae
Oblitus aeternaeque Vestae
("Carm.," iii. 5, 10-11).

2. Caesaris filia, uxore Pompei—Julia, who was married to Pompey 59 B.C. and who died 54 B.C.

3. Bella per Emathios, etc.—the exordium of Lucan's "Pharsalia."

4. Allecto. See Virg., "Aen.," vii. 323 *sqq.*

5. Andromacha—Hector's wife, whose love for him is one of the beautiful and pathetic features in the "Iliad" (*e.g.*, "Iliad," xxii. 437 *sqq.*), fell, at the capture of Troy, into the hands of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus), the son of Achilles.

6. conubia Romana="brides of the Romans." If *coniugia* is read, it must bear the same meaning.

7. Licet seruiles="although she was a slave," *seruiles* agreeing with *amplexus.*

8. pie cruciabantur="their affection was put to the torture."

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* "Phars.," i. 2.

liter laetabantur uictoriis maritorum. Huc accedebat, quod, ut sunt alterna bellorum, aliquae parentum ferro amiserunt uiros, aliquae utrorumque ferro et parentes et uiros.

(D) Neque enim et aput Romanos parua fuerunt illa discrimina, si quidem ad obsidionem quoque peruentum est ciuitatis clausisque portis se tuebantur; quibus dolo apertis admissisque hostibus intra moenia in ipso foro scelerata et nimis atrox inter generos socerosque pugna commissa est, et raptores illi etiam superabantur et crebro fugientes inter domos suas grauius foedabant pristinas, quamuis et ipsas pudendas lugendasque uictorias.

(E) Hic tamen Romulus de suorum iam uirtute desperans Iouem orauit ut starent, adque ille hac occasione nomen [9]Statoris inuenit; nec finis esset tanti mali, nisi raptae illae laceratis crinibus emicarent et prouolutae parentibus iram eorum iustissimam non armis uictricibus, sed supplici pietate sedarent. Deinde [10][Titum] Tatium regem Sabinorum socium regni Romulus ferre conpulsus est, [11]germani consortis inpatiens: sed quando et istum diu toleraret, qui fratrem geminumque non pertulit? Unde et ipso interfecto, [12]ut maior deus esset, regnum solus obtinuit.

(F) Quae sunt ista iura nuptiarum, quae inritamenta bellorum, quae foedera germanitatis, adfinitatis, societatis, diuinitatis? quae postremo sub tot dis tutoribus uita ciuitatis? Vides quanta hinc dici et quam multa possent, nisi quae supersunt nostra curaret intentio et sermo in alia festinaret.

CAPUT XIV.

DE INPIETATE BELLI, QUOD ALBANIS ROMANI INTULERUNT, ET DE VICTORIA DOMINANDI LIBIDINE ADEPTA.

(A) Quid deinde post Numam sub aliis regibus? Quanto malo non solum suo, sed etiam Romanorum [1]in bellum Albani prouocati sunt, quia uidelicet pax Numae tam longa uiluerat! Quam crebrae strages Romani Albanique exercitus fuerunt et utriusque com-

9. Statoris. Livy (i. 12) describes the circumstances in which the name *Jupiter Stator* originated. A. agrees here (but not apparently vii. 11 A) with Livy's derivation of the name *Stator*.

10. [Titum] Tatium. See Livy, i. 13. It is probable that A. spoke of Titus Tatius simply as Tatius. Tatius, however, was killed, according to Livy (i. 14), not by Romulus, but by the Laurentes.

11. germani consortis—*sc.* his brother Remus.

12. ut maior deus esset. A. chooses to look upon Romulus as already a god in pagan eyes, before his apotheosis.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the sacrilegious character of the war which the Romans declared against the Albans, and of the victory won by the lust of empire.

1. in bellum Albani prouocati sunt. See Livy, i. 22-23.

minutio ciuitatis! Alba namque illa, quam filius Aeneae [2]creauit Ascanius, Romae [3]mater proprior ipsa quam Troia, a Tullo Hostilio rege prouocata conflixit, confligens autem et adflicta est et adflixit, donec multorum taederet [4]pari defectione certaminum.

(B) Tunc [5]euentum belli de tergeminis hinc adque inde fratribus placuit experiri; a Romanis tres Horatii, ab Albanis autem tres Curiatii processerunt; a Curiatiis tribus Horatii duo, ab uno autem Horatio tres Curiatii superati et extincti sunt. Ita Roma extitit uictrix ea clade etiam in certamine extremo, ut de sex unus rediret domum. Cui damnum in utrisque, cui luctus, nisi Aeneae stirpi, nisi Ascanii posteris, nisi proli Veneris, nisi nepotibus Iouis? Nam et hoc "[6]plus quam ciuile bellum" fuit, quando filia ciuitas cum ciuitate matre pugnauit.

(C) Accessit aliud huic tergeminorum pugnae ultimae atrox adque horrendum malum. Nam ut erant ambo populi prius amici (uicini quippe adque cognati), uni Curiatiorum desponsata fuerat Horatiorum soror; haec postea quam sponsi spolia in uictore fratre conspexit, ab eodem fratre, quoniam fleuit, occisa est. Humanior huius unius feminae quam uniuersi populi Romani mihi fuisse uidetur adfectus. Illa quem uirum iam [7]fide media retinebat, aut forte etiam ipsum fratrem dolens, qui eum occiderat cui sororem promiserat, puto quod non culpabiliter fleuerit.

(D) Unde enim *aput Vergilium pius Aeneas laudabiliter dolet [8]hostem etiam sua peremtum manu? Unde [9]Marcellus Syracusanam ciuitatem recolens eius paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus suas subito concidisse communem cogitans condicionem flendo miseratus est? Quaeso ab humano inpetremus adfectu, ut femina sponsum suum a fratre suo peremtum sine crimine fleuerit, si uiri hostes a se uictos etiam cum laude fleuerunt. Ergo sponso a fratre inlatam mortem quando femina illa flebat, tunc se contra matrem ciuitatem tanta strage bellasse et tanta hinc et inde cognati cruoris effusione uicisse Roma gaudebat.

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2. **creauit Ascanius.** See Virg., "Aen.," i. 267-71.

3. **mater proprior**="which might more properly be called the mother."

4. **pari defectione**="in which both sides were equally the sufferers."

5. **euentum belli,** etc. See Livy, i. 24-26.

6. **plus quam ciuile bellum**—the language of Lucan, "Phars.," i. 1, as already quoted (iii. 13 A).

7. **fide media**="by the troth pledged between them."

8. **hostem**—*sc.* Lausus, who had just saved the life of his father Mezentius.

9. **Marcellus**—M. Claudius Marcellus, the captor of Syracuse, B.C. 212. Cp. note on i. 6 B.

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* "Aen.," x. 821-8.

(E) Quid mihi obtenditur nomen laudis nomenque uictoriae? Remotis obstaculis insanae opinionis facinora nuda cernantur, nuda pensentur, nuda iudicentur. [10]Causa dicatur Albae, sicut Troiae adulterium dicebatur. Nulla talis, nulla similis inuenitur; tantum ut " resides moueret

*Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis
Agmina,

(F) Illo itaque uitio tantum scelus perpetratum est socialis belli adque cognati, quod uitium Sallustius magnum transeunter adtingit. Cum enim laudans breuiter antiquiora commemorasset tempora, quando uita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur et sua cuique satis placebant: †" Postea uero," inquit, "quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes adque nationes subigere, libidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare," et cetera quae ipse instituerat dicere. Mihi huc usque satis sit eius uerba posuisse. Libido ista dominandi magnis malis agitat et conterit humanum genus. Hac libidine Roma tunc uicta Albam se uicisse triumphabat et sui sceleris laudem gloriam nominabat, ‡*quoniam laudatur*, inquit scriptura nostra, *peccator in desideriis animae suae et qui iniqua gerit benedicitur.*

(G) Fallacia igitur tegmina et deceptoriae [11]dealbationes auferantur a rebus, ut sincero inspiciantur examine. Nemo mihi dicat: magnus ille adque ille, quia cum illo [12][et illo] pugnauit et uicit. Pugnant etiam gladiatores, uincunt etiam ipsi, habet praemia laudis et illa crudelitas; sed puto esse satius cuiuslibet inertiae poenas luere quam illorum armorum quaerere gloriam. Et tamen si in harenam procederent pugnaturi inter se [13]gladiatores, quorum alter filius, alter esset pater, tale spectaculum quis ferret? quis non auferret?

(H) Quo modo ergo gloriosum alterius matris, alterius filiae ciuitatis inter se armorum potuit esse certamen? An ideo diuersum fuit, quod harena illa non fuit, et latiores campi non duorum gla-

10. Causa dicatur Albae="let the indictment against Alba be set out."

11. dealbationes="camouflages."

12. [et illo]. A.'s *breuiloquentia* may account for the omission of these words in the MSS.

13. gladiatores. A.'s dislike of the gladiatorial shows may be illustrated by the passage in which he speaks of *omnes illarum publicarum turpitudinum et scelerum professores, hoc est meretrices, lenones, gladiatores* (" De Fid. et Oper.," 33) (xviii.). It was about A.D. 404, within ten years of the date at which A. began the composition of the *D.C.D.*, that the monk Telemachus, by the sacrifice of his life in the Colosseum, put an end to the gladiatorial shows.

* Virg., " Aen.," vi. 814-5. † " Catil.," 2. ‡ Ps. x. 23.

diatorum, sed in duobus populis multorum funeribus inplebantur, nec amphitheatro cingebantur illa certamina, sed uniuerso orbe et tunc uiuis et posteris, quo usque ista fama porrigitur, inpium spectaculum praebebatur ?

(I) Vim tamen patiebantur studii sui di illi praesides imperii Romani et talium certaminum tamquam theatrici spectatores, donec Horatiorum soror propter Curiatios tres peremtos etiam ipsa tertia ex altera parte fraterno ferro duobus fratribus adderetur, ne minus haberet mortium etiam Roma quae uicerat. Deinde ad fructum uictoriae Alba subuersa est, ubi post Ilium, quod Graeci euerterunt, et post Lauinium, ubi Aeneas regnum peregrinum adque fugitiuum constituerat, tertio loco habitauerant numina illa Troiana.

(K) Sed more suo etiam inde iam fortasse migrauerant; ideo deleta est. " Discesserant " uidelicet

*omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di, quibus imperium

illud steterat. Discesserant sane ecce [14]iam tertio, ut eis quarta Roma prouidentissime crederetur. Displicuerat enim et Alba, ubi [15]Amulius expulso fratre, et Roma placuerat, ubi Romulus occiso fratre regnauerat. Sed antequam Alba dirueretur, transfusus est, inquiunt, populus eius in Romam, ut ex utraque una ciuitas fieret.

(L) Esto, ita factum sit; urbs tamen illa, Ascanii regnum et tertium domicilium Troianorum deorum, ab urbe filia mater euersa est; ut autem belli reliquiae ex duobus populis unum facerent, miserabile coagulum multus ante fusus utriusque sanguis fuit. Quid iam singillatim dicam sub ceteris regibus totiens eadem bella renouata, quae uictoriis finita uidebantur, et tantis stragibus iterum iterumque confecta, iterum iterumque post foedus et pacem inter soceros et generos et eorum stirpem posterosque repetita ? Non paruum indicium calamitatis huius fuit, quod [16]portas belli nullus clausit illorum. Nullus ergo illorum sub tot dis praesidibus in pace regnauit.

14. **iam tertio**—*i.e.*, from Alba, as before from Troy and from Lauinium. Cp. *tertium domicilium Troianorum deorum* below.

15. **Amulius expulso fratre.** His brother whom he drove out of the kingdom was named Numitor (Livy, i. 3).

16. **portas belli nullus clausit.** Cp. iii. 9 D.

* Virg., " Aen.," ii. 352-3.

CAPUT XV.

QUALIS ROMANORUM REGUM VITA ADQUE EXITUS FUERIT.

(A) Ipsorum autem regum qui exitus fuerunt? De Romulo uiderit adulatio fabulosa, qua perhibetur receptus in caelum; uiderint quidam scriptores eorum, qui eum propter ferocitatem [1]a senatu discerptum esse dixerunt subornatumque nescio quem [2]Iulium Proculum, qui eum sibi apparuisse diceret eumque per se populo mandasse Romano, ut inter numina coleretur, eoque modo populum, qui contra senatum intumescere coeperat, repressum adque sedatum.

(B) Acciderat enim et solis defectio, quam [3]certa ratione sui cursus effectam inperita nesciens multitudo meritis Romuli tribuebat. Quasi uero, si luctus ille solis fuisset, non magis ideo credi deberet occisus ipsumque scelus auersione etiam diurni luminis indicatum; sicut re uera factum est, cum *Dominus crucifixus est crudelitate adque inpietate Indaeorum. Quam solis obscurationem non [4]ex canonico siderum cursu accidisse satis ostendit, quod tunc erat pascha Iudaeorum; nam plena luna sollemniter agitur, regularis autem solis defectio non nisi lunae fine contingit.

(C) Satis et Cicero illam inter deos Romuli receptionem putatam magis significat esse quam factam, quando et laudans eum in libris de re publica Scipionisque sermone: †"Tantum est," inquit, "consecutus, ut, cum subito sole obscurato non conparuisset, deorum in numero conlocatus putaretur, quam opinionem nemo umquam mortalis assequi potuit sine eximia uirtutis gloria." Quod autem dicit eum subito non conparuisse, profecto ibi intellegitur aut uiolentia tempestatis aut caedis facinorisque secretum; nam et [5]alii scriptores eorum defectioni solis addunt etiam subitam tempestatem, quae profecto aut occasionem sceleri praebuit aut Romulum ipsa consumsit.

CHAPTER XV.

How the Roman kings lived and died.

1. a senatu discerptum. The legend of the dismemberment of Romulus will be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," ii. 56) as well as in Livy (i. 16).

2. Iulium Proculum. See Livy (i. 16); Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 15).

3. certa ratione sui cursus effectam. Cp. xxi. 8 E, especially the phrase *canones astrologorum, quos uelut inerrabili conputatione de praeteritis ac futuris astrorum motibus conscriptos habent*, as proving A.'s belief in astronomical science.

4. ex canonico siderum cursu. For the sense and use of *canonicus* see note on i. 20 A. It is here = *regularis* below. For A.'s argument cp. "Epist.," cxcix. 34 (x.) to Hesychius; Orosius ("Hist.," vii. 4).

5. alii scriptores—such as Livy (i. 15) and Plutarch ("Romulus," 27).

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* Luke xxiii. 44, 45. † "De Re Publ.," ii. 10.

(D) De Tullo quippe etiam Hostilio, qui tertius a Romulo rex fuit, quia et [6]ipse fulmine absumtus est, dicit *in eisdem libris idem Cicero, propterea et istum non creditum in deos receptum tali morte, quia fortasse quod erat in Romulo probatum, id est persuasum, Romani uulgare noluerunt, id est uile facere, si hoc et alteri facile tribueretur. Dicit etiam aperte in inuectiuis: †"Illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulum ad deos inmortales [7]beniuolentia famaque sustulimus," ut non uere factum, sed propter merita uirtutis eius beniuole iactatum diffamatumque monstraret. [8]In Hortensio uero dialogo cum de solis canonicis defectionibus loqueretur: ‡"Ut easdem," inquit, "tenebras [9]efficiat, quas effecit interitu Romuli, qui obscuratione solis est factus." Certe hic minime timuit hominis interitum dicere, quia disputator magis quam laudator fuit.

(E) Ceteri autem reges populi Romani, excepto Numa Pompilio et Anco Marcio, qui morbo interierunt, quam horrendos exitus habuerunt! [10]Tullus, ut dixi, Hostilius, uictor et euersor Albae, cum tota domo sua fulmine concrematus est. Priscus Tarquinius per [11]sui decessoris filios interemtus est. [12]Seruius Tullius generi sui Tarquinii Superbi, qui ei successit in regnum, nefario scelere occisus est. Nec

§discessere adytis arisque relictis
Di

tanto in optimum illius populi regem [13]parricidio perpetrato, quos dicunt, ut hoc miserae Troiae facerent eamque Graecis diruendam exurendamque relinquerent, adulterio Paridis fuisse commotos; sed insuper interfecto a se socero Tarquinius ipse successit.

(F) Hunc illi di nefarium parricidam soceri interfectione regnantem, insuper multis bellis uictoriisque gloriantem et de manubiis

6. ipse fulmine absumtus est. The death of Tullus Hostilius is related by Livy (i. 31).

7. beniuolentia . . . beniuole. So the words are spelt in the best MSS.

8. In Hortensio . . . dialogo. Of Cicero's dialogue entitled "Hortensius" or "De Philosophia" there remain fewer than 100 fragmentary passages and phrases (of which this, which A. here cites, is generally printed as the 39th), not enough to convey an idea of the substance or structure of the dialogue itself. The "Hortensius" was, as is well known, the book which effected or began to effect the conversion of A. himself ("Confess.," iv. 7).

9. efficiat. The subject is *sol*.

10. Tullus . . . Hostilius. See Livy, i. 31.

11. sui decessoris—*sc.* Ancus Marcius. See Livy (i. 40) for the death of Tarquinius Priscus.

12. Seruius Tullius—Livy, i. 48.

13. parricidio. See note on iii. 6 A.

* "De Re Publ.," ii. 17.
‡ Frag. 39.
† "III. in Catil.," 1.
§ Virg., "Aen.," ii. 351-2.

[14]Capitolium fabricantem non abscedentes, sed praesentes manentesque uiderunt et regem suum Iouem in illo altissimo templo, hoc est in opere parricidae, sibi praesidere adque regnare perpessi sunt. Neque enim adhuc innocens Capitolium struxit et postea malis meritis [15]Urbe pulsus est, sed ad ipsum regnum, in quo Capitolium fabricaret, inmanissimi sceleris perpetratione peruenit.

(G) Quod uero eum regno Romani postea depulerunt ac secluserunt moenibus ciuitatis, non ipsius de Lucretiae stupro, sed filii peccatum fuit illo non solum nesciente sed etiam absente commissum. Ardeam ciuitatem tunc obpugnabat, pro populo Romano bellum gerebat; nescimus quid faceret, si ad eius notitiam flagitium filii deferretur; et tamen inexplorato iudicio eius et inexperto ei populus ademit imperium et recepto exercitu, a quo deseri iussus est, clausis deinde portis non siuit intrare redeuntem.

(H) At ille post bella grauissima, quibus eosdem Romanos concitatis finitimis adtriuit, postea quam [16]desertus ab eis quorum fidebat auxilio regnum recipere non cualuit, [17]in oppido Tusculo Romae uicino quattuordecim, ut fertur, annos priuatam uitam quietus habuit et cum uxore consenuit, optabiliore fortassis exitu quam socer eius, generi sui facinore [18]nec ignorante filia, sicut perhibetur, extinctus. Nec tamen istum Tarquinium Romani crudelem aut sceleratum, sed superbum appellauerunt, fortasse regios eius fastus alia superbia non ferentes.

(I) Nam scelus occisi ab eo soceri optimi regis sui usque adeo contemserunt, ut eum regem suum facerent; ubi miror, si non scelere grauiore mercedem tantam tanto sceleri reddiderunt. Nec

> discessere adytis arisque relictis
> Di.

Nisi forte quispiam sic defendat istos deos, ut dicat eos ideo mansisse Romae, quo possint magis Romanos punire suppliciis quam beneficiis adiuuare, seducentes eos uanis uictoriis et bellis grauissimis conterentes.

(K) Haec fuit Romanorum uita sub regibus laudabili tempore illius rei publicae usque ad expulsionem Tarquinii Superbi [19]per ducentos ferme et quadraginta et tres annos, cum illae omnes uictoriae tam multo sanguine et tantis emtae calamitatibus uix

14. Capitolium fabricantem—Livy, i. 55.
15. Urbe pulsus est—Livy, i. 59-60.
16. desertus ab eis, etc.—Livy, ii. 7.
17. in oppido Tusculo—Livy, ii. 15.
18. nec ignorante filia—Tullia (Livy, i. 48).
19. per ducentos ferme et quadraginta et tres annos—B.C. 753-510, according to the received chronology.

illud imperium intra uiginti ab Urbe milia dilatauerint; quantum spatium absit ut saltem alicuius [20]Getulae ciuitatis nunc territorio conparetur.

CAPUT XVI.

DE PRIMIS APUT ROMANOS CONSULIBUS, QUORUM ALTER ALTERUM PATRIA PEPULIT MOXQUE IPSE POST ATROCISSIMA PARRICIDIA A VULNERATO HOSTE VULNERATUS INTERIIT.

(A) Huic tempori adiciamus etiam tempus illud, quo usque *dicit Sallustius aequo et modesto iure agitatum, [1]" dum metus a Tarquinio et bellum graue cum Etruria positum est." Quamdiu enim Etrusci Tarquinio in regnum redire conanti opitulati sunt, graui bello Roma concussa est. Ideo dicit aequo et modesto iure gestam rem publicam metu premente, non persuadente iustitia. In quo breuissimo tempore quam funestus ille annus fuit, quo primi consules creati sunt expulsa regia potestate! Annum quippe suum non conpleuerunt.

(B) Nam Iunius Brutus exhonoratum [2]eiecit Urbe collegam Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum; deinde mox [3]ipse in bello cecidit mutuis cum hoste uulneribus, [4]occisis a se [5][ipso] primitus filiis suis et uxoris suae fratribus, quod eos pro restituendo Tarquinio coniurasse cognouerat. Quod factum Vergilius postea quam laudabiliter commemorauit, continuo clementer exhorruit. Cum enim dixisset:

†Natosque pater noua bella mouentes
Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit,

mox deinde exclamauit et ait:

[6]Infelix! utcumque ferent ea facta minores.

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20. Getulae ciuitatis. The Getuli were a North-African tribe. Their name would easily occur to A.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the first consuls at Rome, of whom one drove the other out of the country, and not long afterwards, having committed most abominable and unnatural crimes, was himself wounded and slain by an enemy whom he had wounded.

1. dum metus a Tarquinio, etc. Cp. ii. 18 c, where the same phrase, evidently a quotation from Sallust, occurs.

2. eiecit Urbe collegam. See Livy, ii. 2. L. Tarquinius Collatinus was not actually expelled; but he retired to Lauinium. There was no charge brought against him, except that he was a Tarquin, *nomen inuisum ciuitati.*

3. ipse in bello cecidit—Livy, ii. 6. The *hostis* was Arrius.

4. occisis a se, etc.—Livy, ii. 5. His sons were called Titus and Tiberius. His brothers-in-law were the Vitellii.

5. [ipso]. The word is omitted in some MSS.

6. Infelix, etc. The better punctuation is:

Infelix! Utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
Vincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido;

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* "Hist.," 1; Frag. 9. † "Aen.," vi. 820-3.

(c) Quomodolibet, inquit, ea facta posteri ferant, id est praeferant et extollant, qui filios occidit, infelix est. Et tamquam ad consolandum infelicem subiungit:

[7]Vincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido.

Nonne in hoc Bruto, qui et filios occidit et a se percusso hosti filio Tarquinii mutuo percussus superuiuere non potuit eique potius ipse Tarquinius superuixit, Collatini collegae uidetur innocentia uindicata, qui bonus ciuis hoc Tarquinio pulso passus est, quod tyrannus ipse Tarquinius ?

(d) Nam et idem Brutus [8]consanguineus Tarquinii fuisse perhibetar; sed Collatinum uidelicet similitudo nominis pressit, quia etiam Tarquinius uocabatur. Mutare ergo nomen, non patriam cogeretur; postremo in eius nomine [9]hoc uocabulum minus esset, L. Collatinus tantummodo uocaretur. Sed ideo non amisit quod sine ullo detrimento posset amittere, ut et honore primus consul et ciuitate bonus ciuis carere iuberetur. Etiamne ista est gloria, Iunii Bruti detestanda iniquitas et nihilo utilis rei publicae ? Etiamne ad hanc perpetrandam

Vincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido ?

(e) Iam expulso utique Tarquinio tyranno consul cum Bruto creatus est maritus Lucretiae L. Tarquinius Collatinus. Quam iuste populus mores in ciue, non nomen adtendit ! Quam inpie Brutus collegam primae ac nouae illius potestatis, quem posset, si hoc offendebatur, nomine tantum priuare, et patria priuauit et honore ! Haec mala facta sunt, haec aduersa acciderunt, quando in illa re publica " aequo et modesto iure agitatum est." [10]Lucretius quoque, qui in locum Bruti fuerat subrogatus, morbo, antequam idem annus terminaretur, absumtus est. Ita P. Valerius, qui successerat Collatino, et [11]M. Horatius, qui pro defuncto Lucretio suffectus fuerat, annum illum funereum adque tartareum, qui consules quinque habuit, conpleuerunt, quo anno consulatus ipsius nouum honorem ac potestatem auspicata est Romana res publica.

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the sense being, " However after-ages shall regard these deeds." But if the first line be read as A. reads it, *ferent* must=" shall extol."

7. Vincet not **vincit** is the true reading in Virgil. A. quotes from memory. His meaning is that Brutus will not trouble himself about the verdict of posterity; he will obey only the instincts of patriotism and ambition.

8. consanguineus Tarquinii—his nephew.

9. hoc uocabulum minus esset=" this word should have been omitted."

10. Lucretius. His election to the consulship and his death, *intra paucos dies*, are related by Livy (ii. 8).

11. M. Horatius—*sc.* M. Horatius Puluillus.

CAPUT XVII.

POST INITIA CONSULARIS IMPERII QUIBUS MALIS VEXATA FUERIT. ROMANA RES PUBLICA, DIS NON OPITULANTIBUS, QUOS COLEBAT.

(A) Tunc iam diminuto paululum metu, non quia bella conquieuerant, sed quia non tam graui pondere urgebant, finito scilicet tempore, quo "aequo iure ac modesto agitatum est," secuta sunt quae [1]idem Sallustius breuiter explicat: *"Dein seruili imperio patres plebem exercere, de uita adque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere et ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere. Quibus saeuitiis ex maxime faenore obpressa plebes, cum adsiduis bellis tributum et militiam simul toleraret, armata montem sacrum adque Auentinum insedit, tumque tribunos plebis et alia iura sibi parauit. Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum bellum Punicum." Quid itaque ego tantas moras uel scribens patiar, uel lecturis adferam?

(B) Quam misera fuerit illa res publica, tam longa aetate per tot annos [2]usque ad secundum bellum Punicum bellis forinsecus inquietare non desistentibus et intus discordiis seditionibusque ciuilibus, a Sallustio breuiter intimatum est. Proinde uictoriae illae non solida beatorum gaudia fuerunt, sed inania solacia miserorum et ad alia adque alia sterilia mala subeunda inlecebrosa incitamenta minime quietorum.

(C) Nec nobis, quia hoc dicimus, boni Romani prudentesque suscenseant: quamquam de hac re nec petendi sint nec monendi, quando eos minime suscensuros esse certissimum est. Neque enim grauius uel grauiora dicimus auctoribus eorum et stilo et otio multum inpares; quibus tamen ediscendis et ipsi elaborauerunt et filios suos elaborare conpellunt. Qui autem suscensent, quando me ferrent, si ego dicerem, quod Sallustius ait? †"Plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella ciuilia orta sunt, dum pauci potentes, quorum in gratiam plerique concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebis nomine dominationes adfectabant; bonique et mali ciues appellati, non ob merita in rem publicam, omnibus pariter

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CHAPTER XVII.

Of the evils with which the Roman commonwealth was afflicted after the inauguration of the consular authority, without any help from the gods whom it worshipped.

1. idem Sallustius. The fragment, which A. here quotes from the lost "Historiae," has been already quoted (ii. 18 D).

2. usque ad secundum bellum Punicum—which broke out B.C. 218.

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* "Hist.," 1; Frag. 10. † "Hist.," 1; Frag. 10.

corruptis, sed uti quisque locupletissimus et iniuria ualidior, quia [3]praesentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur."

(D) Porro si illi scriptores historiae ad honestam libertatem pertinere arbitrati sunt mala ciuitatis propriae non tacere, quam multis locis magno [4]praeconio laudare conpulsi sunt, cum aliam ueriorem, [5]quo ciues aeterni legendi sunt, non haberent: quid nos facere conuenit, quorum spes quanto in Deo melior et certior, tanto maior debet esse libertas, cum mala praesentia Christo nostro inputant, ut infirmiores imperitioresque mentes alienentur ab ea ciuitate, in qua sola iugiter feliciterque uiuendum est ? Nec in deos eorum horribiliora nos dicimus, quam eorum identidem auctores, quos legunt et praedicant, quando quidem et ex ipsis quae diceremus accepimus, et nullo modo dicere uel talia uel cuncta sufficimus.

(E) Ubi ergo erant illi di, qui propter exiguam fallacemque mundi huius felicitatem colendi existimantur, cum Romani, quibus se colendos mendacissima astutia uenditabant, tantis calamitatibus uexarentur ? Ubi erant, quando [6]Valerius consul ab exulibus et seruis incensum Capitolium cum defensaret occisus est faciliusque ipse prodesse potuit aedi Iouis quam illi turba tot numinum cum suo maximo adque optimo rege, cuius templum liberauerat, subuenire ? Ubi erant, quando densissimis fatigata ciuitas seditionum malis, cum [7]legatos Athenas missos ad leges mutuandas paululum quieta opperiretur, [8]graui fame pestilentiaque uastata est ?

(F) Ubi erant, quando rursus populus, cum fame laboraret, [9]praefectum annonae primum creauit, adque illa fame inualescente [10]Spurius Maelius, quia esurienti multitudini frumenta largitus est, regni adfectati crimen incurrit et eiusdem praefecti instantia [11]per dictatorem L. Quintium aetate decrepitum [12]a Quinto Seruilio magistro equitum cum maximo et periculosissimo tumultu ciuitatis occisus est ? Ubi erant, quando pestilentia maxima exorta dis

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3. praesentia defendebat="he was a champion of the existing order of things."

4. praeconio—a favourite word of A.; cp. xx. 4 A; xxii. 7 B.

5. quo ciues aeterni legendi sunt="in which they ought to be enrolled as citizens of eternity."

6. Valerius consul. For his death see Livy, iii. 18.

7. legatos Athenas missos. See note on ii. 16 A. A. uses there the same phrase as here, *mutuarentur leges Solonis.*

8. graui fame pestilentiaque. Cp. Livy, iii. 31.

9. praefectum annonae. The first *praefectus annonae*, appointed B.C. 440, was L. Minucius (Livy, iv. 12).

10. Spurius Maelius. His story is told by Livy (iv. 12-13). According to Livy he was one who *rem utilem pessimo exemplo, peiore consilio est adgressus.*

11. per dictatorem L. Quintium—the famous Cincinnatus who was eighty years old at the time of this his second dictatorship, B.C. 439 (Livy, iv. 13).

12. a Quinto Seruilio—Caius (not Quintus) Seruilius Ahala (Livy, iv. 14).

inutilibus populus diu multumque fatigatus [13]noua lectisternia, quod numquam antea fecerat, exhibenda arbitratus est ? Lecti autem sternebantur in honorem deorum, unde hoc sacrum uel potius sacrilegium nomen accepit.

(G) Ubi erant, quando per decem continuos annos male pugnando crebras et magnas clades [14]aput Veios exercitus Romanus acceperat, nisi per Furium Camillum tandem subueniretur, quem postea ciuitas ingrata damnauit ? Ubi erant, quando [15]Galli Romam ceperunt spoliauerunt, incenderunt caedibus inpleuerunt ? Ubi erant, cum [16]illa insignis pestilentia tam ingentem stragem dedit, qua et ille Furius Camillus extinctus est, qui rem publicam ingratam et a Veientibus ante defendit et de Gallis postea uindicauit ? In hac pestilentia [17]scaenicos ludos [18]aliam nouam pestem non corporibus Romanorum, sed, quod est multo perniciosius, moribus intulerunt.

(H) Ubi erant, quando [19]alia pestilentia grauis de uenenis matronarum exorta credita est, quarum supra fidem multarum adque nobilium mores deprehensi sunt omni pestilentia grauiores ? uel quando [20]in Caudinas furculas a Samnitibus obsessi ambo cum exercitu consules foedus cum eis foedum facere coacti sunt, ita ut equitibus Romanis sescentis obsidibus datis ceteri amissis armis aliisque spoliati priuatique tegminibus sub iugum hostium in uestimentis singulis mitterentur ? uel quando graui pestilentia ceteris laborantibus multi etiam in exercitu icti [21]fulmine perierunt ? uel quando item alia intolerabili pestilentia [22]Aesclapium ab Epidauro quasi medicum deum Roma aduocare adque adhibere conpulsa est, quoniam regem omnium Iouem, qui iam diu in Capitolio sedebat, multa stupra, quibus adulescens uacauerat, non permiserant fortasse discere medicinam ?

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13. noua lectisternia. The event occurred B.C. 399; it is related by Livy (v. 13). For *lectisternia* see note on ii. 11 C.

14. apud Veios. The Veientine war, to which A. here refers, lasted B.C. 407-396 (*per decem continuos annos*). After the capture of Veii, M. Furius Camillus, the captor, was brought to trial on a charge of malversation in respect of the booty taken there; he retired into voluntary exile at Ardea B.C. 391. Cp. ii. 17 D. For the exile of Camillus see Livy (v. 32).

15. Galli Romam ceperunt, B.C. 390. See Livy (v. 37-40).

16. illa insignis pestilentia—the plague of B.C. 365. See Livy, v. 26 *sqq.* The death of Camillus from the plague is related by Livy (vii. 1).

17. scaenicos ludos. For the introduction of the *ludi scaenici* into Rome see notes on i. 32 A and C.

18. aliam nouam pestem. Cp. *aliam* (*pestilentiam*) *longe grauiorem* (i. 32 C).

19. alia pestilentia. Livy (viii. 18) relates the story of the *uenena matronarum* at some length.

20. in Caudinas furculas, B.C. 321. See Livy (ix. 3-6).

21. fulmine perierunt. See Livy (x. 31).

22. Aesculapium ab Epidauro. See note on iii. 12 A.

(I) Vel cum [23]conspirantibus uno tempore hostibus Lucanis, Bruttiis, Samnitibus, Etruscis et Senonibus Gallis primo ab eis legati peremti sunt, deinde [24]cum praetore obpressus exercitus septem tribunis cum illo pereuntibus et militum tredeim milibus? uel quando post longas et graues Romae seditiones, quibus ad ultimum [25]plebs in Ianiculum hostili [26]diremtione secesserat, huius mali tam dira calamitas erat, ut eius rei causa, quod in extremis periculis fieri solebat, [27]dictator crearetur Hortensius, qui plebe reuocata in eodem magistratu exspirauit, quod nulli dictatori ante contigerat, et quod illis dis iam praesente Aesculapio grauius crimen fuit?

(K) Tum uero tam multa bella ubique crebruerunt, ut inopia militum [28]proletarii illi, qui eo, quod proli gignendae uacabant, ob egestatem militare non ualentes hoc nomen acceperant, militiae conscriberentur. Accitus etiam a Tarentinis[29] Pyrrhus, rex Graeciae, tunc ingenti gloria celebratus Romanorum hostis effectus est. Cui sane de rerum futuro euentu consulenti satis urbane Apollo sic ambiguum oraculum edidit, ut, e duobus quidquid accidisset, ipse diuinus haberetur (ait enim: "Dico te, Pyrrhe, uincere posse Romanos") adque ita, siue Pyrrhus a Romanis siue Romani a Pyrrho uincerentur, securus fatidicus utrumlibet expectaret euentum.

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23. conspirantibus uno tempore, etc., B.C. 283. There are references to this war in Livy (xii., "Epit.") and Orosius ("Hist.," iii. 22).

24. cum praetore—L. Caecilius Metellus (Livy, xii., "Epit.").

25. plebs in Ianiculum . . . secesserat. This was the last *secessio* of the *plebs;* it took place B.C. 286 (Livy, xi., "Epit.").

26. diremtione—a reading preferable to *direptione.*

27. dictator crearetur Hortensius—Q. Hortensius (Livy, xi., "Epit.").

28. proletarii. This well-known word, which Plautus uses in the sense of "common" or "vulgar" (*Nam proletario sermone nunc quidem, hospes, utere* "Mil. Glor.," iii. 1, 155), may be said to possess an interesting political or social history. It occurs in one of the fragments of Cicero's "De Re Publ." (ii. 22), where, in describing the several classes of the Constitution as established by Seruius Tullius, he says: *eos qui aut non plus mille quingentum aeris aut omnino nihil in suum censum praeter caput adtulissent proletarios nominauit; ut ex iis quasi proles, id est quasi progenies ciuitatis, expectari uideretur.* Livy does not use the word, nor does Dionysius Halicarnensis use any equivalent for it, in his account of the Tullian Constitution. But it occurs in the first of the Twelve Tables: *Adsiduo uindex adsiduus esto; proletario iam ciui quis uolet uindex esto,* where Wordsworth in his commentary inclines (I think wrongly) to interpret it not in agreement with Cicero or A., but as meaning "persons who have grown up" as an after-growth, not having been original citizens. Not unnaturally Orosius ("Hist.," iv. 1) follows A. in using the same word *proletarii* with reference to the same historical occasion.

29. Pyrrhus—king of Epirus, who landed at Tarentum (Livy, xii., "Epit.") in the beginning of B.C. 280. The oracle, as Cicero quotes it in proper metrical form ("De Diuin.," ii. 56, 116), was:

Aio te Aeacida Romanos uincere posse,

and as so quoted it affords a perfect instance of oracular ambiguity; but Cicero discredits the oracle on the threefold ground that: *Primum Latine Apollo numquam ocutus est. Deinde ista sors inaudita Graecis est. Praeterea Pyrrhi temporibus iam Apollo uersus facere desierat.* A. may be trusting to his memory, or he may be translating an original Greek oracle.

(L) Quae tunc et quam horrenda utriusque exercitus clades! In qua tamen superior Pyrrhus extitit, ut iam posset Apollinem pro suo intellectu praedicare diuinum, nisi proxime [30]alio proelio Romani abscederent superiores. Adque in tanta strage bellorum etiam pestilentia grauis exorta est mulierum. Nam priusquam maturos partus ederent, grauidae moriebantur. Ubi se, credo, Aesculapius, excusabat, quod [31]archiatrum, non obstetricem profitebatur. Pecudes quoque similiter interibant, ita ut etiam [32]defecturum genus animalium crederetur.

(M) Quid? hiems illa memorabilis tam incredibili inmanitate saeuiens, ut niuibus horrenda altitudine etiam in foro per dies quadraginta manentibus Tiberis quoque glacie duraretur, si nostris temporibus accidisset, quae isti et quanta dixissent! Quid? illa itidem ingens pestilentia, quamdiu saeuiit, quam multos peremit! Quae cum in annum alium multo grauius tenderetur frustra praesente Aesculapio, aditum est [33]ad libros Sibyllinos. In quo genere orucalorum, sicut Cicero *in libris de diuinatione commemorat, magis interpretibus ut possunt seu uolunt dubia coniectantibus credi solet.

(N) Tunc ergo dictum est eam esse causam pestilentiae, quod plurimas aedes sacras multi occupatas priuatim tenerent: sic interim a magno inperitiae uel desidiae crimine Aesculapius liberatus est. Unde autem a multis aedes illae fuerant occupatae nemine prohibente, nisi quia tantae numinum turbae diu frustra fuerat supplicatum, adque ita paulatim loca deserebantur a cultoribus, ut tamquam uacua sine ullius offensione possent humanis saltem usibus uindicari?

(O) Nam quae tunc uelut ad sedandam pestilentiam diligenter repetita adque reparata nisi postea eodem modo neglecta adque usurpata latitarent, non utique magnae peritiae Varronis tribueretur,

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30. alio proelio—at Beneventum, where Pyrrhus was defeated B.C. 275 by M. Curius Dentatus.

31. archiatrum, non obstetricem profitebatur. The use of *profiteri* with a single Acc. is common in A. Cp. *sapientem profiteri* (viii. 2 A), *philosophum profiteretur,* (xviii. 37 B) *cum uirtutis et sapientiae profitearis amatorem* (x. 28 A) *antequam Pythagoras philosophum primus profiteretur* (xviii. 37 B). There is a similar, but less remarkable, use of *confiteor* with Acc. in xvi. 8 B.

32. defecturum genus animalium. Cp. Orosius ("Hist.," iv. 2).

33. ad libros Sibyllinos. Cicero, in the "De Diuinatione," does not say exactly what A. here makes him say; rather, he dwells upon the essential and intentional ambiguity of the Sibylline prophecies; for by it they were not differentiated from the Delphic oracles. Paulus Orosius relates the consultation of the Sibylline Books ("Hist.," iv. 5). As to the Sibylline Books or Oracles see note on xviii. 23 A.

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* ii. 54, 110-12.

quod [34]scribens de aedibus sacris tam multa ignorata commemorat. Sed tunc interim elegans non pestilentiae depulsio, sed deorum excusatio procurata est.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUANTAE CLADES ROMANOS SUB BELLIS PUNICIS TRIVERINT FRUSTRA DEORUM PREASIDIIS EXPETITIS.

(A) Iam uero Punicis bellis, cum inter utrumque imperium uictoria diu anceps adque incerta penderet populique duo praeualidi [1]inpetus in alterutrum fortissimos et opulentissimos agerent, quot minutiora regna contrita sunt! quae urbes amplae nobilesque deletae, quot adflictae, quot perditae ciuitates! Quam longe lateque tot regiones terraeque uastatae sunt! Quotiens uicti hinc adque inde uictores! Quid hominum consumtum est uel pugnantium militum uel ab armis uacantium populorum! Quanta uis nauium marinis etiam proeliis obpressa et diuersarum tempestatum uarietate submersa est! Si enarrare uel commemorare conemur, nihil aliud quam scriptores etiam nos erimus historiae.

(B) Tunc magno metu perturbata Romana ciuitas ad remedia uana et ridenda currebat. Instaurati sunt ex auctoritate librorum Sibyllinorum [2]ludi saeculares, quorum celebritas inter centum annos fuerat instituta felicioribusque temporibus memoria neglegente perierat.

34. scribens de aedibus sacris. It is stated by A. himself (vi. 3 c) that of Varro's forty-one volumes of "Antiquitates" one treated *de sacris aedibus*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How crushing were the disasters of the Romans in the Punic Wars and how fruitless their appeals to the protection of the gods.

1. inpetus in alterutrum, etc. = "were attacking each other with all their strength and all their resources."

2. ludi saeculares. A. refers to the celebration of the *ludi saeculares*, B.C. 249. Of this celebration Varro (as quoted by Censorinus) relates that in the face of various portents the Roman Decemuiri consulted the Sibylline Books and received a command *uti Diti patri et Proserpinae ludi Terentini (sic) in campo Martio fierent tribus noctibus et hostiae furuae immolarentur utique ludi centesimo quoque anno fierent* ("De Die Natal.," 17). It is clear that A. supposed the *ludi saeculares* to have been instituted a century before. But there is some reason for believing that they were first celebrated in the time of pestilence by the consul, L. Valerius Poplicola, B.C. 449. See Livy (cxxxvi. 46, Supplement), and Valerius Maximus ("Dict. Fact. Memorab.," ii. 4, 5). Whatever the length of the *saeculum* properly was, it was not until imperial times that the *ludi saeculares* lost the unique distinction of occurring at intervals so wide that the spectators of them were fully conscious of being present at a celebration such as none of them had ever seen before and none should ever see again. Censorinus (*l.c.*) gives an account of the *ludi saeculares* celebrated at various epochs of Roman history; and he refers to the evidence of Horace, which he does not apparently accept, as showing that a *saeculum* was a period not of 100, but of 110 years.

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos.

("Carm.. Saec," 21-2.)

Renouarunt etiam pontifices ludos sacros inferis et ipsos abolitos [3]annis retrorsum melioribus. [4]Nimirum ergo, quando renouati sunt, tanta copia morientium ditatos inferos etiam ludere delectabat, [5]cum profecto miseri homines ipsa rabida bella et cruentas animositates funereasque hinc adque inde uictorias magnos agerent ludos daemonum et opimas epulas inferorum.

(C) Nihil sane miserabilius primo Punico bello accidit, quam quod ita Romani uicti sunt, ut etiam [6]Regulus ille caperetur, cuius *in primo et in altero libro fecimus mentionem, uir plane magnus et uictor antea domitorque Poenorum, qui etiam ipsum primum bellum Punicum confecisset, nisi auiditate nimia laudis et gloriae duriores condiciones, quam ferre possent, fessis Carthaginiensibus imperasset. Illius uiri et captiuitas inopinatissima et seruitus indignissima et iuratio fidelissima et mors crudelissima si deos illos non cogit erubescere, uerum est quod œerei sunt et non habent sanguinem.

(D) Nec mala illo tempore grauissima intra moenia defuerunt. Nam [7]exundante nimis ultra morem fluuio Tiberino paene omnia urbis plana subuersa sunt, aliis impetu quasi torrentis inpulsis, aliis uelut stagno diuturno madefactis adque sublapsis. Istam deinde pestem ignis perniciosior subsecutus est, qui correptis circa forum quibusque celsioribus etiam [8]templo Vestae suo familiarissimo non pepercit, ubi ei ueluti uitam perpetuam diligentissima substitutione lignorum non tam honoratae quam damnatae uirgines donare consuerant. Tunc uero illic ignis non tantum uiuebat, sed etiam saeuiebat.

(E) Cuius impetu exterritae uirgines sacra illa fatalia, quae iam [9]tres, in quibus fuerant, presserant ciuitates, cum ab illo incendio liberare non possent, [10]Metellus pontifex suae quodam modo salutis

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3. annis retrorsum melioribus="the better years of the past." So A. uses *retro* or *retrorsum*, as *e.g.*, iv. 1 B; xi. 4 F; xii. 13 A, etc. Cp. *per infinita retro spatia temporum* ("Confess.," vii. 5).

4. Nimirum ergo. The MSS. vary between *ergo* and *enim*.

5. cum profecto miseri homines, etc.="for it is certain that the ferocious wars, the blood-stained hatreds, and the deadly victories of men on one side and the other were themselves in fact the sports of daemons and the sumptuous banquets of the infernal powers."

6. Regulus. What needs to be said about his famous name is, I hope, said in the note on i. 15 A.

7. exundante . . . fluuio Tiberino. The great inundation of B.C. 247 is described by Orosius ("Hist.," iv. 11); so, too, is the conflagration which followed it.

8. templo Vestae suo familiarissimo—because of the fire which ever burnt and never went out in the Temple of Vesta.

9. tres . . . presserant ciuitates—*sc.* Troy, Lauinium, Alba Longa.

10. Metellus. L. Caecilius Metellus was pontifex maximus B.C. 241. He lost

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* i. 15; ii. 24.

oblitus inruens ea semiustus abripuit. [11]Neque enim uel ipsum ignis agnouit, aut uero erat ibi [12]numen, quod non, etiam si fuisset, fugisset. Homo igitur potius sacris Vestae quam illa homini prodesse potuerunt. Si autem a se ipsis ignem non repellebant, ciuitatem, cuius salutem tueri putabantur, quid contra illas aquas flammasque poterant adiuuare ? sicut etiam res ipsa nihil ea prorsus potuisse patefecit.

(F) Haec istis nequaquam obicerentur a nobis, si illa sacra dicerent non tuendis his bonis temporalibus instituta, sed significandis aeternis, et ideo, cum ea, quod coporalia uisibiliaque essent, perire contingeret, nihil his rebus minui, propter quas fuerant instituta, et posse ad eosdem usus denuo reparari. Nunc uero caecitate mirabili eis sacris, quae perire possent, fieri potuisse existimant, ut salus terrena et temporalis felicitas ciuitatis perire non posset. Proinde cum illis etiam manentibus sacris uel salutis contritio uel infelicitas inruisse monstratur, mutare sententiam, quam defendere nequeunt, erubescunt.

CAPUT XIX.

DE ADFLICTIONE BELLI PUNICI SECUNDI, QUA VIRES UTRIUSQUE PARTIS CONSUMTAE SUNT.

(A) Secundo autem Punico bello nimis longum est commemorare clades duorum populorum tam longe secum lateque pugnantium ita ut his quoque fatentibus, qui non tam narrare bella Romana quam Romanorum imperium laudare instituerunt, [1]similior uicto fuerit ille qui uicit. Hannibale quippe ab Hispania surgente et Pyrenaeis montibus superatis. Gallia transcursa [2]Alpibusque

his eyesight through his gallantry in rescuing the *sacra Vestalia* (vi. 2 E) from the flames. The story is told by Ovid (" Fast.," vi. 437-54). Cp. Livy (xix. " Epit."), and for a more graphic account, Orosius (" Hist.," iv. 11).

11. Neque enim, etc. The initial *neque* seems to negative the whole sentence Either the fire did not recognise Metellus, or the goddess of fire was not there.

12. numen—sc. *ignis*, who would presumably not have fled from the flames.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the disastrous effect of the Second Punic War in which the strength of both sides was exhausted.

1. similior uicto, etc. L. Annaeus Florus, whose History may have been written as early as under Augustus or as late as under Trajan, says of the Second Punic War that, as compared with the First, it was *minus quidem spatio . . . sed adeo cladium atrocitate terribilius ut, si quis conferat damna utriusque populi, similior uicto sit populus qui uicit* (" Epit. Rer. Roman.," ii. 6). Cp. Livy (xxi. 1): *Adeo uana belli fortuna ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui uicerunt.* Silius Italicus (" Punic," i. 12-14) simply versifies Livy's phrase when he writes:

propiusque fuere periclo
Quis superare datum.

2. Alpibus disruptis. By the " bursting of the Alps " A. must mean not the mere passage of the Alps, but the engineering feat by which Hannibal made his way over

disruptis, tam longo circuitu auctis uiribus cuncta uastando aut subigendo torrentis modo Italiae faucibus inruente quam cruenta proelia gesta sunt, quotiens Romani superati! quam multa ad hostem oppida defecerunt, quam multa capta et obpressa! quam dirae pugnae et totiens Hannibali Romana clade gloriosae!

(B) De [3]Cannensi autem mirabiliter horrendo malo quid dicam, ubi Hannibal, cum esset crudelissimus, tamen tanta inimicorum atrocissimorum clade satiatus parci iussisse perhibetur? Unde tres [4]modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quo intellegerent tantam in illo proelio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, [5]ut facilius eam caperet mensura quam numerus, adque hinc strages turbae ceterae tanto utique numerosioris, quanto infimioris, quae sine anulis iacebat, conicienda potius quam nuntianda putaretur.

(C) Denique [6]tanta militum inopia secuta est, ut Romani reos facinorum proposita inpunitate colligerent, seruitia libertate donarent adque illis pudendus non tam subpleretur quam institueretur exercitus. Seruis itaque, immo, ne faciamus iniuriam, iam[7] libertis, pro Romana re publica pugnaturis arma defuerunt. Detracta sunt templis, tamquam Romani dis suis dicerent: Ponite quae tam diu inaniter habuistis, [8]ne forte aliquid utile inde facere possint nostra mancipia, unde [9][uos] nostra numina facere non potuistis.

(D) Tunc etiam stipendiis sufficiendis cum defecisset aerarium, in usus publicos opes uenere priuatae, adeo unoquoque id quod habuit conferente, ut praeter singulos anulos singulasque [10]bullas,

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the Alps, as described by Bosworth Smith (Carthage and the Carthaginians, ch. x).

3. Cannensi . . . malo—*sc.* the defeat of the Consuls L. Aemilius Paullus and C. Terentius Varro at Cannae, B.C. 216. See Livy (xxii. 44-49).

4. tres modios. A *modius* was nearly=two gallons. Livy (xxiii. 22) says *dimidium super tres modios* on the authority of *quidam auctores;* but he adds *Fama tenuit, quae propior uero est, haud plus fuisse modio.*

5. ut facilius eam caperet, etc.="that it was more easily measured than counted."

6. tanta militum inopia. Livy (xxii. 57).

7. libertis would, in Augustan Latinity, be *libertinis;* for *libertinus* is properly a freedman, or a member of a class; *libertus* a freedman in relation to the master who has emancipated him.

8. ne forte aliquid utile, etc. The clause (which Dods mistranslates) must be taken in close connexion with *inaniter habuistis*="you have kept but have never suffered to be used, for fear that."

9. [**uos**] is not necessary, but it makes the sense clearer. The MSS. generally omit it.

10. bullas—the ornaments of noble Roman youths. Cp. Juvenal ("Sat.," xiv. 4, 5).

> *Si damnosa senem iuuat alea, ludit et heres*
> *Bullatus,*

They were generally two circular golden plates fastened together and hanging upon the breast. Livy describes the indigence and the sacrifice of the Romans at the time to which A. refers.

miserabilia dignitatis insignia, nihil sibi auri senatus ipse, quanto magis ceteri ordines tribusque relinquerent! Quis ferret istos, si nostris temporibus ad hanc inopiam cogerentur, cum eos modo uix feramus, quando pro superflua uoluptate plura donantur histrionibus, quam tunc legionibus pro extrema salute conlata sunt?

CAPUT XX.

DE EXITU SAGUNTINORUM, QUIBUS PROPTER ROMANORUM AMICITIAM PEREUNTIBUS DI ROMANI AUXILIUM NON TULERUNT.

(A) Sed in his omnibus belli Punici secundi malis nihil miserabilius ac miserabili querella dignius quam [1]exitium Saguntinorum fuit. Haec quippe Hispaniae ciuitas amicissima populi Romani, dum eidem populo fidem seruat, euersa est. Hinc enim Hannibal fracto foedere Romanorum causas quaesiuit, quibus eos inritaret ad bellum. Saguntum ferociter ergo obsidebat. Quod ubi Romae auditum est, missi legati ad Hannibalem, ut ab eius obsidione discederet. Contemti Carthaginem pergunt querimoniamque deponunt foederis rupti infectoque negotio Romam redeunt.

(B) Dum hae morae aguntur, misera illa ciuitas opulentissima, suae rei publicae Romanaeque carissima, octauo uel nono a Poenis mense deleta est. Cuius interitum legere, quanto magis scribere, horroris est. Breuiter tamen eum commemorabo; ad rem quippe quae agitur multum pertinet. Primo fame contabuit; nam etiam suorum cadaueribus a nonnullis pasta perhibetur. Deinde omnium fessa rerum, ne saltem captiua in manus Hannibalis perueniret, ingentem rogum publice struxit, in quem ardentem ferro etiam trucidatos omnes se suosque miserunt.

(C) [2]Hic aliquid agerent di helluones adque nebulones, sacrificiorum adipibus inhiantes et fallacium diuinationum caligine decipientes; hic aliquid agerent, ciuitati populi Romani amicissimae subuenirent, fidei conseruatione pereuntem perire non sinerent. Ipsi utique medii praefuerunt, cum Romanae rei publicae interiecto foedere copulata est. Custodiens itaque [3][fideliter], quod ipsis

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CHAPTER XX.

On the fate of the Saguntines who, although they perished on account of their loyalty to Rome, yet received no assistance from the Roman gods.

1. **exitium Saguntinorum.** The eight months' siege of Saguntum, ending in its surrender to Hannibal, is related by Livy (xxi. 6-14). A. makes mention of it again (xxii. 6 L).

2. **Hic aliquid agerent** = "here they ought to have done something"—a common use of the Imperfect Conjunctive in A., as all through the passage which begins here.

3. **[fideliter]** should be omitted as lacking the support of the MSS.

praesidibus placito iunxerat, fide uinxerat, iuratione constrinxerat, [4]a perfido obsessa, obpressa, consumta est. Si ipsi di [5]tempestate adque fulminibus Hannibalem postea Romanis proximum moenibus terruerunt longeque miserunt, tunc primum tale aliquid facerent.

(D) Audeo quippe dicere honestius illos pro amicis Romanorum ideo periclitantibus, ne Romanis frangerent fidem, et nullam opem tunc habentibus, quam pro ipsis Romanis, qui pro se pugnabant adque [6]aduersus Hannibalem opulenti erant, potuisse tempestate saeuire. Si ergo tutores essent Romanae felicitatis et gloriae, tam graue ab ea crimen Saguntinae calamitatis auerterent; nunc uero quam stulte creditur, dis illis defensoribus Romam uictore Hannibale non perisse, qui Saguntinae urbi non potuerunt, ne pro eius periret amicitia, subuenire !

(E) Si Saguntinorum Christianus populus esset et huius modi aliquid pro fide euangelica pateretur, quamquam se ipse [7]nec ferro nec ignibus corrupisset; sed tamen si pro fide euangelica excidium pateretur, ea spe pateretur, qua in Christum crediderat, non mercede breuissimi temporis, sed aeternitatis interminae. Pro istis autem dis, qui propterea coli perhibentur, propterea colendi requiruntur, ut harum labentium adque transeuntium rerum felicitas tuta sit, quid nobis defensores et excusatores eorum de Saguntinis pereuntibus respondebunt, nisi quod de illo Regulo extincto ?

(F) Hoc quippe interest, quod ille unus homo, haec tota ciuitas; utriusque tamen interitus causa conseruatio fidei fuit. Propter hanc enim ad hostes et redire ille uoluit, et noluit ista transire. Conseruata ergo prouocat deorum iram fides ? an possunt et dis propitiis perire non solum quique homines, uerum etiam integrae ciuitates ?

(G) Utrum uolunt, eligant. Si enim fidei seruatae irascuntur illi di, quaerant perfidos, a quibus colantur; si autem etiam illis propitiis multis grauibusque cruciatibus adflicti interire homines ciuitatesque possunt, nullo fructu felicitatis huius coluntur. Desinant igitur suscensere, qui sacris deorum suorum perditis se infelices esse factos putant. Possent enim illis non solum manentibus, uerum etiam fauentibus non sicut modo de miseria murmurare, sed sicut tunc Regulus et Saguntini excruciati horribiliter etiam penitus interire.

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4. a perfido. Hannibal was always *perfidus* in the eyes of the Romans (*e.g.*, Horace, " Carm.," iv. 4, 49), perhaps with as much or as little right as Albion was until lately *perfide* in the eyes of the French.

5. tempestate adque fulminibus. See Livy (xxvi. 11).

6. aduersus Hannibalem opulenti = " with ample resources to oppose Hannibal." *opulenti* as in iii. 18 A.

7. nec ferro nec ignibus corrupisset—because suicide, as A. often argues (*e.g* i 20), was forbidden to Christians.

CAPUT XXI.

QUAM INGRATA FUERIT ROMANA CIVITAS SCIPIONI LIBERATORI SUO ET IN QUIBUS MORIBUS EGERIT, QUANDO EAM SALLUSTIUS OPTIMAM FUISSE DESCRIBIT.

(A) Porro inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginiense, quando *Sallustius optimis moribus et maxima concordia dixit egisse Romanos (multa enim praetereo suscepti operis modum cogitans), eodem ipso ergo tempore morum optimorum maximaeque concordiae Scipio ille Romae Italiaeque liberator eiusdemque belli Punici secundi tam horrendi, tam exitiosi, tam periculosi praeclarus mirabilisque confector, uictor Hannibalis domitorque Carthaginis, cuius ab adulescentia [1]uita describitur dis dedita templisque nutrita, inimicorum accusationibus [2]cessit carensque patria, quam sua uirtute saluam et liberam reddidit, in oppido Linternensi egit reliquam conpleuitque uitam, post insignem suum triumphum nullo illius urbis captus desiderio, ita ut iussisse perhibeatur, [3]ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret.

(B) Deinde tunc primum [4]per Gn. Manlium proconsulem de Gallograecis triumphantem Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste peior inrepsit. Tunc enim primum [5]lecti aerati et pretiosa stragula uisa perhibentur; tunc inductae in conuiuia psaltriae et alia licentiosa nequitia. Sed nunc de his malis, quae intolerabiliter homines patiuntur, non de his, quae libenter faciunt, dicere institui. Unde illud magis, quod de Scipione commemoraui, quod cedens inimicis extra patriam, quam liberauit, mortuus est, ad praesentem pertinet disputationem, quod ei Romana numina, a quorum templis auertit Hannibalem, non reddiderunt uicem, quae propter istam tantummodo coluntur felicitatem.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the ingratitude of Rome to Scipio its deliverer and of its moral condition at the time when, according to Sallust, it was at its best.

1. uita describitur. A remarkable tribute to the religious character of Scipio Africanus Major is paid by Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Att.," vii. 1). Livy (xxvi. 19), speaking of his virtues, says, critically, that he was *arte quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus.*

2. cessit. Scipio, after his impeachment B.C. 185, retired to Linternum or Liternum, a small town on the Campanian coast. See Livy (xxxviii. 50-60).

3. ne . . . funus fieret. A. adopts Livy's words (xxxviii. 53).

4. per Gn. Manlium. Gn. Manlius Vulso commanded, as proconsul, an expedition against the Galatians or Gallograecians (B.C. 189).

5. lecti aerati="gilded beds" (Healey)—*i.e.*, beds not constructed of simple woodwork, but ornamented with brass fittings. A. is obviously dependent on Livy (xxxix. 6).

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* "Hist.," 1; Frag. 8 and 22.

(C) Sed quia Sallustius eo tempore ibi dixit mores optimos fuisse, propterea hoc de Asiana luxuria commemorandum putaui, ut intellegatur etiam illud a Sallustio in conparationem aliorum temporum dictum, quibus temporibus peiores utique in grauissimis discordiis mores fuerunt. Nam tunc, id est inter secundum et postremum bellum Carthaginiense, lata est etiam [6]lex illa Voconia, ne quis heredem feminam faceret, nec unicam filiam. Qua lege quid iniquius dici aut cogitari possit, ignoro. Verum tamen toto illo interuallo duorum bellorum Punicorum tolerabilior infelicitas fuit.

(D) Bellis tantummodo foris conterebatur exercitus, sed uictoriis consolabatur; domi autem nullae, sicut alias, discordiae saeuiebant. Sed ultimo bello Punico [7]uno impetu alterius Scipionis, qui ob hoc etiam ipse Africani cognomen inuenit, aemula imperii Romani ab stirpe deleta est, ac deinde tantis malorum aggeribus obpressa Romana res publica, ut prosperitate ac securitate rerum, unde nimium corruptis moribus mala illa congesta sunt, plus nocuisse monstretur tam cito euersa, quam prius nocuerat tam diu aduersa Carthago.

(E) Hoc toto tempore usque ad Caesarem Augustum, qui uidetur non adhuc uel ipsorum opinione gloriosam, sed contentiosam et exitiosam et plane iam eneruem ac languidam libertatem omni modo extorsisse Romanis et ad regale arbitrium cuncta reuocasse et quasi morbida uetustate conlapsam ueluti instaurasse ac renouasse rem publicam; toto ergo isto tempore omitto ex aliis adque aliis causis etiam adque etiam bellicas clades et [8]Numantinum foedus horrenda ignominia maculosum; [9]uolauerant enim pulli de cauea et Mancino consuli, ut aiunt, augurium malum fecerant; quasi per tot annos, quibus illa exigua ciuitas Romanum circumsessa exercitum adflixerat ipsique Romanae rei publicae terrori esse iam coeperat, alii contra eam alio augurio processerunt.

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6. **lex illa Voconia**—passed at the instance of the *tribunus plebis*, Q. Voconius Saxa, B.C. 169. See Livy, xli. 37.

7. **uno inpetu.** The Third Punic War lasted only B.C. 149-146, and Scipio Africanus Minor did not assume the command in it until B.C. 147. A. speaks elsewhere of his *incredibilis celeritas* (v. 22 A).

8. **Numantinum foedus**—the treaty concluded by C. Hostilius Mancinus with the Numantines B.C. 137, and repudiated by the Senate (Livy, lv. "Epit."). Cp. Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," ii. 1); Orosius ("Hist.," iv. 5). Mancinus was himself surrendered at his own desire to the Numantines, but they declined to receive him (Cic., "De Orat.," i. 40, 181).

9. **uolauerant enim pulli.** See Livy (lv. "Epit.").

CAPUT XXII.

DE MITHRIDATIS EDICTO, QUO OMNES CIVES ROMANOS, QUI INTRA ASIAM INVENIRENTUR, IUSSIT OCCIDI.

(A) Sed haec, inquam, omitto, quamuis illud nequaquam tacuerim, quod [1]Mithridates rex Asiae ubique in Asia peregrinantes ciues Romanos adque innumerabili copia suis negotiis intentos uno die occidi iussit; et factum est. Quam illa miserabilis rerum facies erat, subito quemque, ubicumque fuisset inuentus, in agro, in uia, in oppido, in domo, in uico, in foro, in templo, in lecto, in conuiuio inopinate adque inpie fuisse trucidatum ! Quis gemitus morientium, quae lacrimae spectantium, fortasse etiam ferientium fuerunt!

(B) Quam dura necessitas hospitum non solum uidendi nefarias illas caedes domi suae, uerum etiam perpetrandi, ab illa blanda comitate humanitatis repente mutatis uultibus ad hostile negotium in pace peragendum, mutuis dicam omnino uulneribus, cum percussus in corpore et percussor in animo feriretur ! Num et isti omnes auguria contemserant ? Num deos et domesticos et publicos, cum de sedibus suis ad illam inremeabilem peregrinationem profecti sunt, quos consulerent, non habebant ?

(C) Hoc si ita est, non habent quur isti in hac causa de nostris temporibus conquerantur; [2]olim Romani haec uana contemnunt. Si autem consuluerunt, respondeatur, quid ista profuerunt, quando [3]per humanas dumtaxat leges nemine prohibente licuerunt.

CAPUT XXIII.

DE INTERIORIBUS MALIS, QUIBUS ROMANA RES PUBLICA EXAGITATA EST, PRAECEDENTE PRODIGIO, QUOD IN RABIE OMNIUM ANIMALIUM, QUAE HOMINIBUS SERVIUNT, FUIT.

(A) Sed iam illa mala breuiter, quantum possumus, commemoremus, quae quanto interiora, tanto miseriora exstiterunt: discordiae [1]ciuiles uel potius inciuiles, nec iam seditiones, sed etiam ipsa

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the edict of Mithridates by which he ordered the execution of all Roman citizens who should be found in Asia.

1. Mithridates. For this edict of Mithridates, king of Pontus, cp. Livy (lxxviii. "Epit."); Orosius ("Hist.," vi. 2). It was issued B.C. 88. There is a gruesome account of it in Appian ("De Bell. Mithrid.," 22).

2. olim Romana, etc. = "The Romans have long been contemptuous of these absurdities"—*i.e.*, of auguries.

3. per humanas dumtaxat leges—*sc.* if not by the laws of God. A. refers to the pagan days preceding the establishment of Christianity under Constantine.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the internal evils by which the Roman Republic was afflicted after the prodigy of madness attacking all domestic animals.

1. ciuiles uel potius inciuiles—an easily intelligible but not easily translatable

bella urbana, ubi tantus sanguis effusus est, ubi partium studia non contionum dissensionibus uariisque uocibus in alterutrum, sed plane iam ferro armisque saeuiebant; bella socialia, bella seruilia, bella ciuilia quantum Romanum cruorem fuderunt, quantam Italiae uastationem desertionemque fecerunt!

(B) Namque antequam se aduersus Romam [2]sociale Latium commoueret, [3]cuncta animalia humanis usibus subdita, canes, equi asini, boues, et quaeque alia pecora sub hominum dominio fuerunt, subito efferata et domesticae lenitatis oblita relictis tectis libera uagabantur et omnem non solum aliorum, uerum etiam dominorum auersabantur accessum, non sine exitio uel periculo audentis, [4]si quis de proximo urgeret. Quanti mali signum fuit, si hoc signum fuit, quod tantum malum fuit, si etiam signum non fuit! Hoc si nostris temporibus accidisset, rabidiores istos quam sua illi animalia pateremur.

CAPUT XXIV.

DE DISCORDIA CIVILI, QUAM GRACCHINAE SEDITIONES EXCITAVERUNT.

(A) Initium autem ciuilium malorum fuit seditiones [1]Gracchorum agrariis legibus excitatae. Volebant enim agros populo diuidere, quos nobilitas perperam possidebat. Sed iam uetustam iniquitatem audere conuellere periculosissimum, immo uero, ut res ipsa docuit, perniciosissimum fuit. Quae funera facta sunt, cum prior Gracchus occisus est! quae etiam, cum alius frater eius non longo interposito tempore! Neque enim legibus et ordine potestatum, sed turbis armorumque conflictibus nobiles ignobilesque necabantur.

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play of words. Dods gives it up when he translates "discords which are erroneously called civil, since they destroy civil interests." Healey's "civil or, rather, uncivil discords" is open to the objection that the English word "uncivil" does not (like *inciuiles*) mean "injurious to the State" (*ciuitas*) or "unworthy of the citizen" (*ciuis*). I can think of no nearer equivalent for A.'s whole phrase than "social or rather anti-social animosities."

2. sociale Latium. The Social War broke out B.C. 90.

3. cuncta animalia, etc. An account of the madness among domestic animals will be found in Julius Obsequens ("Prodig.," 114); another in Orosius ("Hist.," v. 18). Julius Obsequens says: *Armenta in tantam rabiem concitata sunt ut uastando suos hostile imaginarentur bellum.* Both accounts were no doubt derived from Livy.

4. si quis de proximo urgeret="if anyone came near them."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the civil discord aroused by the seditious conduct of the Gracchi.

1. Gracchorum. The political agitation of the Gracchi began with Tib. Gracchus, B.C. 133, the year of his Tribunate and his death. His brother, C. Gracchus, became Tribune just ten years later, B.C. 123, and died B.C. 121.

(B) Post Gracchi alterius interfectionem [2]L. Opimius consul, qui aduersus eum intra Urbem arma commouerat eoque cum sociis obpresso et extincto ingentem ciuium stragem fecerat, cum quaestionem haberet iam iudiciaria inquisitione ceteros persequens, tria milia hominum occidisse perhibetur. Ex quo intellegi potest, quantam multitudinem mortium habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam habuit iudiciorum uelut [3]examinata cognitio. [4]Percussor Gracchi ipsius caput, quantum graue erat, tanto auri pondere consuli uendidit; haec enim pactio caedem praecesserat. In qua etiam occisus est cum liberis [5]M. Fuluius consularis.

CAPUT XXV.

DE AEDE CONCORDIAE EX SENATUS CONSULTO IN LOCO SEDITIONUM ET CAEDIUM CONDITA.

(A) Eleganti sane senatus consulto eo ipso loco, ubi funereus tumultus ille commissus est, ubi tot ciues ordinis cuiusque ceciderunt, [1]aedes Concordiae facta est, ut Gracchorum poenae testis contionantium oculos feriret memoriamque conpungeret. Sed hoc quid aliud fuit quam inrisio deorum, illi deae templum construere, quae si esset in ciuitate, non tantis dissensionibus dilacerata conrueret ? Nisi forte sceleris huius rea Concordia, quia deseruerat animos ciuium, meruit in illa aede tamquam in carcere includi.

(B) Quur enim, si rebus gestis congruere uoluerunt, non ibi [2]potius aedem Discordiae fabricarunt ? An ulla ratio redditur, quur Concordia dea sit, et Discordia dea non sit, ut [3]secundum Labeonis distinctionem bona sit ista, illa uero mala ? Nec ipse aliud secutus

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2. L. Opimius—Consul B.C. 121.

3., examinata cognitio="deliberate trial."

4. percussor Gracchi. Gracchus was actually killed by Philocrates, a faithful slave who, after killing him, committed suicide (Livy, lxi. "Epit."). The man who sold the head of C. Gracchus for its weight in gold to the Consul Opimius was named Septimuleius (Plutarch, "C. Gracchus," 17).

5. M. Fuluius—M. Fuluius Flaccus, the friend of both the Gracchi, was Consul B.C. 125.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Temple of Concord which was erected in accordance with a decree of the Senate upon the scene of so many seditions and massacres.

1. aedes Concordiae. There were several temples dedicated to Concord in Rome at different epochs of Roman history; but the dedication of the temple of Concord by the Consul L. Opimius after the defeat and death of C. Gracchus, B.C. 121, is fully related by Appian ("De Bell. Ciu.," i. 26). Cp. Plutarch ("Camillus," 42).

2. potius aedem Discordiae. Plutarch ("C. Gracchus," 47) relates how the people disliked the building of the temple of Concord, because they regarded it as signifying a triumph won by the shedding of much noble blood, and in the night there was secretly placed upon it the satirical verse as a pasquinade: *Ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ*; or, in Latin: *Opus Vaecordiae templum Concordiae facit.*

3. secundum Labeonis distinctionem. Cp. ii. 11 D.

uidetur quam quod aduertit Romae etiam [4]Febri, sicut Saluti, templum constitutum. Eo modo igitur non solum Concordiae, [5]uerum etiam Discordiae constitui debuit.

(C) Periculose itaque Romani tam mala dea irata uiuere uoluerunt nec Troianum excidium recoluerunt originem [6]ab eius offensione sumsisse. Ipsa quippe quia inter deos non fuerat inuitata, [7]trium dearum litem aurei mali subpositione commenta est; unde rixa numinum et [8]Venus uictrix et rapta Helena et Troia deleta. Quapropter, si forte indignata, quod inter deos in Urbe nullum templum habere meruit, ideo iam turbabat tantis tumultibus ciuitatem, quanto atrocius potuit inritari, cum in loco illius caedis, hoc est in loco sui operis, aduersariae suae constitutam aedem uideret!

(D) Haec uana ridentibus nobis illi docti sapientesque stomachantur, et tamen numinum bonorum malorumque cultores [9]de hac quaestione Concordiae Discordiaeque non exeunt, siue praetermiserint harum dearum cultum eisque [10]Febrem [11]Bellonamque praetulerint, quibus antiqua fana fecerunt, siue et istas coluerint, cum sic eos discedente Concordia Discordia saeuiens usque ad ciuilia bella perduxerit.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE DIVERSIS GENERIBUS BELLI, QUAE POST CONDITAM AEDEM CONCORDIAE SUNT SECUTA.

(A) Praeclarum uero seditionis obstaculum aedem Concordiae, testem caedis suppliciique Gracchorum, contionantibus obponendam putarunt. Quantum ex hoc profecerint, indicant secuta peiora. Laborarunt enim deinceps contionatores non exemplum deuitare Gracchorum, sed superare propositum, [1]L. Saturninus tribunus plebis

4. Febri. Cp. note on ii. 14 E.

5. uerum etiam Discordiae. Discordia personified as a goddess appears more than once in Virgil—*e.g.*, "Aen.," vi. 280; viii. 702.

6. ab eius offensione. That the Greek goddess Ἔρις (Lat. Discordia) was offended at not being invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and that because of the offence so given and taken she threw the golden apple into the midst of the assembled deities, is a late fable told by Lucan ("Sympos.," 35).

7. trium dearum—Iuno, Pallas and Venus.

8. Venus uictrix—by the judgment of Paris.

9. de hac quaestione . . . non exeunt="they cannot escape this question."

10. Febrem. Cicero says ("De Legg.," ii. 11, 28) *Ara quae uetustissima est in Palatio, Febris.*

11. Bellonam. For the temple of Bellona erected by Appius Claudius Caecus see Ovid ("Fast.," 201-208).

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the various kinds of war which followed the building of the Temple of Concord.

1. L. Saturninus. It was B.C. 102 that L. Appuleius Saturninus was first elected *tribunus plebis*. During his second tribunate, B.C. 100, he introduced his violent aggressive measures (Livy, lxix. "Epit.").

et [2]G. Seruilius praetor et [3]multo post [4]M. Drusus, quorum omnium seditionibus caedes primo iam tunc grauissimae, deinde [5]socialia bella exarserunt, quibus Italia uehementer adflicta et ad uastitatem mirabilem desertionemque perducta est.

(B) [6]Bellum deinde seruile successit et [7]bella ciuilia. Quae proelia commissa sunt, quid sanguinis fusum, ut omnes fere Italae gentes, quibus Romanum maxime praepollebat imperium, [8]tamquam saeua barbaries domarentur! Iam ex paucissimis, hoc est minus quam septuaginta, [9]gladiatoribus quem ad modum bellum seruile contractum sit, ad quantum numerum et quam acrem ferocemque peruenerit, quos ille numerus imperatores populi Romani superauerit, quas et quo modo ciuitates regionesque uastauerit, uix qui historiam conscripserunt satis explicare potuerunt.

(C) [10]Neque id solum fuit seruile bellum, sed et Macedoniam prouinciam prius seruitia depopulata sunt et deinde Siciliam oramque maritimam. Quanta etiam et quam horrenda commiserint primo latrocinia, deinde ualida [11]bella piratarum, quis pro magnitudine rerum ualeat eloqui?

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2. G. Seruilius—G. Seruilius Glaucia, Praetor B.C. 100, was a political supporter of Saturninus.

3. multo post—only nine years. Vives, therefore, suggests that the text should be *non multo post*.

4. M. Drusus—M. Liuius Drusus, who was *tribunus plebis* B.C. 91. He, too, was an extreme agrarian reformer (Livy, lxxi. "Epit.").

5. socialia bella—which began B.C. 90. Appian ("Rom. Hist. de Bell. Ciuil.," i. 34) speaks of ὁ ξυμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος as a war ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πυλλῶν; it was, in fact, not so much a single war as a series of wars. A. (v. 22 B) says *quintus ei annus finem dedit*.

6. Bellum . . . seruile—the war briefly mentioned by Livy (lxix. "Epit."), but fully described by Diodorus Siculus ("Eclog." xxxvi. 1, pp. 907-909).

7. bella ciuilia—beginning with the war between Marius and Sylla. See iii. 30.

8. tamquam saeua barbaries—must mean "like some savage barbarous country." But *barbarie* is, I think, the true reading.

9. gladiatoribus. A. refers to the gladiatorial war of Spartacus (whose name has of late been ominously revived in Germany), B.C. 73. Cp. iv. 3 A. The story of Spartacus is told by many authorities—*e.g.*, Livy (xiv. "Epit."); Appian ("De Bell. Ciuil.," i. 116-120); Florus ("Epit. Rer. Roman.," iii. 20); Orosius ("Hist." v. 24); Plutarch ("Crassus," 8-11). Horace's well-known lines ("Carm.," iii. 14, 16-20) attest the extent of the outrages wrought by Spartacus and his followers.

10. Neque id solum fuit seruile bellum. Orosius insists upon the wide diffusion of the Seruile war: *iam non spectandum paucis sed ubique metuendum* ("Hist.," v. 24).

11. bella piratarum. The pirates of the Asiatic Coast were finally crushed by Pompey, B.C. 67. Livy (xcix. "Epit.") says: *Cn. Pompeius . . . intra quadragesimum diem toto mari eos expulit*. Cp. Plutarch ("Pompeius," 24-26) and Orosius ("Hist.," vi. 4). Cicero gives a vivid account of Pompey's victories ("Pro Leg. Manil.," xi. *sqq.*).

CAPUT XXVII.

DE BELLO CIVILI MARIANO ADQUE SYLLANO.

(A) Cum uero [1]Marius ciuili sanguine iam cruentus multis aduersarum sibi partium peremtis uictus Urbe profugisset, uix paululum respirante ciuitate, ut uerbis Tullianis utar, *"superauit postea Cinna cum Mario. Tum uero clarissimis uiris interfectis lumina ciuitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est huius uictoriae crudelitatem postea Sylla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta deminutione ciuium et quanta calamitate rei publicae." De hac enim uindicta, quae perniciosior fuit, quam si scelera quae puniebantur inpunita relinquerentur, ait et Lucanus:

†Excessit medicina modum, nimiumque secuta est
[2]Qua morbi duxere manus. Periere nocentes;
Sed cum iam soli possent superesse nocentes.

(B) Illo bello Mariano adque Syllano exceptis his, qui foris in acie ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque Urbe cadaueribus uici, plateae, fora, theatra, templa conpleta sunt, ut difficile iudicaretur, quando uictores plus funerum ediderint, utrum prius ut uincerent, an postea quia uicissent; cum primum uictoria Mariana, quando de exilio se ipse restituit, exceptis passim quaqua uersum caedibus factis caput [3]Octauii consulis poneretur in rostris, [4]Caesares a [5]Fimbria domibus trucidarentur suis, [6]duo Crassi pater et filius in

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CHAPTER XXVII.

On the Civil War of Marius and Sylla.

1. Marius—He fled from Rome upon the approach of Sylla at the head of his army B.C. 88. Marius and Cinna entered Rome and perpetrated there the Marian massacres B.C. 87. Sylla's revenge took place after his victory at the Colline Gate B.C. 82.

2. Qua morbi duxere manum. The true reading seems to be *Qua morbi duxere manus*, and the meaning that "the hand (of the surgeon) went too far in probing the traces of disease." All the partisans of Marius and all the citizens whose lives he had spared were criminals in the eyes of the Syllan party; Sylla, therefore, as Lucan rhetorically expresses himself, could neither slay nor spare any but criminals.

3. Octauii—Cn. Octauius, the Consul of B.C. 87, who was one of the first victims of the Marian persecution. See Livy (lxxx. "Epit."); Appian ("De Bell. Ciu.," i. 64-71).

4. Caesares—L. Caesar, Consul B.C. 90, the author of the bill for enfranchising the Italians, the *Lex Iulia de Ciuitate*, and his brother C. Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, the orator who appears as one of the interlocutors in Cicero's "De Oratore." They were both put to death by order of Marius B.C. 87 (Livy, lxxx. "Epit.").

5. Fimbria. See note on iii. 7 A.

6 duo Crassi—P. Crassus, the father of the Triumvir, put an end to his own life after seeing his son murdered before his eyes B.C. 87 (Livy, lxxx. "Epit."; Appian, "De Bell. Ciuil.," i. 8. 72).

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* iii. "Catil." 10, 24. † "Phars," ii. 142-4.

conspectu mutuo mactarentur, [7]Baebius et Numitorius [8]unco tracti sparsis uisceribus interirent, [9]Catulus hausto ueneno se manibus inimicorum subtraheret, [10]Merula flamen Dialis praecisis uenis Ioui etiam suo sanguine litaret. In ipsius autem Marii oculis continuo feriebantur, quibus salutantibus dexteram porrigere noluisset.

CAPUT XXVIII.

QUALIS FUERIT SYLLANA VICTORIA, VINDEX MARIANAE CRUDELITATIS.

(A) Syllana uero uictoria secuta, huius uidelicet uindex crudelitatis, post tantum sanguinem ciuium, quo fuso fuerat conparata, finito iam bello inimicitiis uiuentibus crudelius in pace grassata est. Iam etiam post Marii maioris pristinas ac recentissimas caedes additae fuerant aliae grauiores a [1]Mario iuuene adque Carbone carundem partium Marianarum, qui Sylla inminente non solum uictoriam, uerum etiam ipsam desperantes salutem cuncta [2]suis aliis caedibus inpleuerunt.

(B) Nam praeter stragem late per diuersa diffusam [3]obsesso etiam senatu de ipsa curia, tamquam de carcere, producebantur ad gladium. [4]Mucius Scaeuola pontifex, quoniam nihil aput Romanos templo Vestae sanctius habebatur, aram ipsam amplexus occisus est, ignemque illum, qui perpetua uirginum cura semper ardebat, suo paene sanguine extinxit. Urbem deinde Sylla uictor intrauit, qui [5]in

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7. Baebius et Numitorius—two members of the Syllan party, both executed when Marius and Cinna entered Rome B.C. 87.

8. unco tracti—Condemned criminals were sometimes dragged by hooks to drowning in the Tiber. Cp. Cicero ("Philip.," i. 2. 5; "Pro Rabir.," v. 16); see, too, Mayor's note on Juvenal ("Sat.," x. 66).

Seianus ducitur unco
Spectandus.

9. Catulus—Q. Lutatius Catulus did not take poison according to the general account, but suffocated himself in the vapours arising from a charcoal fire.

10. Merula committed suicide in the Temple of Iupiter Capitolinus, to avoid falling into the hands of Marius and Cinna, B.C. 87.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Of the nature of Sylla's victory which avenged the cruelty of Marius.

1. Mario iuuene adque Carbone—who were Consuls together B.C. 82.

2. suis aliis caedibus = "with other slaughters of their own"—a quite intelligible reading, *aliis* being much better supported by the MSS. than *alienisque*.

3. obsesso etiam senatu. See Livy (lxxvi. "Epit.").

4 Mucius Scaeuola—His death in, or in the vestibule of, the Temple of Vesta is described by Livy (lxxxvi. "Epit.") and by Florus ("Epit. Rer. Rom.," iii. 21). Cicero pays a high tribute to his legal knowledge and his eloquence ("De Orat.," i. 39, 180) and to his disinterested moral character ("De Off.," iii. 15, 62).

5. in uilla publica. So Livy says (lxxxviii. "Epit."); but he gives the number of the slain as 8,000.

uilla publica non iam bello, sed ipsa pace saeuiente septem milia deditorum (unde utique inermia) non pugnando, sed iubendo prostrauerat.

(C) [6]In Urbe autem tota quem uellet Syllanus quisque feriebat, unde tot funera numerari omnino non poterant, [7]donec Syllae suggereretur sinendos esse aliquos uiuere, ut essent quibus possent imperare qui uicerant. Tunc iam cohibita quae hac adque illac passim furibunda ferebatur licentia iugulandi, [8]tabula illa cum magna gratulatione proposita est, quae hominum ex utroque ordine splendido, equestri scilicet adque senatorio, occidendorum ac proscribendorum duo milia continebat.

(D) Contristabat numerus, sed consolabatur modus; nec quia tot cadebant tantum erat maeroris, quantum laetitiae quia ceteri non timebant. Sed in quibusdam eorum, qui mori iussi erant, etiam ipsa licet crudelis ceterorum securitas genera mortium exquisita congemuit. Quendam enim sine ferro laniantium manus diripuerunt, [9]inmanius homines hominem uiuum, quam bestiae solent discerpere cadauer abiectum. [10] Alius oculis effossis et particulatim membris amputatis in tantis cruciatibus diu uiuere uel potius diu mori coactus est. [11]Subhastatae sunt etiam, tamquam uillae, quaedam nobiles ciuitates; una uero, uelut unus reus [12]duci iuberetur, sic tota iussa est trucidari.

(E) Haec facta sunt in pace post bellum, non ut acceleraretur obtinenda uictoria, sed ne contemneretur obtenta. Pax cum bello de crudelitate certauit et uicit. Illud enim prostrauit armatos, ista nudatos. Bellum erat, ut qui feriebatur, si posset, feriret; [13]pax autem, non ut qui euaserat uiueret, sed ut moriens non repugnaret.

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6. In Urbe autem tota, etc. The ferocity displayed by Sylla, and the Syllan party, is a matter of criticism in Seneca's "De Clementia" (i. 12); *L. Syllam* (he says) *adpellari tyrannum quid prohibet, cui occidendi finem fecit inopia hostium?*

7. donec Syllae suggereretur—by a certain Furfidius according to Florus, who gives the suggestion in much the same words as A.: *uiuere aliquos debere ut essent quibus imperarent* ("Epit. Rer. Rom.," iii. 21).

8. tabula illa—*ingens illa tabula* (Florus, *l.c.*).

9. inmanius homines hominem uiuum. Florus gives his name as Baebius (*l.c.*).

10. Alius oculis effossis, etc. See Florus, *l.c.*; he calls the man *Marium ducis ipsius fratrem.* Cp. Livy (lxxxviii. "Epit.").

11. Subhastatae="put up to auction" from the spear (*hasta*) which it was customary to set in the ground at public auctions. The fact, as A. states it, is confirmed by Florus (*l.c.*).

12. duci="to be led to execution."

13. pax autem, etc.="Peace meant not the possibility of escaping with life, but the impossibility of offering resistance in obeying."

CAPUT XXIX.

DE CONPARATIONE GOTHICAE INRUPTIONIS CUM EIS CLADIBUS, QUAS ROMANI VEL A GALLIS VEL A BELLORUM CIVILIUM AUCTORIBUS ACCEPERUNT.

(A) Quae rabies exterarum gentium, quae saeuitia barbarorum huic de ciuibus uictoriae ciuium conparari potest? Quid Roma funestius taetrius amariusque uidit, utrum [1]olim Gallorum et [2]paulo ante Gothorum inruptionem, an Marii et Syllae aliorumque in eorum partibus uirorum clarissimorum tamquam suorum luminum [3]in sua membra ferocitatem? [4]Galli quidem trucidauerunt senatum, quidquid eius in Urbe tota praeter arcem Capitolinam, quae sola utcumque defensa est, reperire potuerunt; sed in illo colle constitutis auro uitam saltem uendiderunt, quam etsi ferro rapere non possent, possent tamen obsidione consumere: [5]Gothi uero tam multis senatoribus pepercerunt, ut magis mirum sit quod aliquos peremerunt.

(B) At uero Sylla uiuo adhuc Mario ipsum Capitolium, quod a Gallis tutum fuit, ad decernendas caedes uictor insedit, et cum fuga Marius elapsus esset ferocior cruentiorque rediturus, iste in Capitolio per senatus etiam consultum multos uita rebusque priuauit: Marianis autem partibus Sylla absente quid sanctum cui parcerent fuit, quando [6]Mucio ciui, senatori, pontifici aram ipsam, ubi erant ut aiunt fata Romana, miseris ambienti amplexibus non pepercerunt? [7]Syllana porro tabula illa postrema, ut omittamus alias innumerabiles mortes, plures iugulauit senatores, quam Gothi uel spoliare potuerunt.

CAPUT XXX.

DE CONEXIONE BELLORUM, QUAE ADVENTUM CHRISTI PLURIMA ET GRAVISSIMA PRAECESSERUNT.

(A) Qua igitur fronte, quo corde, qua inpudentia, qua insipientia uel potius amentia illa dis suis non inputant, et haec nostro inputant

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CHAPTER XXIX.

On a comparison of the Gothic invasion with the disasters which the Romans experienced at the hands either of the Gauls or of the authors of the Civil Wars.

1. olim Gallorum. B.C. 390.

2. paulo ante Gothorum. A.D. 410.

3. in sua membra = "against persons who were members of the same body as themselves."

4. Galli. See Livy, v. 4.

5. Gothi. See Orosius ("Hist.," ii. 19). He draws the same contrast as A. between the Galli and the Gothi; but it is not borne out by Socrates, who says of the Goths πολλοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς διαφόροις δίκαις ὑποβαλόντες ἀπώλεσαν ("Hist. Eccl.," vii. 10).

6. Mucio—Q. Mucius Scaeuola. See iii. 28 B.

7. Syllana . . . tabula. See iii. 28 C.

Christo ? Crudelia bella ciuilia, omnibus bellis hostilibus, auctoribus etiam eorum fatentibus, amariora, quibus illa res publica nec adflicta, sed [1]omnino perdita iudicata est, longe ante aduentum Christi exorta sunt, et sceleratarum concatenatione causarum a bello Mariano adque Syllano ad [2]bella Sertorii et Catilinae, quorum a Sylla fuerat [3]ille proscriptus, [4]ille nutritus, inde ad [5]Lepidi et Catuli bellum, quorum alter gesta Syllana rescindere, alter defendere cupiebat, inde ad Pompei et Caesaris, quorum Pompeius sectator Syllae fuerat eiusque potentiam uel aequauerat uel iam etiam superauerat; Caesar autem Pompei potentiam non ferebat, sed quia non habebat, quam tamen illo uicto interfectoque transcendit, hinc ad alium Caesarem, qui post Augustus appellatus est, peruenerunt, quo imperante natus est Christus.

(B) Nam et ipse Augustus cum multis gessit bella ciuilia, et in eis etiam multi clarissimi uiri perierunt, inter quos et Cicero, [6]ille disertus artifex rei publicae regendae. Pompei quippe uictorem Gaium Caesarem, qui uictoriam ciuilem clementer exercuit suisque aduersariis uitam dignitatemque donauit, tamquam regni adpetitorem quorundam nobilium coniuratio senatorum uelut pro rei publicae libertate in ipsa curia trucidauit.

(C) Huius deinde potentiam multum moribus dispar uitiisque omnibus inquinatus adque corruptus adfectare uidebatur Antonius cui uehementer pro eadem illa uelut patriae libertate Cicero resistebat. Tunc emerserat mirabilis indolis adulescens ille alius Caesar, illius Gai Caesaris filius adoptiuus, qui, ut dixi, postea est appellatus Augustus. Huic adulescenti Caesari, ut eius potentia contra Antonium nutriretur, Cicero fauebat, sperans eum depulsa et obpressa Antonii dominatione instauraturum rei publicae libertatem, usque adeo caecus adque inprouidus futurorum, ut ille ipse iuuenis, cuius dignitatem ac potestatem fouebat, et eundem [7]Ciceronem

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the series of wars, most numerous and most disastrous, which occurred before the Advent of Christ.

1. omnino perdita iudicata est—according to Cicero whom A. quotes (ii. 21 A and K).

2. bella Sertorii et Catilinae—the former beginning B.C. 78, the latter B.C. 63. See Livy (XC. "Epit.").

3. ille proscriptus—Sertorius.

4. ille nutritus—Catilina as a partisan of Sylla.

5. Lepidi et Catuli bellum—B.C. 77, after Sylla's death. It was Lepidus who sought to rescind, and Catulus to maintain, the policy of Sylla (Livy, XC. "Epit.").

6. ille disertus artifex, etc.—in reference, I think, not so much to Cicero's political life, but to his political writings, especially his treatise (which A. so often quotes), "De Re Publica."

7. Ciceronem occidendum Antonio, etc. Cicero's death and its sequel are fully related by Appian ("De Bell. Ciuil.," 19 and 20).

occidendum Antonio quadam quasi concordiae pactione permitteret et ipsam libertatem rei publicae, pro qua multum ille clamauerat, dicioni propriae subiugaret.

CAPUT XXXI.

QUAM INPUDENTER PRAESENTIA INCOMMODA CHRISTO INPUTENT, QUI DEOS COLERE NON SINUNTUR, CUM TANTAE CLADES EO TEMPORE QUO COLEBANTUR EXTITERINT.

(A) Deos suos accusent de tantis malis, qui Christo nostro ingrati sunt de tantis bonis. Certe quando illa mala fiebant, *" calebant arae " numinum " Sabaeo thure sertisque recentibus halabant," clarebant sacerdotia, fana renidebant, sacrificabatur, ludebatur, furebatur in templis, quando passim tantus ciuium sanguis a ciuibus non modo in ceteris locis, uerum etiam inter ipsa deorum altaria fundebatur. Non elegit templum, quo confugeret Tullius, quia [1]frustra elegerat Mucius. Hi uero qui multo indignius insultant temporibus Christianis, [2]aut ad loca Christo dicatissima confugerunt, aut illuc eos ut uiuerent etiam ipsi barbari deduxerunt.

(B) Illud scio et hoc mecum, quisquis sine studio partium iudicat facillime agnoscit (ut omittam cetera quae multa commemoraui et alia multo plura quae commemorare longum putaui): si humanum genus ante bella Punica Christianam reciperet disciplinam et consequeretur rerum tanta uastatio, quanta illis bellis Europam Africamque contriuit, nullus talium, [3]quales nunc patimur, nisi Christianae religioni mala illa tribuisset.

(C) Multo autem minus eorum uoces tolerarentur, quantum adtinet ad Romanos, si Christianae religionis receptionem et [4]diffamationem uel inruptio Gallorum uel Tiberini fluminis igniumque illa depopulatio uel, quod cuncta mala praecedit, bella illa ciuilia sequerentur. Mala etiam alia, quae usque adeo incredibiliter acciderunt, ut inter prodigia numerarentur, si Christianis temporibus accidissent, quibus ea nisi Christianis hominibus tamquam crimina obicerent ?

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the effrontery of those persons who, because the worship of the gods is prohibited, attribute their present troubles to Christ, in face of the disasters which occurred at the time when the gods were worshipped.

1. frustra elegerat Mucius. See iii. 28 B.

2. aut ad loca, etc. Cp. i. 1 A and B. A. delights in this illustration of Christian charity.

3. quales nunc patimur. It is hard for A. to put up with his pagan adversaries. Cp. *talis uanitas qualem ferimus* (F. below).

4. diffamationem = " propagation."

* Virg., " Aen.," i. 416-7.

(D) Omitto quippe illa, quae magis fuerunt mira quam noxia, boues locutos, infantes nondum natos de uteris matrum uerba quaedam clamasse, uolasse serpentes, feminas et gallinas [5][et homines] in masculinum sexum fuisse conuersas et cetera huius modi, quae in eorum libris non fabulosis, sed historicis, seu uera seu falsa sint, non inferunt hominibus perniciem, sed stuporem. Sed cum pluit terra, cum pluit creta, cum pluit lapidibus (non ut grando appellari solet hoc nomine, sed omnino lapidibus), haec profecto etiam grauiter laedere potuerunt.

(E) Legimus aput eos Aetnaeis ignibus ab ipso montis uertice usque ad litus proximum decurrentibus ita mare ferbuisse, ut rupes urerentur, ut pices nauium soluerentur. Hoc utique non leuiter noxium fuit, quamuis incredibiliter mirum. Eodem rursus aestu ignium tanta ui fauillae scripserunt obpletam esse Siciliam, ut [6]Catinensis urbis tecta obruta et obpressa dirueret; qua calamitate permoti misericorditer eiusdem anni tributum ei relaxauere Romani. [7]Lucustarum etiam in Africa multitudinem prodigii similem fuisse, cum iam esset populi Romani prouincia, litteris mandauerunt; consumtis enim fructibus foliisque lignorum ingenti adque inaestimabili nube in mare dicunt esse deiectam; qua mortua redditaque litoribus adque hinc aere corrupto tantam ortam pestilentiam, ut in solo[8]regno Masinissae octingenta hominum milia perisse referantur et multo amplius in terris litoribus proximis. Tunc Uticae ex triginta milibus iuniorum, quae ibi erant, decem milia remansisse confirmant. Talis itaque uanitas, qualem ferimus eique respondere conpellimur, quid horum non Christianae religioni tribueret, si temporibus Christianis uideret ? Et tamen dis suis ista non tribbuunt, quorum cultum ideo requirunt, ne ista uel minora patiantur, cum ea maiora pertulerint a quibus antea colebantur.

5. **[et homines].** If the words are genuine, they should, I think, follow *serpentes;* but it is best (in spite of the MSS.) to omit them. They seem to be an ignorant gloss on *masculinum sexum.*

6. **Catinensis urbis.** See Paulus Orosius ("Hist.," v. 13). He says: *cuius leuandae cladis causa senatus decem annorum uectigalia Catinensibus remisit.*

7. **Lucustarum.** See Livy (lx. "Epit.").

8. **regno Masinissae**—Numidia.

LIBER IV

CAPUT I.

DE HIS, QUAE PRIMO VOLUMINE DISPUTATA SUNT.

(A) De ciuitate Dei dicere exorsus prius respondendum putaui eius inimicis, qui terrena gaudia consectantes rebusque fugacibus inhiantes, quidquid in eis triste misericordia potius admonentis Dei quam punientis seueritate patiuntur, religioni increpitant Christianae, quae una est salubris et uera religio.

(B) Et quoniam, cum sit in eis etiam uulgus indoctum, uelut doctorum auctoritate in odium nostrum grauius inritantur, existimantibus inperitis ea, quae suis temporibus insolite acciderint, per alia [1] retro tempora accidere non solere, eorumque opinionem etiam his, qui eam falsam esse nouerunt, ut aduersum nos iusta murmura habere uideantur; [2] suae scientiae dissimulatione firmantibus: de libris, quos auctores eorum ad cognoscendam praeteritorum temporum historiam memoriae mandauerunt, longe aliter esse quam putant demonstrandum fuit et simul docendum deos falsos, quos uel palam colebant uel occulte adhuc colunt, eos esse inmundissimos spiritus et malignissimos ac fallacissimos daemones, usque adeo, ut aut ueris aut fictis etiam, suis tamen criminibus delectentur, quae sibi celebrari per sua festa uoluerunt, ut a perpetrandis damnabilibus factis humana reuocari non possit infirmitas, dum ad haec imitanda uelut diuina praebetur auctoritas.

(C) Haec non ex nostra coniectura probauimus, sed partim ex recenti memoria, quia et [3] ipsi uidimus talia ac talibus numinibus exhiberi, partim ex litteris eorum, qui non tamquam in contumeliam sed tamquam in honorem deorum suorum ista conscripta posteris reliquerunt, ita ut uir doctissimus aput eos [4] Varro et grauissimae auctoritatis, cum rerum humanarum adque diuinarum dispertitos faceret libros, alios humanis, alios diuinis pro sua cuiusque rei

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CHAPTER I.

Recapitulation of Book I.

[A., in his letter to Bishop Euodius ("Epist.," 169), of which the date is A.D. 415, states that Books IV. and V. of *D.C.D.* were written in that year.]

1. retro = "in the past." For A.'s use of *retro* and *retrorsum* see note on iii. 18 B.

2. suae scientiae dissimulatione—a charge which A. not infrequently brings against educated pagans. Cp. iv. 32 B; vi. Praef. B.

3. ipsi uidimus. See "Confess.," i. 10; iii. 2.

4. Varro. See note on iii. 4 A.

dignitate distribuens non saltem in rebus humanis, sed in rebus diuinis ludos scaenicos poneret, cum utique, si tantummodo boni et honesti homines in ciuitate essent, nec in rebus humanis ludi scaenici esse debuissent. Quod profecto non auctoritate sua fecit, sed quoniam eos Romae natus et educatus in diuinis rebus inuenit.

(D) Et quoniam in *fine primi libri, quae deinceps dicenda essent, breuiter posuimus et ex his quaedam in duobus consequentibus diximus, expectationi legentium quae restant reddenda cognoscimus.

CAPUT II.

DE HIS, QUAE LIBRO SECUNDO ET TERTIO CONTINENTUR.

(A) Promiseramus ergo quaedam nos esse dicturos aduersus eos, qui Romanae rei publicae clades in religionem nostram referunt, et commemoraturos quaecumque et quantacumque occurrere potuissent uel satis esse uiderentur mala, quae illa ciuitas pertulit uel ad eius imperium prouinciae pertinentes, antequam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent, quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam uel illis clareret nostra religio uel ita eos a [1]sacris sacrilegis prohiberet.

(B) Haec in secundo et tertio libro satis, quantum existimo, absoluimus, in secundo agentes de malis morum, quae mala uel sola uel maxima deputanda sunt, in tertio autem de his malis, quae stulti sola perpeti exhorrent, corporis uidelicet externarumque rerum, quae plerumque patiuntur et boni; illa uero mala non dico patienter, sed libenter habent, quibus ipsi fiunt mali. Et quam pauca dixi de sola ipsa ciuitate adque eius imperio! nec inde omnia usque ad Caesarem Augustum.

(C) Quid, si commemorare uoluissem et exaggerare illa mala, quae non sibi inuicem homines faciunt, sicut sunt uastationes euersionesque bellantium, sed ex ipsius mundi elementis terrenis accidunt rebus, quae uno loco [2]Apuleius breuiter stringit in eo libello quem

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CHAPTER II.

Recapitulation of Books II. and III.

1. **sacris sacrilegis**—the same oxymoron as in i. 36 A.

2. **Apuleius.** L. Apuleius Afer, the philosopher and rhetorician, was born at Madaura in Numidia in the first or second decade of the second century A.D. He wrote a treatise "De Mundo" which A. here quotes. The whole passage from *terrena omnia* to *flumina cucurrisse*, is a rather loose transcription of Apuleius (34). A. calls him *Platonicus nobilis* (viii. 12 C), regarding him as one of the precursors of Neo-Platonism. He is best known, however, as the author of the satirical romance "De Asino Aureo," to which A. refers (xviii. 18 B). In connexion with *D.C.D.* his most interesting work is the "De Deo Socratis"; for it is frequently quoted or mentioned by A.

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de mundo scripsit, terrena omnia dicens mutationes, conuersiones et interitus habere ?

(d) Namque inmodicis tremoribus terrarum, ut uerbis eius utar, dissiluisse humum et interceptas urbes cum populis dicit; abruptis etiam imbribus prolutas totas esse regiones; illas etiam, quae prius fuerant continentes, hospitibus adque aduenis fluctibus insulatas aliasque desidia maris pedestri accessu peruias factas; uentis ac procellis euersas esse ciuitates; incendia de nubibus emicasse, quibus Orientis regiones conflagratae perierunt, et in Occidentis plagis scaturigines quasdam ac proluuiones easdem strages dedisse; sic ex Aetnae uerticibus quondam effusis crateribus diuino incendio per decliuia torrentis uice flammarum flumina cucurrisse.

(e) Si haec adque huius modi, quae habet historia, unde possem, colligere uoluissem, quando finissem, quae illis temporibus euenerunt antequam Christi nomen ulla istorum uana et uerae saluti perniciosa conprimeret ? *Promiseram etiam me demonstraturum, quos eorum mores et quam ob causam Deus uerus ad augendum imperium adiuuare dignatus est, in cuius potestate sunt regna omnia, quamque nihil eos adiuuerint hi, qos deos putant, et potius quantum decipiendo et fallendo nocuerint: unde nunc uideo mihi esse dicendum, et magis de incrementis imperii Romani. Nam de noxia fallacia daemonum, quos uelut deos colebant, quantum malorum inuexerit moribus eorum, in secundo maxime libro non pauca iam dicta sunt.

(f) Per omnes autem absolutos tres libros, ubi opportunum uisum est, commendauimus, etiam in ipsis bellicis malis quantum solaciorum Deus per Christi nomen, cui tantum honoris barbari detulerunt [3]praeter bellorum morem, bonis malisque contulerit, quo modo †*qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos et pluit super iustos et iniustos.*

CAPUT III.

AN LATITUDO IMPERII, QUAE NON NISI BELLIS ADQUIRITUR, IN BONIS SIVE SAPIENTIUM HABENDA SIT SIVE FELICIUM.

(a) Iam itaque uideamus, quale sit quod tantam latitudinem ac diuturnitatem imperii Romani illis dis audent tribuere, quos etiam per turpium ludorum obsequia et per turpium hominum ministeria se honeste coluisse contendunt. Quamquam uellem prius paululum inquirere, quae sit ratio, quae prudentia, cum hominum felicitatem non possis ostendere, semper in bellicis cladibus

3. **praeter bellorum morem**—*sc.* by sparing their enemies as Christians. Cp. i. 1 a.

* i. 36 b. † Matt. v. 45.

et in sanguine ciuili uel hostili, tamen humano, cum tenebroso timore et cruenta cupiditate uersantium, ut uitrea laetitia conparetur fragiliter splendida, cui timeatur horribilius ne repente frangatur, de imperii latitudine ac magnitudine uelle gloriari.

(B) Hoc ut facilius diiudicetur, non uanescamus inani uentositate iactati adque obtundamus [1]intentionis aciem altisonis uocabulis rerum, cum audimus populos, regna, prouincias; sed duos constituamus homines (nam singulus quisque homo, ut in sermone una littera, ita quasi elementum est ciuitatis et regni, quantalibet terrarum occupatione latissimi), quorum duorum hominum unum pauperem uel potius mediocrem, alium praediuitem cogitemus; sed diuitem timoribus anxium, maeroribus tabescentem, cupiditate flagrantem, numquam securum, semper inquietum, perpetuis inimicitiarum [2]contentionibus anhelantem, augentem sane his miseriis patrimonium suum in inmensum modum adque illis augmentis curas quoque amarissimas aggerantem; mediocrem uero illum re familiari parua adque succincta sibi sufficientem, carissimum suis, cum cognatis, uicinis, amicis dulcissima pace gaudentem, pietate religiosum, benignum mente, sanum corpore, uita parcum, moribus castum, conscientia securum.

(C) Nescio utrum quisquam ita desipiat, ut audeat dubitare quem praeferat. Ut ergo in his duobus hominibus, ita in duabus familiis, ita in duobus populis, ita in duobus regnis regula sequitur aequitatis, qua uigilanter adhibita si nostra intentio corrigatur, facillime uidebimus ubi habitet uanitas et ubi felicitas.

(D) Quapropter si uerus Deus colatur eique sacris ueracibus et bonis moribus seruiatur, utile est ut boni longe lateque diu regnent; neque hoc tam ipsis quam illis utile est, [3]quibus regnant. Nam quantum ad ipsos pertinet, pietas et probitas eorum, quae magna Dei dona sunt, sufficit eis ad ueram felicitatem, qua et [4]ista uita bene agatur et postea percipiatur aeterna. In hac ergo terra regnum bonorum non tam illis [5]praestatur quam rebus humanis; malorum uero regnum magis regnantibus nocet, qui suos animos

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CHAPTER III.

Whether an immense empire, acquired only by wars, deserves to be accounted a blessing either of the wise or of the happy.

1. intentionis = "view." *Intentio* is a word of which A. is fond, as denoting speculation or reflection of any kind. Cp. xi. 21 D.

2. contentionibus anhelantem. A.'s use of *anhelare* suggests that his meaning here is rather "panting after" than "panting in consequence of."

3. quibus regnant. The use of *regno* with the Dative is common in A.—*e.g.*, vii. 9 F; xv. 5 A; xvii. 20 A; xviii. 3 C. Cp. *praevaleo* with the Dative xvi. 39 A.

4. ista uita = "the present life." For A.'s use of *iste* see note on i. 9 C.

5. praestatur = "is a blessing conferred."

uastant scelerum maiore licentia; his autem, qui eis seruiendo subduntur, non nocet nisi propria iniquitas.

(E) Nam iustis quidquid malorum ab iniquis dominis inrogatur, non est poena criminis, sed uirtutis examen. Proinde bonus etiamsi seruiat, liber est; malus autem etiamsi regnet, [6]seruus est, nec unius hominis, sed, quod est grauius, tot dominorum quot uitiorum. De quibus uitiis cum ageret scriptura diuina: **A quo enim quis inquit, deuictus est, [7]huic et seruus addictus est.*

CAPUT IV.

QUAM SIMILIA SINT LATROCINIIS REGNA ABSQUE IUSTITIA.

(A) Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia ? quia et latrocinia quid sunt nisi parua regna ? Manus et ipsa hominum est, imperio principis regitur, pacto societatis adstringitur, placiti lege praeda diuiditur. Hoc malum si in tantum perditorum hominum accessibus crescit, ut et loca teneat, sedes constituat, ciuitates occupet, populos subiuget, euidentius regni nomen adsumit, quod ei iam in manifesto confert non demta cupiditas, sed addita inpunitas.

(B) Eleganter enim et ueraciter [1]Alexandro illi Magno quidam conprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaret, [2]quid ei uideretur, ut mare haberet infestum, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum; sed quia id ego exiguo nauigio facio, latro uocor; quia tu magna classe, imperator.

CAPUT V.

DE FUGITIUIS GLADIATORIBUS, QUORUM POTENTIA SIMILIS FUERIT REGIAE DIGNITATI.

(A) Proinde omitto quaerere quales Romulus congregauerit, quoniam [1]multum eis consultum est, ut ex illa uita dato sibi consortio

6. seruus est, etc.—in accordance with our Lord's teaching (John viii. 34) which St. Paul so often repeats and expounds.

7. huic et seruus addictus est—A closer translation of the Greek *τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται* than *huius et seruus est* (Vulg.).

CHAPTER IV.

That sovereignty, apart from justice, is little better than brigandage.

1. Alexandro illi Magno. The story as A. tells it is more explicit than it is in Nonius Marcellus, who quotes it from Cicero ("De Re Publ.," iii.); but the point of it is the same (Non. Marcell., xiii., p. 534, Mercer's Edition).

2. quid ei uideretur, etc.—"what he meant by infesting the sea."

CHAPTER V.

Of the runaway gladiators who became almost as powerful as kings.

1. multum eis consultum est="They gave occasion for much thought."

* 2 Pet. ii. 19.

ciuitatis poenas debitas cogitare desisterent, quarum metus eos in maiora facinora propellebat, ut deinceps pacatiores essent rebus humanis. Hoc dico, quod ipsum Romanum imperium iam magnum multis gentibus subiugatis ceterisque terribile acerbe sensit, grauiter timuit, non paruo negotio deuitandae ingentis cladis obpressit, quando [2]paucissimi gladiatores in Campania [3]de ludo fugientes magnum exercitum conpararunt, [4]tres duces habuerunt, Italiam latissime et crudelissime uastauerunt.

(B) Dicant, quis istos deus adiuuerit, ut ex paruo et contemtibili latrocinio peruenirent ad regnum tantis iam Romanis uiribus arcibusque metuendum. An quia [5]non diu fuerunt, ideo diuinitus negabuntur adiuti? Quasi uero ipsa cuiuslibet hominis uita diuturna est. Isto ergo pacto neminem di adiuuant ad regnandum, quoniam singuli quique cito moriuntur, nec beneficium deputandum est, quod exiguo tempore in unoquoque homine ac per hoc singillatim utique in omnibus *" uice uaporis euanescit."

(C) Quid enim interest eorum, qui sub Romulo deos coluerunt et olim sunt mortui, quod post eorum mortem Romanum tantum creuit imperium, cum illi aput inferos causas suas agant? utrum bonas an malas, ad rem praesentem non pertinet. Hoc autem de omnibus intellegendum est, qui per ipsum imperium (quamuis decedentibus succedentibusque mortalibus in longa spatia protendatur) paucis diebus uitae suae cursim raptimque transierunt, [6]actuum suorum sarcinas baiulantes.

(D) Sin uero etiam ipsa breuissimi temporis beneficia deorum adiutorio tribuenda sunt, non parum adiuti sunt illi gladiatores: seruilis condicionis uincla ruperunt, fugerunt, euaserunt, exercitum magnum et fortissimum collegerunt, oboedientes [7]regum suorum consiliis et iussis multum Romanae celsitudini metuendi et aliquot Romanis imperatoribus insuperabiles multa ceperunt, potiti sunt uictoriis plurimis, usi uoluptatibus quibus uoluerunt, quod suggessit libido fecerunt, postremo donec uincerentur, quod difficillime factum est, sublimes regnantesque uixerunt. Sed ad maiora ueniamus.

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2. **paucissimi gladiatores**—*minus quam septuaginta* (iii. 26 B).

3. **de ludo**—the gladiatorial school at Capua.

4. **tres duces**=*sc.* Spartacus and his lieutenants Oenomaus and Crixus.

5. **non diu fuerunt.** The gladiatorial war which broke out B.C. 73 was ended by Crassus B.C. 71.

6. **actuum suorum,** etc.="like porters carrying the weight of their own actions on their backs."

7. **regum suorum.** Cp. iv. 4 A.

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* Jas. iv. 14.

CAPUT VI.

DE CUPIDITATE NINI REGIS, QUI UT LATIUS DOMINARETUR PRIMUS INTULIT BELLA FINITIMIS.

(A) [1]Iustinus, qu Giraecam uel potius peregrinam, Trogum Pompeium secutus, non Latine tantum, sicut ille, [2]uerum etiam breuiter scripsit historiam, opus librorum suorum sic incipit: "Principio rerum gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat, quos ad fastigium huius maiestatis non [3]ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio prouehebat. Populi nullis legibus tenebantur [4][arbitria principum pro legibus erant]; fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat; intra suam cuique patriam regna finiebantur.

(B) Primus omnium [5]Ninus rex Assyriorum ueterem et quasi auitum gentibus morem noua imperii cupiditate mutauit. Hic primus intulit bella finitimis et rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos ad terminos usque Libyae perdomuit." Et paulo post: "Ninus," inquit, "magnitudinem quaesitae dominationis continua possessione firmauit. Domitis igitur proximis cum accessione uirium fortior ad alios transiret et proxima quaeque uictoria instrumentum sequentis esset, [6]totius Orientis populos subegit."

CHAPTER VI.

Of the lust of power shown by Ninus, who set the example of declaring war upon his neighbours for the extension of his own dominions.

1. Iustinus—a historian who lived probably in the time of the Antonines—*i.e.*, in the latter half of the second century A.D. His voluminous History, which is still extant—"Historiarum Philippicarum Epitome" in forty-four volumes—is (*mirabile dictu!*) itself an abbreviation of the Universal History of Trogus Pompeius, a contemporary of Livy, whose History extended from the time of Ninus, the founder of the city of Nineveh, to his own day. Iustinus himself says: *Vir priscae eloquentiae Trogus Pompeius Graecas et totius historias orbis Latino sermone composuit . . . cuius libris omnium saeculorum, regum, nationum, populorumque res gestae continentur* ("Hist. Praefat."). See Teuffel, "History of Latin Literature," § 253. There can be little wonder that Iustinus should add *Pompeius Herculea audacia orbem terrarum adgressus uideri debet* (*l.c.*).

2. uerum etiam breuiter—because his History was an epitome of that of Trogus Pompeius.

3. ambitio popularis="the courting of popular favour."

4. [arbitria principum pro legibus erant]—an evident gloss lacking authority in the MSS.

5. Ninus—the legendary eponymous founder of Nineveh. If he lived at all, his date is problematical. It may be hypothetically given as 2000 B.C. But the 5th Chapter of the 2nd Part of Layard's "Nineveh" contains an impressive catalogue of the enemies whose destruction or defeat Ninus recorded on the monuments at Nimroud, Khorsabad, etc. A. dwells more than once upon the magnificence of the empire of Ninus—*e.g.*, xvi. 10 C, 17 A; xviii. 22 B. Cp. Eusebius ("Chron. Lib. Poster.," p. 228: *Primus omni Asiae, exceptis Indis, Ninus Beli filius regnauit*).

6. totius Orientis populos—except India, as A. says elsewhere (xvi. 17 A), following Eusebius ("Chron. Lib. Prior.," *s.v.* Reges Assyriorum).

(c) Qualibet autem fide rerum uel iste uel Trogus scripserit (nam quaedam illos fuisse mentitos [7]aliae fideliores litterae ostendunt), constat tamen et inter alios scriptores regnum Assyriorum a Nino rege fuisse longe lateque porrectum. Tam diu autem perseuerauit, ut Romanum nondum sit eius aetatis. Nam sicut scribunt, qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt, [8]mille ducentos et quadraginta annos ab anno primo, quo Ninus regnare coepit, permansit hoc regnum, [9]donec transferretur ad Medos. Inferre autem bella finitimis et in cetera inde procedere ac populos sibi non molestos sola regni cupiditate conterere et subdere, quid aliud quam [10]grande latrocinium nominandum est ?

CAPUT VII.

AN REGNA TERRENA INTER PROFECTUS SUOS ADQUE DEFECTUS DEORUM IUVENTUR VEL DESERANTUR AUXILIO.

(a) Si nullo deorum adiutorio tam magnum hoc regnum et [1]prolixum fuit, quare dis Romanis tribuitur Romanum regnum locis amplum temporibusque diuturnum ? Quaecumque enim causa est illa, eadem est etiam ista. Si autem et illud deorum adiutorio tribuendum esse contendunt, quaero quorum. [2] Non enim aliae gentes, quas Ninus domuit et subegit, alios tunc colebant deos. Aut si proprios habuerunt Assyrii, quasi peritiores fabros imperii construendi adque seruandi, numquidnam mortui sunt, quando et ipsi imperium perdiderunt, aut mercede non sibi reddita uel alia maiore promissa [3]ad Medos transire maluerunt, adque inde rursus [4]ad Persas Cyro inuitante et aliquid commodius pollicente ? Quae gens non angustis Orientis finibus post [5]Alex-

7. aliae fideliores litterae. A. refers to the Chronicon of Eusebius in particular. Cp. *qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt* below. Coques thinks reference is made to the Old Testament.

8. mille ducentos et quadraginta annos. See note on iv. 7 c.

9. donec transferretur ad Medos—*sc.* to Arbaces or Arbactus, the founder of the Median Empire after the self-immolation of Sardanapalus in the ninth or possibly the eighth century B.C., according to the traditional story which descended from Ctesias to Diodorus Siculus and later authors. Cp. Justin (" Hist.," i. 3).

10. grande latrocinium. Cp. iv. 4 a.

CHAPTER VII.

Whether earthly kingdoms in their rise and their fall are helped, or left without help, by the gods.

1. prolixum = " protracted " rather than " extensive," as the corresponding words—*temporibusque diuturnum*—indicate.

2. Non enim aliae gentes, etc. A. seems to imagine something like uniformity of religious worship throughout the East or throughout the Assyrian Empire.

3. ad Medos transire. See note on iv. 6 c.

4. ad Persas. Cyrus succeeded in entering Babylon by his well-known stratagem of diverting the course of the Euphrates B.C. 538.

5. Alexandri Macedonis—who ascended the throne B.C. 336 and died B.C. 323.

andri Macedonis regnum magnum locis, sed breuissimum tempore, in suo regno adhuc usque perdurat.

(B) Hoc si ita est, aut infideles di sunt, qui suos deserunt et ad hostes transeunt (quod nec homo fecit [6]Camillus, quando uictor et expugnator [7]aduersissimae ciuitatis Romam, cui uicerat, sensit ingratam, quam tamen postea oblitus iniuriae, memor patriae, a Gallis iterum liberauit), aut non ita fortes sunt, ut deos esse fortes decet, qui possunt humanis uel consiliis uel uiribus uinci; aut si, cum inter se belligerant, non di ab hominibus, sed di ab aliis dis forte uincuntur, qui sunt quarumque proprii ciuitatum: habent ergo et ipsi inter se inimicitias, quas pro sua quisque parte suscipiunt.

(C) Non itaque deos suos debuit colere ciuitas magis quam alios, a quibus adiuuarentur sui. Postremo quoquo modo se habeat deorum iste uel transitus uel fuga, uel migratio uel in pugna defectio, nondum illis temporibus adque in illis terrarum partibus Christi nomen fuerat praedicatum, quando illa regna per ingentes clades bellicas amissa adque translata sunt. Nam [8]post mille ducentos et quod excurrit annos, quando regnum Assyriis ablatum est, si iam ibi Christiana religio aliud regnum praedicaret aeternum et deorum falsorum cultus sacrilegos inhiberet, quid aliud illius gentis uani homines dicerent, nisi regnum, quod tam diu conseruatum est, nulla alia causa nisi suis religionibus desertis et illa recepta perire potuisse? In qua uoce uanitatis, quae poterat esse, isti [9]adtendant speculum suum, et similia conqueri, si ullus in eis pudor est, erubescant.

(D) Quamquam Romanum imperium adflictum est potius quam [10]mutatum, quod et aliis ante Christi nomen temporibus ei contigit, et ab illa est adflictione recreatum, quod [11]nec istis temporibus desperandum est. Quis enim de hac re nouit uoluntatem Dei?

6. Camillus. A. has already spoken of his case (ii. 17 D; iii. 17 G).

7. aduersissimae ciuitatis—Veii.

8. post mille ducentos et quod excurrit annos="after 1200 years and more." A. derives his figure from Eusebius: *Omnes . . . regni Assyriorum a primo anno Nini supputantur* mccxl. ("Chron. Lib. Poster.," p. 315). In xviii. 21 B he says: *post annos ferme mille trecentos quinque.* Cp. *annis plus mille et trecentis* (Euseb., "Chron. Lib. Prior.," xiv.). Diodorus Siculus ("Biblioth. Hist.," ii. 21) gives 1300 years as the time on the authority of Ctesias.

9. adtendant speculum suum="let them observe themselves as in a mirror."

10. mutatum="transformed." A. means that the Roman Empire, however sorely afflicted, had not been converted into, or submerged in, another and a greater Empire.

11. nec istis temporibus="not even in the present times."

CAPUT VIII.

QUORUM DEORUM PRAESIDIO PUTENT ROMANI IMPERIUM SUUM AUCTUM ADQUE SERVATUM, CUM SINGULIS VIX SINGULARUM RERUM TUITIONEM COMMITTENDAM ESSE CREDIDERINT.

(A) Deinde quaeramus, si placet, ex tanta deorum turba, quam Romani colebant, quem potissimum uel quos deos credant illud imperium dilatasse adque seruasse. Neque enim in hoc tam praeclaro opere et tantae plenissimo dignitatis audent aliquas partes deae [1]Cluacinae tribuere aut [2]Volupiae, quae a uoluptate appellata est, aut [3]Lubentinae, cui nomen est a libidine, aut [4]Vaticano, qui infantum uagitibus praesidet, aut [5]Cuninae, quae cunas eorum administrat. Quando autem possunt uno loco libri huius commemorari omnia nomina deorum et dearum, quae illi grandibus uoluminibus uix conprehendere potuerunt, singulis rebus propria dispertientes officia numinum ?

(B) Nec agrorum munus uni alicui deo committendum arbitrati sunt, sed rura deae [6]Rusinae, iuga montium deo [7]Iugatino; collibus

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CHAPTER VIII.

Who are the gods whom the Romans suppose to have presided over the expansion and conservation of their Empire, seeing it has been their belief that particular gods ought hardly to be entrusted with the custody of particular things.

1. deae Cluacinae—Cluacina, or Cloacina (for the name is variously spelt, as in the MSS. here), was a title of Venus, meaning "The Purifier." Cp. iv. 23 C; vi. 10 C. (*Cloacinam Tatius dedicauit deam*). It is derived from *cluare* or *cloare*=to cleanse, like *Cloaca*. Pliny speaks of *Romanos Sabinosque* (after the rape of the Sabine maidens) *purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet ; cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant* ("Nat. Hist.," xv. 29, 119). Lactantius, in confirmation of A.'s account, says: *Cloacinae simulacrum in cloaca maxima repertum Tatius consecrauit et quia cuius esset effigies ignorabat ex loco illo nomen imposuit* ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 20). Cp. Cyprian ("De Idol. Vanit.," 4). A. apparently takes Cloacina to mean "goddess of the sewers."

2. Volupiae—the goddess who personified pleasure. Varro, in describing the gates of Rome, speaks of the *Porta Romanula* as having *gradus in Noua Via ad Volupiae sacellum* ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 164). She is mentioned by Tertullian ("Ad Nation.," ii. 11). Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 10) refers to an *ara Volupiae*.

3. Lubentinae—the goddess of sensual pleasure. Cicero speaks of *Lubentina Venus* ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 23, 61). Cp. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 47).

4. Vaticano. Aulus Gellius (who himself connects *Vaticanus* with *uaticinium*) quotes Varro as giving the derivation which A. here repeats ("Noct. Attic.," xvi. 17). Cp. iv. 11 B. A.'s derivation of *Vaticanus* (like many of his etymologies) is purely fanciful; but he repeats it (iv. 11 B).

5. Cuninae—the goddess of the cradle, and therefore the protectress of infant children. Cp. iv. 11 C. Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 20) speaks of *Cunina quae infantes in cunis tuetur ac fascinum submouet.*

6. Rusinae—a modified form of *Rurinae*. According to Tertullian ("Adv. Nat.," ii. 11, a chapter sadly imperfect in the MSS.) the name of the goddess is apparently Rucinia.

7. Iugatino. A. mentions another Iugatinus, the god of the matrimonial union (iv. 11 D; vi. 9 F).

deam [8]Collatinam, uallibus Valloniam praefecerunt. [9]Nec saltem potuerunt unam [10]Segetiam talem inuenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam uoluerunt habere deam [11]Seiam; cum uero iam essent super terram et segetem facerent, deam Segetiam; frumentis uero collectis adque reconditis, ut tuto seruarentur, deam [12]Tutilinam praeposuerunt. Cui non sufficere uideretur illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas peruenire?

(c) Non tamen satis fuit hominibus deorum multitudinem [13]amantibus, ut anima misera daemoniorum turbae prostitueretur unius Dei ueri castum dedignata conplexum. Praefecerunt ergo [14]Proserpinam frumentis germinantibus, [15]geniculis nodisque culmorum deum [16]Nodutum, [17]inuolumentis folliculorum deam [18]Volutinam; cum folliculi patescunt, ut spica exeat, deam [19]Patelanam,

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8. Collatinam . . . Valloniam—goddesses not named, I think, elsewhere in Latin literature, but known to A. undoubtedly from Varro.

9. Nec saltem potuerunt . . . inuenire="they did not even succeed in finding."

10. Segetiam. So A. names the goddess not here only but in iv. 24 B; v. 21 B, etc.; but Pliny calls her Segesta ("Nat. Hist.," xviii. 2, 8).

11. Seiam. *Seiam a serendo*, says Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xviii. 2, 8); but elsewhere he refers to *aedem Fortunae quam Seiam appellant, a Seruio rege sacratam* (xxxvi. 46, 163). *Segetia* and *Seia* are both named by Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 16).

12. Tutilinam—mentioned by Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 163) and by Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 16); but they do not explain the function of the goddess. *Tutilina dea est, a tuendo dicta* (Non. Marcell., i., p. 47, Mercer's Edition). Tertullian, in his description of the Circus, enumerates *columnas sessias a sementationibus, messias a messibus, tutelinas a tutelis* ("De Spect.," 8); and it is to these apparently that Pliny alludes ("Nat. Hist.," xviii. 2, 2) when, after mentioning *Seia* and *Segesta quarum simulacra in circo uidemus*, he adds mysteriously *tertiam ex his nominare sub tecto religio est*, with an almost unmistakable reference to the goddess *Tutilina* as here designated by A.

13. amantibus . . . prostitueretur . . . castum complexum. The figure of human love is carefully preserved. In the Bible, especially in the Old Testament, infidelity to God is often represented as a breach of the marriage vow. See, *e.g.*, Isa. lxii. 5, and conversely, Jer. iii. 1 and 6.

14. Proserpinam—as the daughter of Ceres, naturally associated with the fruits of the earth; but the name *Proserpina* is here related to *proserpo*, and Proserpina is the goddess of the germinating or emerging grain. Cp. vii. 20 A. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 68) assigns another meaning to the derivation: *Dicta Proserpina, quod haec ut serpens modo in dexteram, modo in sinistram partem late mouetur*; but Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 33) agrees with A.: *quod sata in lucem proserpant, cognominatam esse Proserpinam.*

15. geniculis nodisque="joints and knobs." Cp. Pliny's use of *geniculum* ("Nat. Hist.," xxvi. 11, 117); and of *genu* (*ibid.*, xiii. 22, 123). So A. again (vii. 11 D).

16. Nodutum or **Nodotum**—for both forms appear in the MSS. The name appears also as Nodutis (Arnobius, "Adu. Gent.," iv. 7 and 11): *Nodutis dicitur deus qui ad nodos perdücit res satas.*

17. inuolumentis folliculorum="the sheaths which contain the blades."

18. Volutinam. Volutina, like the goddess Hostilia and the god Lacturnus, is unknown elsewhere.

19. Patelanam—Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 7) speaks of the goddesses Patelana and Patella: *ex quibus una est patefactis, patefaciendis rebus altera praestituta.*

[20]cum segetes nouis aristis aequantur, quia ueteres aequare [21]hostire dixerunt, deam Hostilinam; florentibus frumentis deam [22]Floram, lactescentibus deum [23]Lacturnum, maturescentibus deam [24]Matutam; cum [25]runcantur, id est a terra auferuntur, deam Runcinam. Nec omnia commemoro, [26]quia me piget quod illos non pudet.

(D) Haec autem paucissima ideo dixi, ut intellegeretur nullo modo eos dicere audere ista numina imperium constituisse, auxisse, conseruasse Romanum, quae ita suis quaeque adhibebantur officiis, ut nihil uniuersum uni alicui crederetur. Quando ergo Segetia curaret imperium, cui curam gerere simul et segetibus et arboribus non licebat? Quando de armis Cunina cogitaret, cuius praepositura paruulorum cunas non permittebatur excedere? Quando Nodutus adiuuaret in bello, qui nec ad folliculum spicae, sed tantum ad nodum geniculi pertinebat? [27]Unum quisque domui suae ponit ostiarium, et quia homo est, omnino sufficit: tres deos isti posuerunt, [28]Forculum foribus, [29]Cardeam cardini, [30]Limentinum limini. Ita non poterat Forculus simul et cardinem limenque seruare.

CAPUT IX.

AN IMPERII ROMANI AMPLITUDO ET DIUTURNITAS IOUI FUERIT ADSCRIBENDA, QUEM SUMMUM DEUM CULTORES IPSIUS OPINANTUR.

(A) Omissa igitur ista turba minutorum deorum uel aliquantum intermissa, officium maiorum deorum debemus inquirere, quo

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20. cum segetes, etc. = "when the stems are of the same height as the new ear," *segetes* being the stems of last year's harvest.

21. hostire—a verb found in Plautus ("Asin.," ii. 2, 110), where *hostire contra* = "to render tit for tat," as is the substantive *hostimentum* = "requital" (*ibid.*, i. 3, 20) in the phrase *par pari datum hostimentum est* = "we are quits now."

22. Floram—already mentioned ii. 27 A, where see note.

23. Lacturnum. Seruius (on Virg., "Georg.," i. 315) quotes Varro as mentioning *deum Lactantem* (*sic*) *qui se infundit segetibus et eos facit lactescere.*

24. Matutam. Cp. xviii. 14 B. Matuta is generally the goddess of the morning (as Lucr., v. 654).

25. runcantur. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 96) connects *runcino* (and therefore presumably *runco*) with *runcina* and ῥυκάνη = "a plane." The idea, then, expressed by *runcantur* is that of clearing the ground of its crops. Cp. Varro ("De Re Rust.," i. 30).

26. quia me piget, etc. = "because I feel sick, where they do not feel ashamed."

27. Unum quisque domui, etc. There is an interesting parallel in Tertullian ("De Cor. Mil.," 13); for he names the same three gods and goddesses as A. here (except that *Cardeam* becomes *Cardam*) and adds: *At enim Christianus nec ianuam suam laureis infamabit, si norit quantos deos etiam ostiis diabolus adfixerit.* Cp. Tertullian ("De Idol.," 15).

28. Forculum. Cp. Tertullian ("De Idol.," 15 and "De Cor. Mil.," 13), Cyprian ("De Idol. Vanit.," 4).

29. Cardeam—mentioned also by Cyprian ("De Idol. Vanit.," 4). She appears as Carna (Ovid., "Fast.," vi. 101), and as Carda (Tertull., "De Cor. Mil.," 13).

30. Limentinum. Cp. Tertullian ("De Idol.," 15 and "De Cor. Mil.," 13); Cyprian ("De Idol. Vanit.," 4); Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 11).

Roma tam magna facta est, ut tam diu tot gentibus imperaret. Nimirum ergo Iouis hoc opus est. Ipsum enim deorum omnium dearumque regem uolunt: hoc eius indicat sceptrum, hoc in alto colle[1] Capitolium. De isto deo quamuis a poeta dictum conuenientissime praedicant:

*Iouis omnia plena.

(B) Hunc[2] Varro credit etiam ab his coli, qui unum Deum solum sine simulacro colunt, sed alio nomine nuncupari. Quod si ita est, quur tam male tractatus est Romae, sicut quidem et in ceteris gentibus, ut ei fieret simulacrum? Quod ipsi etiam Varroni ita displicet, ut, cum tantae ciuitatis peruersa consuetudine premeretur, nequaquam tamen dicere et scribere dubitaret, quod hi, qui populis instituerunt simulacra, [3]"et metum demserunt et errorem addiderunt."

CAPUT X.

QUAS OPINIONES SECUTI SINT, QUI DIVERSOS DEOS DIVERSIS MUNDI PARTIBUS PRAEFECERUNT.

(A) Quur illi etiam Iuno uxor adiungitur, quae dicatur †"soror et coniux"? Quia [1]Iouem, inquiunt, in aethere accipimus, in aere Iunonem, et haec duo elementa coniuncta sunt, alterum superius, alterum inferius. Non est ergo ille, de quo dictum est "Iouis omnia plena," si aliquam partem inplet et Iuno. An uterque utrumque inplet, et ambo isti coniuges et in duobus istis elementis et in singulis simul sunt? Quur ergo aether datur Ioui, aer Iunoni?

CHAPTER IX.

Whether the extension and duration of the Roman Empire should have been attributed to Jupiter, who is regarded by his votaries as the supreme god.

1. Capitolium—the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Tarpeian rock (*in alto colle*).

2. Varro credit. Cp. iv. 31 D and E. A. ("De Consens. Euang.," i. 30 [xxii.]) says: *Varro autem ipsorum, quo doctiorem apud se neminem inueniunt, Deum Iudaeorum Iouem putauit, nihil interesse censens quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intelligatur.* Varro came near, it seems, to the—

"Jehovah, Jove or Lord"

of Pope's "Universal Prayer."

3. et metum demserunt, etc. A. quotes the same words of Varro (iv. 31 D).

CHAPTER X.

The opinions followed by those who have set different gods in authority over different parts of the world.

1. Iouem . . . in aethere accipimus="by Jupiter we understand the upper air." *Aethere*=the clear upper air; *aere*=the dense lower air. Cp. *modo sit aether, ut aerem Iunonem subterfusam desuper amplectatur* (iv. 11 A).

* Virg., "Eclog.," iii. 60. † Virg., "Aen.," i. 47.

Postremo ipsi duo satis essent: quid est quod mare Neptuno tribuitur, terra Plutoni? Et ne ipsi quoque sine coniugibus remanerent, additur Neptuno [2]Salacia, Plutoni Proserpina. Nam sicut inferiorem caeli partem, id est aerem, inquiunt, Iuno tenet, ita inferiorem maris Salacia et terrae inferiorem Proserpina.

(B) Quaerunt quem ad modum sarciant fabulas, nec inueniunt. Si enim haec ita essent, tria potius elementa mundi esse, non quattuor, eorum ueteres proderent, ut singula deorum coniugia diuiderentur singulis elementis. Nunc uero omni modo adfirmauerunt aliud esse aetherem, aliud aerem. Aqua uero siue superior siue inferior utique aqua est; [3]puta quia dissimilis, numquid in tantum ut aqua non sit? Et inferior terra quid aliud potest esse quam terra quantalibet diuersitate distincta?

(C) Deinde ecce iam totus in his quattuor uel tribus elementis corporeus conpletus est mundus: [4]Minerua ubi erit? quid tenebit? quid inplebit? Simul enim cum his in Capitolio constituta est, cum ista filia non sit amborum. Aut si aetheris partem superiorem Mineruam tenere dicunt et hac occasione fingere poetas quod [5]de Iouis capite nata sit: quur non ergo ipsa potius deorum regina deputatur, quod sit Ioue superior? An quia indignum erat praeponere patri filiam? Quur non de Ioue ipso erga Saturnum iustitia ista seruata est?

(D) An quia uictus est? Ergo pugnarunt? Absit, inquiunt; fabularum est ista garrulitas. Ecce fabulis non credatur et de dis meliora sentiantur: quur ergo non data est patri Iouis, etsi non sublimior, aequalis certe sedes honoris? Quia [6]Saturnus, inquiunt temporis longitudo est. Tempus ergo colunt, qui Saturnum colunt, et rex deorum Iuppiter insinuatur natus ex tempore. Quid enim indignum dicitur, cum Iuppiter et Iuno nati dicuntur ex tempore, si caelum est ille [7]et illa terra, cum facta sint utique caelum et terra? nam [8]hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum docti adque sapientes.

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2. Salacia. Cp. vii. 22 A.

3. puta quia dissimilis = "suppose it is different."

4. Minerua—whose temples, or one of whose temples, stood on the Capitoline Hill. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," iv. 6) describes the temples of Juno and Minerva as standing on either side of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

5. de Iouis capite. Macrobius ("Saturn.," iii. 4) refers to Minerva as *summum aetheris cacumen*, but makes no allusion to her legendary birth from the head of Jupiter.

6. Saturnus, inquiunt, temporis longitudo est. Cp. vii. 19 E; "De Consens. Euang." i. 34 (xxiii.); also Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 25, 64) where Κρόνος and χρόνος are etymologically identified.

7. et illa terra. A. passes from the identification of Iuno with *aer* to her identification with *terra*. His authority is Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 67).

8. hoc quoque—*sc.* the identification of Jupiter and Juno with heaven and earth.

(E) Neque de figmentis poeticis, sed de philosophorum libris a Vergilio dictum est:

> *Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether
> Coniugis in gremium laetae descendit,

id est in gremium telluris aut terrae; quia et hic aliquas differentias uolunt esse adque in ipsa terra aliud Terram, aliud Tellurem, aliud [9]Tellumonem putant, et hos omnes deos habent suis nominibus appellatos, suis officiis distinctos, suis aris sacrisque ueneratos. [10]Eandem terram etiam matrem deum uocant, ut iam poetae tolerabiliora confingant, si secundum istorum non poeticos, sed sacrorum libros non solum Iuno "soror et coniux," sed etiam mater est Iouis. [11]Eandem terram Cererem, eandem etiam Vestam uolunt, cum tamen saepius Vestam non nisi ignem esse perhibeant pertinentem ad focos, sine quibus ciuitas esse non potest, et ideo illi uirgines solere seruire, quod [12]sicut ex uirgine, ita nihil ex igne nascatur.

(F) Quam totam uanitatem aboleri et extingui utique ab illo oportuit, qui est natus ex uirgine. Quis enim ferat, quod, cum tantum honoris et quasi castitatis igni tribuerint, aliquando Vestam non erubescunt [13]etiam Venerem dicere, ut uanescat in ancillis eius honorata uirginitas? Si enim Vesta Venus est, quo modo ei rite uirgines a Veneriis operibus abstinendo seruierunt? An Veneres duae sunt, una uirgo, altera mulier? An potius tres, una uirginum quae etiam Vesta est, alia coniugatarum, alia meretricum? Cui

9. Tellumonem. A. discusses Terra, Tellus, and Tellumo in vii. 23.

10. Eandem terram etiam matrem deum uocant. A.'s statement is borne out, not indeed by Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 64), for he says only *Terra ops, quod hic omne opus, et hac opus ad uiuendum et ideo dicitur ops mater quod terra mater*, but by Julius Firmicus (3). Not quite in the same sense Plato says ("Cratyl.," p. 404 B) *Δημήτηρ μὲν φαίνεται κατὰ τὴν δόσιν τῆς ἐδωδῆς διδοῦσα ὡς μήτηρ κεκλῆσθαι.*

11. Eandem terram Cererem, etc. Cicero says: *Mater est a gerendis frugibus Ceres, tamquam Geres* ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 26, 67). Ovid says, by a strange etymology, that Vesta—

> *Stat ui terra sua; ui stando Vesta uocatur*

("Fast.," vi. 299). For the identification of Terra with Ceres and Vesta see Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 32). Cp. vii. 16 B and C.

12. sicut ex uirgine, etc. Lactantius makes the same comparison ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 12).

13. etiam Venerem dicere. I cannot find any stronger ground for A.'s identification of Vesta not only with Ceres and Terra but with Venus than the following passage of Macrobius: *physici terrae superius hemisphaerium, cuius partem incolimus, Veneris adpellatione coluerunt; inferius uero hemisphaerium terrae Proserpinam uocauerunt* ("Saturn.," i. 21).

* "Georg.," ii. 325-6.

etiam [14] Phoenices donum dabant de prostitutione filiarum, antequam eas iungerent uiris. Quae illarum est matrona Vulcani? Non utique uirgo, quoniam habet maritum. Absit autem ut meretrix, ne filio Iunonis et [15]cooperario Mineruae facere uideamur iniuriam.

(G) Ergo haec ad coniugatas intellegitur pertinere: sed eam [16]nolumus imitentur in eo [17]quod fecit illa cum Marte. Rursus, inquiunt, ad fabulas redis. Quae ista iustitia est, nobis suscensere, quod talia dicimus de dis eorum, et sibi non suscensere, qui haec in theatris libentissime spectant crimina deorum suorum? Et (quod esset incredibile, nisi contestatissime probaretur) haec ipsa theatrica crimina deorum in honorem instituta sunt eorundem deorum.

CAPUT XI.

DE MULTIS DIS, QUOS DOCTIORES PAGANORUM UNUM EUNDEMQUE IOVEM ESSE DEFENDUNT.

(A) Quotlibet igitur physicis rationibus et disputationibus adserant: [1]modo sit Iuppiter corporei huius mundi animus, qui uniuersam istam molem ex quattuor uel quot eis placet elementis constructam adque conpactam inplet et mouet; modo inde suas partes sorori et fratribus cedat; modo sit aether, ut aerem Iunonem subterfusam desuper amplectatur; modo totum simul cum aere sit ipse caelum, terram uero tamqaum coniugem eandemque matrem (quia hoc in diuinis turpe non est) fecundis imbribus et seminibus fetet; modo autem (ne sit necesse per cuncta discurrere) deus unus, de quo multi a poeta nobilissimo dictum putant:

*deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;

(B) ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ipse in aere Iuno, ipse in mari Neptunus, in inferioribus etiam maris ipse [2]Salacia, in terra Pluto, in terra inferiore Proserpina, in focis domesticis Vesta, in fabrorum

14. Phoenices. The iniquity which A. here describes is attributed to the Phoenicians by Athanasius ("Con. Gen.," 20 [26]).

15. cooperario Mineruae. Vulcan and Minerva were associated in the work of forging and welding the thunderbolts of Jupiter. Cp. Plato ("Polit.," p. 274, *τέχναι δὲ παρ' Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς συντέχνου*); ("Protag.," p. 371 E, *τὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡφαίστου οἴκημα τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνείτην*). Cp. Homeric Hymn XX.

16. nolumus imitentur—post-classical subjunctive after *nolo*.

17. quod fecit illa cum Marte—*sc.* her adultery.

CHAPTER XI.

Upon the number of gods whom the more learned among the pagans defend as being one and the same Jupiter.

1. modo sit Iuppiter, etc. Cp. vii. 6 A and B.

2. Salacia. Cp. vii. 22 A.

* Virg., "Georg.," iv. 221-2.

fornace Vulcanus, in sideribus sol et luna et stellae, in diuinantibus Apollo, in merce Mercurius, in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator, [3]Saturnus in tempore, Mars et Bellona in bellis, Liber in uineis, Ceres in frumentis, Diana in siluis, Minerua in ingeniis; ipse sit postremo etiam in illa turba [4]quasi plebeiorum deorum; ipse praesit nomine [5]Liberi uirorum seminibus et nomine Liberae feminarum, ipse sit [6]Diespater, qui partum perducat ad diem; ipse sit dea [7]Mena, quam praefecerunt menstruis feminarum, ipse [8]Lucina, quae a parturientibus inuocetur; ipse opem ferat nascentibus excipiendo eos sinu terrae et uocetur [9]Opis, ipse in uagitu os aperiat et uocetur deus Vaticanus;

(c) Ipse leuet de terra et uocetur dea [10]Leuana, ipse cunas tueatur et uocetur [11]Cunina; non sit alius, sed ipse in illis deabus, quae fata nascentibus canunt et uocantur [12]Carmentes; praesit fortuitis uoceturque Fortuna; in diua [13]Rumina mammam paruulo inmulgeat,

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3. Saturnus in tempore. See note on iv. 10 D.

4. quasi plebeiorum deorum. The *di selecti* were in A.'s caustic judgment an aristocracy of divinities *tamquam in senatum deorum selecti* (vii. 33 B; cp. vii. 3 H); the others, as he frequently says, like a vulgar herd, a mere *plebs, quasi plebeia numinum multitudo* (vii. 2 B. Cp. vii. 3 H; 15 D). Elsewhere he speaks of *illa turba uel quasi plebeiorum uel quasi procerum deorum* (vi. 2 H). The twenty *di selecti* are enumerated (vii. 2 A).

5. Liberi . . . Liberae. Cp. vi. 9 B; vii. 2 C, etc. Libera is identified with Venus (vii. 2 C); and with both Venus and Ceres (vii. 3 A).

6. Diespater is etymologically the same word as Jupiter, but it reveals its derivation more clearly; for Diespater is "the bright father" or "the heaven." Philology was never a strong point of the ancient theologians or of ancient scholars generally; but A. might have been saved from his exposition of *Diespater* as *qui partum perducat ad diem* by his master Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 66).

7. Mena—who is described as *quamuis Iouis filia, tamen ignobilis* (vii. 2 C). Mena is the Greek *μήνη=luna*, of which Cicero says ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 27, 68) *Luna a lucendo nominata sit ; eadem est enim Lucina.*

8. Lucina—sometimes identified with Iuno or Diana, but here apparently a distinct goddess, like Mena. Her name is perhaps more familiar from Horace ("Carm. Saec.," 13-16) than from any other passage.

9. Opis. Cp. iv. 21 C. This is a different goddess from the Ops who, according to Servius (on Virg., "Aen.," xi. 532), *Terra est, uxor Saturni, quam Graeci Rheam uocant.*

10. Leuana—It was the fashion at Rome to lay a new-born child on the floor; then, if the father lifted it up, he acknowledged his intention of rearing it as his (*suscipere*). The goddess gave her name to Jean Paul Richter's "Levana."

11. Cunina. Cp. iv. 8 A.

12. Carmentes. Classical literature knows one goddess—*Carmentis* or *Carmenta* (*e.g.*, in Ovid, "Fast.," i. 499; Livy, i. 7); but in later writers—*e.g.*, Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Attic.," xvi. 16)—there appear two goddesses, the *Carmentes*, who are specifically named Postuerta and Prorsa (or Prosa), the one as looking backwards and the other forwards. Ovid's "*Porrima plucantur Postuertaque*" ("Fast.," i. 633) refers to two goddesses or nymphs, but not to them as *Carmentes.*

13. Rumina. The old word *ruma* or *rumis* (from which Rumina or Rumia is derived), occurs in Varro ("De Re Rust.," ii.), also in Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xv. 18, 77). Ruminus is a title of Iuppiter (vii. 11 A). The *ficus ruminalis* was the fig-tree under which the she-wolf gave suck, according to the Roman legend, to the infants Romulus and Remus.

quia rumam dixerunt ueteres mammam; in diua [14]Potina potionem ministret, in diua [15]Educa escam praebeat; de pauore infantum [16]Pauentia nuncupetur, de spe, quae uenit, [17]Venilia, de uoluptate [18]Volupia, de actu [19]Agenoria; de stimulis, quibus ad nimium actum homo inpellitur, dea [20]Stimula nominetur; [21]Strenia dea sit strenuum faciendo, [22]Numeria, quae numerare doceat, [23]Camena, quae canere;

(D) Ipse sit et deus [24]Consus praebendo consilia et dea [25]Sentia sententias inspirando; ipse dea [26]Iuuentas, quae [27]post praetextam

14. Potina—mentioned again by A. (iv. 34 B; vi. 9 A) in conjunction, as here, with Educa. Arnobius gives the name of the goddess as Potua ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 25).

15. Educa—the same as Edusa, mentioned by Varro as one of the three goddesses —Edusa, Potina, and Cuba—whose worship was taught to children as soon as they were weaned and could leave the cradle. *Potina et Eluda* (Tertull., "Ad Nat.," ii. 11) should undoubtedly be *Potina et Educa*. Nonius Marcellus (ii., p. 108, Mercer's Edition) quotes from Varro's "Cato uel de liberis educandis," the passage *cum primo cibo et potione initiarent pueros, sacrificabantur ab edulibus Edusae, a potione Potinae nutrices.*

16. Pauentia—This goddess is named Pauentina by Tertullian ("Ad Nat.," ii. 11). It was her function to guard children against sudden frights.

17. Venilia—The Venilia of vii. 22 A. (*Venilia unda est quae ad litus uenit*) is apparently a different goddess. Virgil speaks of a *diua Venilia* as the mother of Turnus ("Aen.," x. 76).

18. Volupia. See note on iv. 8 A.

19. Agenoria—sc. *deam Agenoriam, quae ad agendum excitaret* (iv. 16 A); not the same as Angerona (Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," iii. 5. 65) with whom she is sometimes identified. Tertullian recognises a male deity *deum Peragenorem* ("Ad Nat.," ii. 11).

20. Stimula. See Ovid ("Fast.," vi. 503):

Lucus erat; dubium Semelae Stimulaeue uocetur.

The goddess is probably named by Livy (xxxix. 12); for *Stimulae* there is almost certainly the true reading, not *Similae*.

21. Strenia. Cp. iv. 16 A. Varro mentions *Streniae sacellum* at the head of the Via Sacra ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 47).

22. Numeria—apparently not the same as the goddess of rapid childbirth of whom Varro, in a passage quoted by Nonius Marcellus (p. 352, Mercer's Edition) from his "Cato uel de liberis educandis," says that *qui celeriter erant nati fere Numerios praenominabant . . . quo etiam in partu precabantur Numeriem* (sic) *quam deam solent indigitare etiam pontifices.*

23. Camena—not here one or anyone of the Muses, but the goddess of Song, whose name is etymologically connected (as Varro says, "De Ling. Lat.," vii. 27) with *Carmen*.

24. Consus—an agricultural god, mentioned by Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 20); Tacitus ("Ann.," xii. 24) and Plutarch ("Romulus," 14). His festival was called Consualia (Livy, i. 9; Ovid, "Fast.," iii. 199). See note on ii. 17 B. The association of *Consus* with *consilium* is, in view of the character originally belonging to *Consus*, highly improbable.

25. Sentia—a goddess, no doubt mentioned by Varro, but unknown. I think, in ancient extant literature.

26. Iuuentas—often personified and apparently deified by Cicero (*e.g.*, "De Nat. Deor.," i. 40, 112; "Tusc. Disp.," i. 26, 65).

27. post praetextam. The *toga praetexta*, or *toga* with a purple border, was the dress of free-born Roman boys up to the age of fourteen; then they exchanged it for the *toga uirilis*.

excipiat iuuenalis aetatis exordia; ipse sit et [28]Fortuna barbata, quae adultos barba induat (quos honorare noluerunt, ut hoc qualecumque numen saltem masculum deum uel a barba Barbatum, sicut a nodis Nodutum, uel certe non Fortunam, sed quia barbas habet Fortunium nominarent); ipse in [29]Iugatino deo coniuges iungat, et cum uirgini uxori zona soluitur, ipse inuocetur et dea [30]Virginensis uocetur; ipse sit [31]Mutunus uel Tutunus, qui est aput Graecos [32]Priapus: si non pudet, haec omnia quae dixi et quaecumque non dixi (non enim omnia dicenda arbitratus sum), hi omnes di deaeque sit unus Iuppiter, siue sint, ut quidam uolunt, omnia ista partes eius siue [33]uirtutes eius, sicut eis uidetur, quibus eum placet esse [34]mundi animum; quae sententia uelut magnorum multumque doctorum est.

(E) Haec si ita sunt (quod quale sit, [35]nondum interim quaero), quid perderent, si unum Deum colerent prudentiore conpendio? Quid enim eius contemneretur, cum ipse coleretur? Si autem metuendum fuit, ne praetermissae siue neglectae partes eius irascerentur: non ergo, ut uolunt, uelut unius animantis [36]haec tota uita est, quae omnes continet deos, quasi suas uirtutes uel membra uel partes; sed suam quaeque pars habet uitam a ceteris separatam, si praeter alteram irasci altera potest, et alia placari, alia concitari. Si autem dicitur omnes simul, id est totum ipsum Iouem, potuisse offendi, si partes eius non etiam singillatim minutatimque colerentur, stulte dicitur.

(F) Nulla quippe illarum praetermitteretur, cum ipse unus, qui haberet omnia, coleretur. Nam ut alia omittam, quae sunt innumerabilia, cum dicunt [37]omnia sidera partes Iouis esse et omnia uiuere adque [38]rationales animas habere, et ideo sine controuersia

28. Fortuna barbata. Cp. vi. 1 K.

29. Iugatino. Cp. vi. 9 F.

30. Virginensis. There seems to have been a goddess known as Fortuna Virginensis or Virginalis. The MSS. here support *Virginensis*, but *Virginiensis* in vi. 9 H.

31. Mutunus uel Tutunus—generally called *Mutunus Tutunus*, the god who presided over faithful marriages. See Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 7); also Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 26). Unfortunately his worship was, like that of Priapus, obscene.

32. Priapus. See note on ii. 14 E. A. describes the horrible ceremony which took place in the worship of Priapus (vi. 9 I).

33. uirtutes="powers," as often in A.—*e.g.*, xi. 1 A. It is in Vulg. the regular translation of δυνάμεις.

34. mundi animum. Cp. vii. 6 A.

35. nondum interim quaero="I postpone the question for the moment."

36. haec tota uita—*sc.* the life of the Universe.

37. omnia sidera partes Iouis esse—a doctrine which arose from the Stoical identification of divinity with the light, and therefore with the sun and, in less degree, with the heavenly bodies. Cp. Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 15, 39).

38. rationales animas habere, etc. "Plato and Aristotle had already held that

deos esse, non uident quam multos non colant, quam multis aedes non construant, aras non statuant, quas tamen paucissimis siderum statuendas esse putauerunt et singillatim sacrificandum. Si igitur irascuntur, qui non singillatim coluntur, non metuunt paucis placatis toto caelo irato uiuere ?

(G) Si autem stellas omnes ideo colunt, quia in Ioue sunt quem colunt, isto conpendio possent in illo uno omnibus supplicare (sic enim nemo irasceretur, cum in illo uno nemo contemneretur) potius quam cultis quibusdam iusta irascendi causa illis, qui praetermissi essent, multo numerosioribus praeberetur, praesertim cum eis de superna sede fulgentibus turpi nuditate distentus praeponeretur Priapus.

CAPUT XII.

DE OPINIONE EORUM, QUI DEUM ANIMAM MUNDI ET MUNDUM CORPUS DEI ESSE PUTAVERUNT.

(A) Quid ? illud nonne debet mouere acutos homines uel qualescumque homines (non enim ad hoc ingenii opus est excellentia), ut deposito studio contentionis adtendant, si mundi animus Deus est eique animo mundus ut corpus est, ut sit unum animal constans ex animo et corpore, adque iste Deus est [1]sinu quodam naturae in se ipso continens omnia, ut ex ipsius anima, qua uiuificatur tota ista moles, uitae adque animae cunctorum uiuentium pro cuiusque nascendi sorte sumantur, nihil omnino remanere, quod non sit pars Dei.

(B) Quod si ita est, quis non uideat quanta inpietas et inreligiositas consequatur, ut, quod calcauerit quisque, partem Dei calcet, et [2]in omni animante occidendo pars Dei trucidetur ? Nolo omnia dicere, quae possunt occurrere cogitantibus, dici autem sine uerecundia non possunt.

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the stars are living rational divine beings; and the same view was entertained by the Stoics, not only because of the wonderful regularity of their motion and orbits, but also from the very nature of the material of which they consist" (Zeller, "The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics," ch. 8, p. 194).

CHAPTER XII.

Of the opinion of those who have held that God is the Soul of the Universe, and that the Universe is the body of God.

1. **sinu quodam naturae** = "as it were in Nature's womb."

2. **in omni animante occidendo pars Dei trucidetur.** This is evidently the apprehension which lies behind the unwillingness to destroy animal life, not only in Pantheism, but, paradoxical though it may appear, in a religion professedly atheistic like Buddhism.

CAPUT XIII.

DE HIS, QUI SOLA RATIONALIA ANIMANTIA PARTES ESSE UNIUS DEI ADSERUNT.

(A) Si autem sola animalia rationalia, sicut sunt homines, partes Dei esse contendunt: non uideo quidem, si totus mundus Deus est, [1] quo modo bestias ab eius partibus separent; sed obluctari quid opus est? De ipso rationali animante, id est homine, quid infelicius credi potest, quam Dei partem uapulare, cum puer uapulat? Iam uero partes Dei fieri lasciuas, iniquas, inpias adque omnino damnabiles quis ferre possit, nisi qui prorsus insanit? Postremo quid irascitur eis, a quibus non colitur, [2] cum a suis partibus non colatur?

(B) Restat ergo ut dicant omnes deos suas habere uitas, sibi quemque uiuere, nullum eorum esse partem cuiusquam, sed omnes colendos qui cognosci et coli possunt, quia tam multi sunt, ut omnes non possint. Quorum Iuppiter quia rex praesidet, ipsum credo ab eis putari regnum constituisse uel auxisse Romanum. Nam si hoc ipse non fecit, quem alium deum opus tam magnum potuisse adgredi credant, cum omnes occupati sint officiis et operibus propriis, nec alter inruat in alterius? [3] A rege igitur deorum regnum hominum potuit propagari et augeri.

CAPUT XIV.

AUGMENTA REGNORUM IOVI INCONGRUENTER ADSCRIBI, CUM, SI VICTORIA UT VOLUNT DEA EST, IPSA HUIC NEGOTIO SOLA SUFFICERET.

(A) Hic primum quaero, quur non etiam ipsum regnum aliquis deus est? Quur enim non ita sit, [1] si Victoria dea est? Aut quid ipso Ioue in hac causa opus est, si Victoria faueat sitque

CHAPTER XIII.

Of those who assert that rational living creatures and they alone are parts of the one God.

1. quo modo bestias, etc. As in i. 20 c, where vegetables, no less than the lower animals, are associated with man, so here A. recognises the continuity of the natural world from its lowest to its highest species.

2. cum a suis partibus non colatur? = "seeing that they who do not worship Him are parts of Himself."

3. A rege igitur deorum = "It was therefore only by the king of the Gods that," etc.

CHAPTER XIV.

That it is inconsistent to ascribe the expansions of kingdoms to Jupiter inasmuch as Victory, if she is a goddess, would herself, single-handed, be equal to this business.

1. si Victoria dea est. There was a temple of Victory at Rome on the Palatine Hill. It was dedicated by the Consul L. Postumius Megellus (Livy, x. 33; xxix. 14; xxx. 5, 9); Dionysius Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," i. 32). See Burn ("Rome and the Campagna," pp. 160 and 181).

propitia et semper eat ad illos, quos uult esse uictores ? Hac dea fauente et propitia, etiam Ioue uacante uel aliud agente, quae gentes non subditae remanerent ? quae regna non cederent ? An forte displicet bonis iniquissima inprobitate pugnare et finitimos quietos nullamque iniuriam facientes ad dilatandum regnum bello spontaneo prouocare ? Plane si ita sentiunt, adprobo et laudo.

CAPUT XV.

AN CONGRUAT BONIS LATIUS VELLE REGNARE.

(A) Videant ergo ne forte non pertineat ad uiros bonos gaudere de regni latitudine. Iniquitas enim eorum, cum quibus iusta bella gesta sunt, regnum adiuuit ut cresceret, quod utique paruum esset, si quies et iustitia finitimorum contra se bellum geri nulla prouocaret iniuria, ac sic felicioribus rebus humanis omnia regna parua essent concordi uicinitate laetantia, et ita essent in mundo regna plurima gentium, ut sunt in urbe domus plurimae ciuium. Proinde belligerare et perdomitis gentibus dilatare regnum malis uidetur felicitas, bonis necessitas. Sed quia peius esset, ut iniuriosi iustioribus dominarentur, ideo non incongrue dicitur etiam ista felicitas.

(B) Sed procul dubio felicitas maior est uicinum bonum habere concordem quam uicinum malum subiugare bellantem. Mala uota sunt optare habere quem oderis uel quem timeas, ut possit esse quem uincas. Si ergo iusta gerendo bella, non inpia, non iniqua, Romani imperium tam magnum adquirere potuerunt, numquid tamquam aliqua dea colenda est eis etiam iniquitas aliena ? Multum enim ad istam latitudinem imperii eam cooperatam uidemus, quae faciebat iniuriosos, ut essent cum quibus iusta bella gererentur et augeretur imperium. Quur autem et iniquitas dea non sit uel externarum gentium, si [1]Pauor et Pallor et [2]Febris di Romani esse meruerunt ?

(C) His igitur duabus, id est aliena iniquitate et dea Victoria, dum bellorum causas iniquitas excitat, Victoria eadem bella feliciter terminat, etiam feriato Ioue creuit imperium. Quas enim hic partes Iuppiter haberet, cum ea, quae possent beneficia eius putari, di habentur, di uocantur, di coluntur, ipsi pro suis partibus inuo-

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CHAPTER XV.

Whether the good can consistently desire an expansion of their kingdoms.

1. Pauor et Pallor—mentioned together again iv. 23 B, and vi. 10 C, where it is stated that King Tullus Hostilius instituted the worship of these two divinities. Cp. Livy (i. 27). The cult of Pauor and Pallor is mentioned—*e.g.*, by Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 20).

2. Febris. See note on ii. 14 E.

cantur ? Haberet hic autem etiam ille aliquam partem, si Regnum etiam ipse appellaretur, sicut appellatur illa Victoria. Aut si regnum munus est Iouis, quur non et uictoria munus eius habeatur ? Quod profecto haberetur, si non [3]lapis in Capitolio, sed uerus *rex regum et dominus dominantium cognosceretur adque coleretur.

CAPUT XVI.

QUID FUERIT QUOD ROMANI OMNIBUS REBUS ET OMNIBUS MOTIBUS DEOS SINGULOS DEPUTANTES AEDEM QUIETIS EXTRA PORTAS ESSE VOLUERUNT.

(A) Miror autem plurimum, quod, cum deos singulos singulis rebus et paene singulis motibus adtribuerent, uocauerunt deam [1]Agenoriam, quae ad agendum excitaret, deam Stimulam, quae ad agendum ultra modum stimularet, [2]deam Murciam, quae praeter modum non moueret ac faceret hominem, ut ait [3]Pomponius, murcidum, id est nimis desidiosum et inactuosum, deam Streniam, quae faceret strenuum, his omnibus dis et deabus publica sacra facere susceperunt, [4]Quietem uero appellantes, quae faceret quietum, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice illam suscipere noluerunt. Utrum indicium fuit animi inquieti, an potius ita significatum est, qui illam turbam colere perseueraret non plane deorum, sed daemoniorum, eum quietem habere non posse ? ad quam uocat uerus medicus dicens: †*Discite a me, quoniam mitis sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis* [5]*requiem animabus uestris.*

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3. lapis in Capitolio—the *lapis Capitolinus* of ii. 29 c (where see note), the rude stone figure of Jupiter.

CHAPTER XVI.

What was the reason why the Romans, while assigning particular gods to all matters and all movements, chose to place the temple of Quiet outside the gates of Rome.

1. Agenoriam . . . Stimulam. Cp. iv. 11 c; also for *Streniam* below.

2. deam Murciam. Livy mentions a temple, or shrine, of Murcia (i. 33); but this may well have been the Myrcia, Murtia, Myrtea or Murcis, the Myrtea Venus, as she was sometimes called, whether because Venus lay hidden at one time of her life among the myrtles (Ovid, "Fast.," iv. 141-3), or because myrtle-branches were used in her religious worship. Cp. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 154). But A.'s Murcia is the goddess of sloth, *murcidus* meaning "slothful," as in Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 9). The worship of Murcia was no doubt intended not to promote but to avert indolence.

3. Pomponius. It is impossible to say who this Pomponius is. Teuffel, in his "History of Latin Literature," enumerates as many as eleven bearers of the name.

4. Quietem. Livy refers to a temple of Quies on the Via Labicana (iv. 41). There may have been another temple of the same goddess outside the Porta Collina.

5. requiem = *ἀνάπαυσιν.*

* Rev. xix. 16. † Matt. xi. 29.

CAPUT XVII.

AN, SI IOVIS SUMMA POTESTAS EST, ETIAM VICTORIA DEA DEBUERIT AESTIMARI.

(A) An forte dicunt, quod deam Victoriam Iuppiter mittat adque illa tamquam regi deorum obtemperans ad quos iusserit ueniat et in eorum parte considat ? Hoc uere dicitur non de illo Ioue, quem deorum regem pro sua opinione confingunt, sed de illo uero rege saeculorum, quod mittat non Victoriam, quae nulla substantia est, [1]sed angelum suum et faciat uincere quem uoluerit; cuius consilium occultum esse potest, iniquum non potest. Nam si Uictoria dea est, quur non deus est et triumphus, et uictoriae iungitur uel maritus uel frater uel filius ?

(B) Talia quippe isti de dis opinati sunt, qualia si poetae fingerent adque a nobis exagitarentur, responderent isti ridenda esse figmenta poetarum, non ueris adtribuenda numinibus; et tamen se ipsi non ridebant, cum talia deliramenta non aput poetas legebant, sed in templis colebant. [2]Iouem igitur de omnibus rogarent, ei uni tantummodo supplicarent. Non enim, quo misisset Victoriam, si dea est et sub illo rege est, posset ei audere resistere et suam potius facere uoluntatem.

CAPUT XVIII.

FELICITATEM ET FORTUNAM QUI DEAS PUTANT, QUA RATIONE SECERNUNT.

(A) Quid, quod et [1]Felicitas dea est ? Aedem accepit, aram meruit, sacra ei congrua persoluta sunt. Ipsa ergo sola coleretur. Ubi enim ipsa esset, quid boni non esset ? Sed quid sibi uult, quod et Fortuna dea putatur et colitur ? An aliud est felicitas, aliud fortuna ? Quia fortuna potest esse et mala; felicitas autem si mala fuerit, felicitas non erit. Certe omnes deos utriusque sexus (si et sexum habent) non nisi bonos existimare debemus.

CHAPTER XVII.

Whether, if the supreme power belonged to Jupiter, it was right that Victory also should be accounted a goddess.

1. sed angelum suum—as so often, in the language of the Old Testament—*e.g.*, Gen. xxiv. 7; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; Dan. vi. 22.

2. Iouem igitur de omnibus rogarent = "It follows that they ought to ask Jupiter for everything."

CHAPTER XVIII.

What is the principle upon which they who hold Felicity and Fortune to be goddesses made a distinction between them.

1. Felicitas. Cicero mentions a temple of Felicitas ("ii. in Verr.," iv. 2, 4); also Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxxiv. 8, 69; xxxvi. 5, 39). Cp. iv. 23. Suetonius ("Tiberius," 5) alludes to a *simulacrum Felicitatis* at Fundi.

(B) [2]Hoc Plato dicit, hoc alii philosophi, hoc excellentes rei publicae populorumque rectores. Quo modo ergo dea Fortuna aliquando bona est, aliquando mala? An forte quando mala est, dea non est, sed in malignum daemonem repente conuertitur? Quot sunt ergo deae istae? Profecto quotquot homines fortunati, hoc est bonae fortunae. Nam cum sint et alii plurimi simul, hoc est uno tempore, malae fortunae, numquid, si ipsa esset, simul et bona esset et mala; his aliud, illis aliud? An illa, quae dea est, semper est bona? Ipsa est ergo Felicitas: quur adhibentur diuersa nomina? Sed hoc ferendum est; solet enim et una res duobus nominibus appellari.

(C) Quid diuersae aedes, diuersae arae, diuersa sacra? Est causa, inquiunt, quia felicitas illa est, quam boni habent praecedentibus meritis; fortuna uero, quae dicitur bona, sine ullo examine meritorum fortuito accidit hominibus et bonis et malis, unde etiam [3]Fortuna nominatur. Quo modo ergo bona est, quae sine ullo iudicio uenit et ad bonos et ad malos? [4]Ut quid autem colitur, quae ita caeca est passim in quoslibet incurrens, ut suos cultores plerumque praetereat et suis contemtoribus haereat? Aut si aliquid proficiunt cultores eius, ut ab illa uideantur et amentur, iam merita sequitur, non fortuito uenit.

(D) Ubi est definitio illa Fortunae? Ubi est quod a fortuitis etiam nomen accepit? Nihil enim prodest eam colere, si fortuna est. Si autem suos cultores discernit, ut prosit, fortuna non est. An et ipsam, quo uoluerit, Iuppiter mittit? Colatur ergo ipse solus; non enim potest ei iubenti et eam quo uoluerit mittenti Fortuna resistere. Aut certe istam mali colant, qui nolunt habere merita, quibus dea possit Felicitas inuitari.

CAPUT XIX.

DE FORTUNA MULIEBRI.

(A) Tantum sane huic uelut numini tribuunt, quam Fortunam uocant, ut simulacrum eius, quod a matronis dedicatum est et appellata est [1]Fortuna muliebris, etiam locutum esse memoriae

2. Hoc Plato dicit—in "Republ.," ii., pp. 379 *sqq*.

3. Fortuna nominatur—from *fors* = chance; cp. *a fortuitis*, D. below.

4. Ut quid = "Why?" as in i. 18 B.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the womanly Fortune.

1. Fortuna muliebris. The temple of *Fortuna muliebris* was built B.C. 488 by order of the Senate on the *Via Latina* at the spot where Coriolanus turned back his army in response to the prayers of his mother and the Roman matrons who accompanied her. See Livy (ii. 40); Plutarch ("Caius Marcius Coriolanus," 37).

commendauerint adque dixisse non semel, sed iterum, quod eam rite matronae dedicauerint. Quod quidem si uerum sit, mirari nos non oportet. Non enim malignis daemonibus etiam sic difficile est fallere, quorum artes adque uersutias hinc potius isti aduertere debuerunt, quod illa dea locuta est, quae fortuito accidit, non quae meritis uenit.

(B) Fuit enim Fortuna loquax et muta Felicitas, ut quid aliud, nisi ut homines recte uiuere non curarent conciliata sibi Fortuna, quae illos sine ullis bonis meritis facere fortunatos? Et certe si Fortuna loquitur, [2]non saltem muliebris, sed uirilis potius loqueretur, ut non ipsae, quae simulacrum dedicauerunt, putarentur tantum miraculum [3]muliebri loquacitate finxisse.

CAPUT XX.

DE VIRTUTE ET FIDE, QUAS PAGANI TEMPLIS ET SACRIS HONORAVERUNT PRAETERMITTENTES ALIA BONA, QUAE SIMILITER COLENDA FUERINT, SI RECTE ALIIS DIVINITAS TRIBUEBATUR.

(A) [1]Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt; quae quidem si dea esset, multis fuerat praeferenda. Et nunc quia dea non est, sed donum Dei est, ipsa ab illo inpetretur, a quo solo dari potest, et omnis falsorum deorum turba uanescet. Sed quur et [2]Fides dea credita est et accepit etiam ipsa templum et altare? Quam quisquis prudenter agnoscit, habitaculum illi se ipsum facit. Unde autem sciunt illi [3]quid sit fides, cuius primum et maximum officium est, ut in uerum credatur Deum? Sed quur non suffecerat Virtus?

(B) Nonne ibi est et Fides? Quando quidem uirtutem [4]in quattuor species distribuendam esse uiderunt, prudentiam, iusti-

Valerius Maximus ("De Fact. Dict. Memorab.," i. 8, 4) relates the speaking of the image of *Fortuna muliebris*.

2. non saltem muliebris, sed uirilis—in reference to *Fortuna barbata* (iv. 11 D); for there was evidently a manly as well as a womanly goddess of Fortune. Cp. Ovid. ("Fast.," iv. 145). Plutarch, in an interesting passage ("De Fort. Rom.," p. 318), describes the various temples of Fortune at Rome, and last among them: *τὴν πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τύχην ἣν φορτικὰν καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰν ἢ ἀριστευτικὴν ἢ ἀνδρείαν.*

3. muliebri loquacitate—women's talk being responsible for the alleged miracle of the talking goddess.

CHAPTER XX.

Of Virtue and Faith whom the pagans have honoured with temples and sacred rites, to the neglect of other good qualities which oughi to have been similarly worshipped, if it was right to attribute divinity to Virtue and Faith.

1. Virtutem. The deification, like the personification, of Virtue is common in classical authors and, as borrowed from them, in A.—*e.g.*, iv. 21 E; v. 12 K; vii. 3 G.

2. Fides Cicero mentions the temple of Fides *quam in Capitolio uicinam Iouis Optimi Maximi, ut in Catonis oratione est, maiores nostri esse uoluerunt* ("De Off.," iii. 24, 104). Livy (i. 21) says of Numa *soli Fidei sollemne instituit.*

3. quid sit fides. A. turns from the moral to the spiritual meaning of *fides*.

4. in quattuor species. See Cicero ("De Off.," i. 5 *sqq.*).

tiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam; et quoniam et istae singulae species suas habent, in partibus iustitiae fides est maximumque locum aput nos habet, quicumque scimus quid sit, quod [5]**iustus ex fide uiuit.* Sed illos miror adpetitores multitudinis deorum, si fides dea est, quare aliis tam multis deabus iniuriam fecerint praetermittendo eas, quibus similiter aedes et aras dedicare potuerunt ?

(C) Quur temperantia dea esse non meruit, cum eius nomine nonnulli Romani principes non paruam gloriam conpararint ? Quur denique fortitudo dea non est, quae adfuit [6]Mucio, cum dexteram porrexit in flammas; quae adfuit [7]Curtio, cum se pro patria in abruptam terram praecipitem dedit; quae adfuit [8]Decio patri et Decio filio, cum pro exercitu se uouerunt ? si tamen his omnibus uera inerat fortitudo, [9]unde modo non agitur. Quare prudentia, quare sapientia nulla numinum loca meruerunt ? An quia in nomine generali ipsius uirtutis omnes coluntur ? Sic ergo posset et unus Deus coli, cuius partes ceteri di putantur. Sed in illa una uirtute et fides est et [10]pudicitia, quae tamen extra in aedibus propriis altaria meruerunt.

CAPUT XXI.

QUOD UNUM NON INTELLEGENTES DEUM VIRTUTE SALTEM ET FELICITATE DEBUERINT ESSE CONTENTI.

(A) Has deas non ucritas, sed uanitas facit; haec enim ueri Dei munera sunt, non ipsae sunt deae. Verum tamen ubi est uirtus et felicitas, quid aliud quaeritur ? Quid ei sufficit, cui uirtus felicitasque non sufficit ? Omnia quippe agenda conplectitur uirtus, omnia optanda felicitas. Si Iuppiter, ut haec daret, ideo colebatur, quia, si bonum aliquid est latitudo regni adque diuturnitas, ad eandem pertinet felicitatem: quur non

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5. iustus ex fide uiuit. A. is fond of this quotation. See note on 1 "Praef.," A.

6. Mucio—*sc.* C. Mucius Scaevola whose fortitude moved Lars Porsenna to make peace with the Romans. Cp. v. 18 F. Livy tells the story of Scaevola (ii. 12).

7. Curtio—who leapt into the chasm in the Forum and so closed it; for it was fated to remain open until the greatest treasure which the city of Rome possessed should be cast into it, and the greatest treasure had been oracularly declared to be a noble Roman citizen. He, too, is commemorated by A. (v. 18 G). See Livy (vii. 6).

8. Decio patri et Decio filio. The two Decii both sacrificed themselves for their country, the father in the Great Latin War B.C. 340, the son in the Third Samnite War B.C. 295 (v. 18 H). See Livy (viii. 9; x. 28).

9. unde modo non agitur = "which is not now the point in question." Cp. iv. 23 A.

10. pudicitia. Livy (x. 23) mentions a *sacellum Pudicitiae publicae quae in foro boario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis.*

* Habak. ii. 4.

intellectum est dona Dei esse, non deas ? Si autem putatae sunt deae, saltem alia tanta deorum turba non quaereretur.

(B) Consideratis enim officiis deorum dearumque omnium, quae sicut uoluerunt pro sua opinatione finxerunt, inueniant si possunt aliquid, quod praestari ab aliquo deo possit homini habenti uirtutem, habenti felicitatem. Quid doctrinae uel a Mercurio uel a Minerua petendum esset, cum uirtus omnia secum haberet ? Ars quippe ipsa bene recteque uiuendi uirtus a ueteribus definita est. Unde ab eo, quod Graece ἀρετὴ dicitur uirtus, [1]nomen artis Latinos traduxisse putauerunt. Sed si uirtus non nisi ad ingeniosum posset uenire, quid opus erat [2]deo Catio patre, qui [3]catos, id est acutos, faceret, cum hoc posset conferre felicitas ? Ingeniosum quippe nasci felicitatis est, unde, etiamsi non potuit a nondum nato coli dea Felicitas, ut hoc ei conciliata donaret, conferret hoc parentibus eius cultoribus suis, ut eis ingeniosi filii nascerentur.

(C) Quid opus erat parturientibus inuocare Lucinam, cum, si adesset Felicitas, non solum bene parerent, sed etiam bonos ? Quid necesse erat [4]Opi deae commendare nascentes, deo Vaticano uagientes, deae Cuninae iacentes, deae Ruminae sugentes, deo [5]Statilino stantes, deae [6]Adeonae adeuntes, Abeonae abeuntes; [7]deae Menti, ut bonam haberent mentem, deo [8]Volumno et deae Volumnae, ut bona uellent; [9]dis nuptialibus, ut bene coniugarentur, dis agrestibus, ut fructus uberrimos caperent, et maxime ipsi diuae

CHAPTER XXI.

That the pagans, if they did not understand that there was only one God, ought at least to have been content with Virtue and Felicity.

1. nomen artis. *Ars* is not the Latin form of ἀρετή, nor is it a word derived from ἀρετή; but the Aryan root AR, which signifies fitness, is the origin of both ἀρετή and *ars*. Donatus (on Terence "Andr.," i. 1, 4) also derives *ars* from ἀρετή.

2. deo Catio patre. It has proved as impossible to trace the god Catius as the goddesses Adeona and Abeona below, outside *D.C.D.* They found a place no doubt in Varro's theology.

3. catos, id est acutos. So Varro says ("De Ling. Lat.," vii. 46)—

catus Aelius Sextus
non, ut aiunt, sapiens sed acutus.

4. Opi deae. Cp. iv. 11 B.

5. Statilino. Varro ("Apud Non. Marcell.," p. 532, Mercer's Edition), in his "Cato uel de liberis educandis," names Statilinus as one of three deities whom he calls *puerilitatis praesides deos.*

6. Adeonae . . . Abeonae. Cp. vii. 3 E.

7. deae Menti. Livy relates the building of a temple to the goddess *Mens* after the battle of the Trasimene Lake (xxii. 10; xxiii. 31). Cp. Ovid ("Fast.," vi. 241-2).

8. Volumno . . . Volumnae—not known elsewhere.

9. dis nuptialibus. Plutarch ("Quaest. Rom.," p. 263) speaks of five deities as being, or supposed to be, indispensable at a wedding—viz., Ζεὺς Τέλειος, Ἥρα Τελεία, Ἀφροδίτη, Πειθώ, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἄρτεμις.

[10]Fructeseae; Marti et Bellonae, ut bene belligerarent, deae Victoriae, ut uincerent; [11]deo Honori, ut honorarentur, [12]deae Pecuniae, ut pecuniosi essent, [13]deo Aesculano et filio eius Argentino, ut haberent aeream argenteamque pecuniam ?

(D) Nam ideo patrem Argentini Aesculanum posuerunt, quia prius aerea pecunia in usu coepit esse, post argentea. Miror autem, quod Argentinus non genuit Aurinum, quia et aurea subsecuta est. Quem deum isti si haberent, sicut Saturno Iouem, itaet patri Argentino et auo Aesculano Aurinum praeponerent. Quid ergo erat necesse propter haec bona uel animi uel corporis uel externa tantam deorum turbam colere et inuocare (quos neque omnes commemoraui, nec ipsi potuerunt omnibus bonis humanis minutatim singillatimque digestis deos minutos et singulos prouidere), cum posset magno facilique conpendio una dea Felicitas cuncta conferre, [14]nec solum ad bona capienda quisquam alius, sed neque ad depellenda mala quaereretur ?

(E) Quur enim esset inuocanda propter fessos diua [15]Fessona, propter hostes depellendos diua Pellonia, propter aegros medicus uel Apollo uel Aesculapius uel ambo simul, quando esset grande periculum ? Nec deus [16]Spiniensis, ut spinas ex agris eradicaret; nec dea Rubigo, ut non accederet, rogaretur: una Felicitate praesente et tuente uel nulla mala exorerentur, uel facillime pellerentur. Postremo quoniam de duabus istis deabus Virtute et Felicitate tractamus: si felicitas uirtutis est praemium, non dea, sed Dei donum est; si autem dea est, quur non dicatur et uirtutem ipsa conferre, quando quidem etiam uirtutem consequi felicitas magna est ?

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10. Fructeseae. The name is variously written in the MSS.; but almost certainly Fructesca is its true form. The v. l *Fructae Seae* (or, as emended, *frugis Seiae*) would connect it with the goddess Seia (iv. 8 B).

11. deo Honori—recognised as a god by Cicero ("ii. in Verr.," iv. 55, 123) Livy mentions a temple or temples of *Honos* and *Virtus* (xxvii. 23). See note on v. 12 K.

12. deae Pecuniae. Cp. iv. 24 B; vii. 3 L. The apotheosis of Pecunia is only natural, as money so easily becomes to human minds a goddess. One striking expression of this truth is found in Juvenal ("Sat.," i. 112-114). Cp. Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 9).

13. deo Aesculano et filio eius Argentino—gods presumably drawn by A. from Varro, but elsewhere unknown. There is an interesting passage in Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," iii. 13) about the succession of metallic currencies.

14. nec solum, etc. The negative does double duty, as it applies both to *solum* and to *quaereretur*.

15. Fessona . . . Pellonia. Fessona is, I think, unknown elsewhere, but the name of Pellonia occurs in Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 4).

16. Spiniensis is not known, as a god, except from A.; but Lactantius ("De Fals. Relig.," i. 20) couples *Rubigo* with *Febris*. The festival of the *Robigalia* (*sic*) is described by Ovid ("Fast.," iv. 907-932). Cp. Varro ("De Re Rust.," i. 1, 6); but there it is a god *Robigus* who is mentioned. Cp. Tertullian ("De Spect.," 5).

CAPUT XXII.

DE SCIENTIA COLENDORUM DEORUM, QUAM A SE VARRO GLORIATUR CONLATAM ESSE ROMANIS.

(A) Quid est ergo, quod pro ingenti beneficio [1]Varro iactat praestare se ciuibus suis, quia non solum commemorat deos, quos coli oporteat a Romanis, uerum etiam dicit quid ad quemque pertineat? Quoniam nihil prodest, inquit, hominis alicuius medici nomen formamque nosse, et quod sit medicus ignorare: ita dicit nihil prodesse scire deum esse Aesculapium, si nescias eum ualetudini opitulari, adque ita ignores quur ei debeas supplicare.

(B) Hoc etiam alia similitudine adfirmat dicens, non modo bene uiuere, sed uiuere omnino neminem posse, si ignoret quisnam sit faber, quis [2]pistor, quis tector, a quo quid utensile petere possit, quem adiutorem adsumere, quem ducem, quem doctorem; eo modo nulli dubium esse adserens ita esse utilem cognitionem deorum, si sciatur quam quisque deus uim et facultatem ac potestatem cuiusque rei habeat. "Ex eo enim poterimus," inquit, "scire quem cuiusque causa deum aduocare adque inuocare debeamus, ne faciamus, ut mimi solent, et optemus [3]a Libero aquam, a Lymphis uinum." Magna sane utilitas. Quis non huic gratias ageret, si uera monstraret, et si unum uerum Deum, a quo essent omnia bona, hominibus colendum doceret?

CAPUT XXIII.

DE FELICITATE, QUAM ROMANI, MULTORUM VENERATORES DEORUM, DIU NON COLVERUNT HONORE DIVINO, CUM PRO OMNIBUS SOLA SUFFICERET.

(A) Sed [1](unde nunc agitur) si libri et sacra eorum uera sunt et Felicitas dea est, quur non ipsa una quae coleretur constituta

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CHAPTER XXII.

Of the science of the worship of the gods, which Varro boasts of having introduced among the Romans.

1. Varro—to whom A. was indebted for the number of petty gods and goddesses who are mentioned in Chapters 8, 11, and 21 in the 4th Book of *D.C.D.* The loss of Varro's "Antiquitatum Libri" is to a student of A. or, at least, of A.'s *D.C.D.*, almost unspeakable.

2. pistor. There is a v.l. *pictor* and even *piscator.*

3. a Libero aquam, a Lymphis uinum. Cp. vi. 1 D. Varro ("De Re Rust.," i. 1, 6) speaks of prayer to Lympha for water.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of Felicity, to whom the Romans, while they venerated many gods, did not for a long time pay the honour of divine worship, although she alone was sufficient in place of all the gods.

1 unde nunc agitur = "to take the point which is now in question,"

est, quae posset uniuersa conferre et conpendio facere felicem ? Quis enim optat aliquid propter aliud quam ut felix fiat ? Quur denique tam sero huic tantae deae post tot Romanos principes [2]Lucullus aedem constituit ? Quur ipse Romulus felicem cupiens condere ciuitatem non huic templum potissimum struxit nec propter aliquid dis ceteris supplicauit, quando nihil deesset, si haec adesset ? Nam et ipse nec prius rex, nec, ut putant, postea deus fieret, si hanc deam propitiam non haberet.

(B) Ut quid ergo constituit Romanis deos Ianum, Iouem, Martem, [3]Picum, [4]Faunum, [5]Tiberinum, [6]Herculem et si quos alios ? Ut quid [7]Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem, Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem et quoscumque alios addidit, inter quos etiam deam [8]Cloacinam, Felicitate neglecta ? Ut quid Numa tot deos et tot deas sine ista ? An eam forte in tanta turba uidere non potuit ? Hostilius certe rex deos et ipse nouos [9]Pauorem adque Pallorem propitiandos [10]non introduceret, si deam istam nosset aut coleret. Praesente quippe Felicitate omnis pauor et pallor non propitiatus abscederet, sed pulsus aufugeret.

(C) Deinde quid est hoc, quod iam Romanum imperium longe lateque crescebat, et adhuc nemo Felicitatem colebat ? An ideo grandius imperium quam felicius fuit ? Nam quo modo ibi esset uera felicitas, ubi uera non erat pietas ? Pietas est enim uerax ueri Dei cultus, non cultus falsorum tot deorum, quot daemoniorum. Sed et postea iam in deorum numerum Felicitate suscepta magna bellorum ciuilium infelicitas subsecuta est. An forte iuste est indignata Felicitas, quod et tam sero et non ad honorem, sed ad contumeliam potius inuitata est, ut cum ea coleretur Priapus et Cloacina et Pauor et Pallor et Febris et cetera non numina colendorum, sed crimina colentium ?

(D) Ad extremum si cum turba indignissima tanta dea colenda

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2. Lucullus—the conqueror of Mithridates who built what was apparently the first temple of Felicitas in Rome B.C. 75 (Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," xxxv. 12, 156).

3. Picum—an agricultural god, son of Saturnus. *Picum* (*dedicauit*) *Romulus* (vii. 10 C).

4. Faunum—a god of rural life, the son of Picus.

5. Tiberinum. Cp. Virgil's *pater Tiberinus* ("Georg.," iv. 369) *deus Tiberinus* ("Aen.," viii. 31); also the lines of Ennius quoted by Macrobius ("Saturn.," vi. 1)

6. Herculem. Cp. Livy i. 7.

7. Titus Tatius. Varro associates the introduction of these deities (except, indeed, Lux) and others into Rome with the name of King Tatius ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 74).

8. Cloacinam. See note on iv. 8 A.

9. Pauorem adque Pallorem. Cp. iv. 15 B.

10. non introduceret = "would not have introduced," in accordance with A.'s habitual use of the Imperfect Conjunctive.

uisa est, quur non uel inlustrius ceteris colebatur ? Quis enim ferat, quod neque inter [11]deos Consentes, quos dicunt in consilium Iouis adhiberi, nec inter deos, [12]quos selectos uocant, Felicitas constituta est ? Templum aliquod ei fieret, quod et loci sublimitate et operis dignitate praemineret. Quur enim non aliquid melius quam ipsi Ioui ? Nam quae etiam Ioui regnum nisi Felicitas dedit ? si tamen cum regnaret felix fuit. Et potior est felicitas regno. Nemo enim dubitat facile inueniri hominem, qui se timeat fieri regem; nullus autem inuenitur, qui se nolit esse felicem.

(E) Ipsi ergo di si per auguria uel quolibet modo eos posse consuli putant, de hac re consulerentur, utrum uellent Felicitati loco cedere, si forte aliorum aedibus uel altaribus iam fuisset locus occupatus, ubi aedes maior adque sublimior Felicitati construeretur; etiam ipse Iuppiter cederet, ut ipsum uerticem collis Capitolini Felicitas potius obtineret. Non enim quispiam resisteret Felicitati, nisi, quod fieri non potest, qui esse uellet infelix.

(F) Nullo modo omnino, si consuleretur, faceret Iuppiter, quod ei fecerunt [13]tres di, Mars, Terminus et Iuuentas, qui maiori et regi suo nullo modo cedere loco uoluerunt. Nam sicut habent eorum litterae, cum rex Tarquinius [14]Capitolium fabricari uellet eumque locum, qui ei dignior aptiorque uidebatur, ab dis aliis cerneret praeoccupatum, non audens aliquid contra eorum facere arbitrium et credens eos tanto numini suoque principi uoluntate cessuros, quia multi erant illic, ubi Capitolium constitutum est, per augurium quaesiuit, utrum concedere locum uellent Ioui; adque ipsi inde cedere omnes uoluerunt praeter illos quos commemoraui, Martem, Terminum, Iuuentatem; adque ideo Capitolium ita constructum est, ut etiam isti tres intus essent [15]tam obscuris signis, ut hoc uix homines doctissimi scirent.

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11. deos Consentes—the twelve gods of highest dignity whose statues were placed in the Forum. See Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," viii. 70, 71). *Varro*, says Arnobius, *qui sint introrsus adque intimis penetralibus caeli deos esse censet, nec eorum numerum nec nomina sciri. Hos Consentes et Complices Etrusci aiunt* ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 40). They are enumerated in the rude hexameter lines of Ennius which are quoted by Apulcius ("De Deo Socrat.," 2) and Martianus Capella (§ 42). It is clear that A. associates *Consentes* with *consilium*.

12. quos selectos uocant. A. enumerates the *di selecti* of Varro (vii. 2).

13. tres di. Livy tells the story of the portents by which the Romans were deterred from clearing away all existing religious buildings to make room for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (i. 55). Cp. Ovid ("Fast.," ii. 667-679). Livy associates Juuentas with Terminus in resistance to Jupiter (v. 54). So, too, Dionysius Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," iii. 69); Florus ("Epit. Rer. Roman," i. 7). A. stands apparently alone in naming Mars as the third recalcitrant deity; cp. iv. 29 A.

14. Capitolium—the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

15. tam obscuris signis="although the signs of their presence were so obscure."

(G) Nullo modo igitur Felicitatem Iuppiter ipse contemneret, sicut a Termino, Marte, Iuuentate contemtus est. Sed ipsi etiam, qui non cesserant Ioui, profecto cederent Felicitati, quae illis regem fecerat Iouem. Aut si non cederent, non id contemtu eius facerent, sed quod in domo Felicitatis obscuri esse mallent quam sine illa in locis propriis eminere.

(H) Ita dea Felicitate in loco amplissimo et celsissimo constituta discerent ciues, unde omnis boni uoti petendum esset auxilium, ac sic ipsa suadente, natura, aliorum deorum superflua multitudine derelicta, coleretur una Felicitas, uni supplicaretur, unius templum frequentaretur a ciuibus qui felices sese uellent, quorum esset nemo qui nollet, adque ita [16]ipsa a se ipsa peteretur, quae ab omnibus petebatur. Quis enim aliquid ab aliquo deo nisi felicitatem uelit accipere uel quod ad felicitatem existimat pertinere? Proinde si felicitas habet in potestate cum quo homine sit (habet autem, si dea est): quae tandem stultitia est ab aliquo eam deo petere, quam possis a se ipsa inpetrare?

(I) Hanc ergo deam super deos ceteros honorare etiam loci dignitate debuerunt. Sicut enim aput ipsos legitur, Romani ueteres nescio quem [17]Summanum, cui nocturna fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Iouem, ad quem diurna fulmina pertinerent. Sed postquam Ioui templum insigne ac sublime constructum est, propter aedis dignitatem sic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut uix inueniatur qui Summani nomen, quod audire iam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit.

(K) Si autem felicitas dea non est, quoniam, quod uerum est, munus est Dei: ille Deus quaeratur, qui eam dare possit, et falsorum deorum multitudo noxia relinquatur, quam stultorum hominum multitudo uana sectatur, Dei dona deos sibi faciens et ipsum, cuius ea dona sunt, obstinatione superbae uoluntatis offendens. Sic enim carere non potest infelicitate, qui tamquam deam felicitatem colit et Deum datorem felicitatis relinquit, sicut carere non potest fame, qui panem pictum lingit et ab homine, qui uerum habet, non petit.

16. ipsa a se ipsa, etc. = "The prayer for her which used to be addressed to every deity would itself be addressed to herself."

17. Summanum—a god whose name occurs in Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 10, 16), and Livy (xxxii. 29). A.'s account of his function agrees with Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," ii. 52, 138), who, after enumerating the different kinds of thunderbolt, as many as eleven, stored, according to Etruscan theology, in the arsenal of the gods, adds: *Romani duo tantum ex iis seruauere, diurna attribuentes Ioui, nocturna Summano.* Ovid, who refers to the same god, seems to have felt some doubt as to his nature and quality.

Reddita, quisquis is est, Summano templa feruntur
Tunc cum Romanis, Pyrrhe, timendus eras.
("Fast.," vi. 731-2.)

CAPUT XXIV.

QUA RATIONE DEFENDANT PAGANI, QUOD INTER DEOS COLANT IPSA DONA DIVINA.

(A) Libet autem eorum considerare rationes. Usque adeone, inquiunt, maiores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est, ut haec nescirent munera diuina esse, non deos? Sed quoniam sciebant nemini talia nisi aliquo deo largiente concedi, quorum deorum nomina non inueniebant, earum rerum nominibus appellabant deos, quas ab eis sentiebant dari, aliqua uocabula inde flectentes, sicut a bello Bellonam nuncupauerunt, non Bellum; sicut a cunis Cuninam, non Cunam; sicut a segetibus Segetiam, non Segetem, a pomis [1]Pomonam, non Pomum; sicut a bubus [2]Bubonam, non Bouem:

(B) Aut certe nulla uocabuli declinatione sicut res ipsae nominantur, ut Pecunia dicta est dea, quae dat pecuniam, non omnino pecunia dea ipsa putata est; ita Virtus, quae dat uirtutem, Honor, qui honorem, Concordia, quae concordiam, Victoria, quae dat uictoriam. Ita, inquiunt, cum Felicitas dea dicitur, non ipsa quae datur, sed numen illud adtenditur a quo felicitas datur.

CAPUT XXV.

DE UNO TANTUM COLENDO DEO, QUI LICET NOMINE IGNORETUR, TAMEN FELICITATIS DATOR ESSE SENTITUR.

(A) Ista nobis reddita ratione multo facilius eis, quorum cor non nimis obduruit, persuadebimus fortasse quod uolumus. Si enim iam humana infirmitas sensit non nisi ab aliquo deo dari posse felicitatem, et hoc senserunt homines, qui tam multos colebant deos, in quibus et ipsum eorum regem Iouem: quia nomen eius, a quo daretur felicitas, ignorabant, ideo ipsius rei nomine, quam credebant ab illo dari, eum appellare uoluerunt, satis ergo indicarunt nec ab ipso Ioue dari posse felicitatem, quem iam colebant, sed utique ab illo, quem nomine ipsius felicitatis colendum esse censebant.

(B) Confirmo prorsus a quodam deo, quem nesciebant, eos credidisse dari felicitatem: ipse ergo quaeratur, ipse colatur, et sufficit. Repudietur strepitus innumerabilium daemoniorum; illi non sufficiat

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CHAPTER XXIV.

On what principle the pagans defend their worship of the divine gifts themselves among the gods.

1. Pomonam—mentioned by Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vii. 45). Her story is told by Ovid ("Metamorph.," xiv. 623-636).

2. Bubonam—mentioned again with Pomona (iv. 34 c)

hic deus, cui non sufficit munus eius. Illi, inquam, non sufficiat ad colendum Deus dator felicitatis, cui non sufficit ad accipiendum ipsa felicitas.

(c) Cui autem sufficit (non enim habet homo quid amplius optare debeat), seruiat uni Deo datori felicitatis. Non est ipse, quem nominant Iouem. Nam si eum datorem felicitatis agnoscerent, non utique alium uel aliam, a qua daretur felicitas, nomine ipsius felicitatis inquirerent, neque ipsum Iouem cum tantis iniuriis colendum putarent. Iste alienarum dicitur adulter [1]uxorum, iste [2]pueri pulchri inpudicus amator et raptor.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE LUDIS SCAENICIS, QUOS SIBI DI CELEBRARI A SUIS CULTORIBUS EXEGERUNT.

(a) Sed *" fingebat haec Homerus," ait Tullius, " et [1]humana ad deos transferebat: diuina mallem ad nos." Merito displicuit uiro graui diuinorum criminum poeta confictor. Quur ergo ludi scaenici, ubi haec dictitantur cantitantur actitantur, deorum honoribus exhibentur, inter res diuinas a doctissimis conscribuntur ? Hic exclamet Cicero non contra figmenta poetarum, sed contra instituta maiorum; an exclamarent et illi: Quid nos fecimus ? Ipsi di ista suis honoribus exhibenda flagitauerunt, atrociter imperarunt, cladem nisi fieret praenuntiarunt, quia neglectum est aliquid, seuerissime uindicarunt, quia id quod neglectum fuerat factum est, placatos se esse monstrarunt. Inter eorum commemoratur uirtutes et miranda facta quod dicam.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the duty of worshipping the one God alone who, although His Name is unknown, yet is recognised as the Giver of felicity.

1. uxorum—*e.g.*, Alcmena or, if the charge of adultery is interpreted in a wider sense, Danae, Europa, etc.

2. pueri—*sc.* Ganymedes. Cp. vii. 26 b. The *rapti Ganymedis honores* constituted one of Iuno's special grievances (Virg., " Aen.," i. 28).

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the scenic plays which the gods have forced their worshippers to celebrate in their honour.

1. humana ad deos transferebat. According to Herodotus (ii. 53) Homer and Hesiod were the authors of Greek theology. This theology was, in a large degree, anthropological. " The inmates of this divine world are conceived upon the model, but not upon the scale, of the human " (Grote's " History of Greece," part i., ch. 1). Aristotle says, with reference, no doubt, principally to the Greek world, that " as men represent the powers of the gods, so they represent their lives also, as like their own " (" Pol.," i. 2, 7). It is the opposite teaching, that " God made man in His own image " (Gen. i. 27), which marks the distance of Jewish Monotheism from Polytheism.

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* " Tusc. Disp.," i. 26, 65.

(B) [2]Tito Latinio rustico Romano patri familias dictum est in somnis, in senatum nuntiaret, ut ludi Romani instaurarentur, quod primo eorum die in quodam scelerato, qui populo spectante ad supplicium duci iussus est, numinibus uidelicet ex ludis hilaritatem quaerentibus triste displicuisset imperium. Cum ergo ille qui somnio commonitus erat postero die iussa facere non ausus esset, secunda nocte hoc idem rursus seuerius imperatum est: amisit filium, quia non fecit. Tertia nocte dictum est homini, quod maior ei poena, si non faceret, inmineret. Cum etiam sic non auderet, in morbum incidit acrem et horribilem.

(C) Tum uero ex amicorum sententia ad magistratus rem detulit adque in lectica adlatus est in senatum expositoque somnio recepta continuo ualetudine pedibus suis sanus abscessit. Tanto stupefactus miraculo senatus quadruplicata pecunia ludos censuit instaurari. Quis non uideat, qui sanum sapit, subditos homines malignis daemonibus, a quorum dominatione non liberat nisi gratia Dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, ui conpulsos esse exhibere talibus dis, quae recto consilio poterant turpia iudicari ?

(D) In illis certe ludis poetica numinum crimina frequentantur, qui ludi cogentibus numinibus iussu senatus instaurabantur. In illis ludis corruptorem pudicitiae Iouem turpissimi histriones cantabant, agebant, placebant. Si illud fingebatur, ille irasceretur; si autem suis criminibus etiam fictis delectabatur, quando coleretur, nisi diabolo seruiretur ? Itane iste Romanum conderet, dilataret, conseruaret imperium, quouis Romano, cui talia displicebant, homine abiectior ? Iste daret felicitatem, qui tam infeliciter colebatur, et nisi ita coleretur, infelicius irascebatur ?

CAPUT XXVII.

DE TRIBUS GENERIBUS DEORUM, DE QUIBUS SCAEVOLA PONTIFEX DISPUTAVIT.

(A) Relatum est in litteras doctissimum pontificem [1]Scaeuolam disputasse tria genera tradita deorum: unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus ciuitatis. Primum genus

2. Tito Latinio. The story is told with slight variations by Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 26, 55); Livy (ii. 36); and Valerius Maximus ("Dict. Fact. Memorab.," i. 7, 4).

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the three kinds of gods discussed by Scaevola the pontifex.

1. Scaeuolam. This is Q. Mucius Scaeuola, the *pontifex maximus*, to whom Cicero, having been his pupil, pays so remarkable a tribute ("De Orat.," i. 39, 180). He was put to death by the younger Marius B.C. 82 (Cic., "De Nat. Deor.," iii. 32, 50). For Scaeuola's freedom of thought Varro is no doubt A.'s authority. Cp. vi. 5 A.

nugatorium dicit esse, quod multa de dis fingantur indigna; secundum non congruere ciuitatibus, quod habeat aliqua superuacua, aliqua etiam quae obsit populis nosse. De superuacuis non magna causa est; solet enim et a iuris peritis dici, Superflua non nocent.

(B) Quae sunt autem illa, quae prolata in multitudinem nocent? "Haec," inquit, "non esse deos Herculem, Aesculapium, Castorem, Pollucem; proditur enim a doctis, [2]quod homines fuerint et [3]humana condicione defecerint." Quid aliud? "Quod eorum qui sint di non habeant ciuitates uera simulacra, quod uerus Deus nec sexum habeat nec aetatem nec definita corporis membra." Haec pontifex [4]nosse populos non uult; nam falsa esse non putat. Expedire igitur existimat falli in religione ciuitates. Quod dicere etiam [5]in libris rerum diuinarum Varro ipse non dubitat.

(C) Praeclara religio, quo confugiat liberandus infirmus, et cum ueritatem qua liberetur inquirat, credatur ei expedire quod fallitur. Poeticum sane deorum genus quur Scaeuola respuat, eisdem litteris non tacetur: quia "sic uidelicet deos deformant, ut nec bonis hominibus conparentur, cum alium faciant furari, alium adulterare, sic item aliquid aliter turpiter adque inepte dicere ac facere; tres inter se deas certasse de praemio pulchritudinis, uictas duas a Venere Troiam euertisse; Iouem ipsum conuerti [6]in bouem aut cygnum, ut cum aliqua concumbat; deam homini nubere; Saturnum liberos deuorare: nihil denique posse confingi miraculorum adque uitiorum, quod non ibi reperiatur adque ab deorum natura longe absit."

(D) O Scaeuola pontifex maxime, ludos tolle, si potes; praecipe populis, ne tales honores dis inmortalibus deferant, ubi crimina deorum libeat mirari et quae fieri possunt placeat imitari. Si autem tibi responderit populus: Vos nobis inportastis ista pontifices: deos ipsos roga, quibus instigantibus ista iussistis, ne talia sibi iubeant exhiberi.

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2. quod homines fuerint. The theory that the pagan gods and goddesses were only deified human beings is known as Euhemerism. A. discusses it in viii. 26; but see also "De Consens Euang.," i. 32 (xxiii.). He seems (like other early Christian writers—*e.g.*, Minucius Felix and Lactantius) to have regarded it as probable, perhaps because it afforded a handle of attack upon paganism; for he says *in omnibus litteris paganorum aut non inueniri aut uix inueniri deos, qui non homines fuerint mortuisque diuini honores delati sint* (viii. 26 B). The theory is warmly repudiated by Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 42, 119). A. himself refers to Euhemerus by name (vi. 7 D; vii. 27 A); but the spelling of the name is, according to the best MSS., Euemerus in the former, and Euhemerus in the latter place. Euhemerus wrote his Ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή about B.C. 300. It was translated into Latin by Ennius. An account of his theory will be found in Plutarch ("De Isid. et Osir.," p. 310).

3. humana condicione defecerint = "passed away like human beings."

4. nosse populos non uult. Cp. iv. 31 B.

5. in libris rerum diuinarum. See note on iii. 4 A.

6. in bouem aut cygnum—with reference to the stories of Europa and Leda.

(E) Quae si mala sunt et propterea nullo modo de deorum maiestate credenda, maior est deorum iniuria, de quibus inpune finguntur. Sed non te audiunt, daemones sunt, praua docent, turpibus gaudent: non solum non [7]deputant iniuriam, si de illis ista fingantur, sed eam potius iniuriam ferre non possunt, si per eorum sollemnia non agantur. Iam uero si aduersus eos Iouem interpelles, maxime ob eam causam, quia eius plura crimina ludis scaenicis actitantur: nonne etiamsi Deum Iouem nuncupatis, a quo regitur totus adque administratur hic mundus, eo illi fit a uobis maxima iniuria, quod eum cum istis colendum putatis eorumque regem esse perhibetis ?

CAPUT XXVIII.

AN AD OBTINENDUM DILATANDUMQUE REGNUM PROFUERIT ROMANIS CULTUS DEORUM.

(A) Nullo igitur modo di tales, qui talibus placantur uel potius accusantur honoribus, ut maius sit crimen quod eis falsis oblectantur, quam si de illis uera dicerentur, Romanum imperium augere et conseruare potuissent. Hoc enim si possent, Graecis potius donum tam grande conferrent, qui eos in huiusce modi rebus diuinis, hoc est ludis scaenicis, honorabilius digniusque coluerunt, quando et a morsibus poetarum, quibus deos dilacerari uidebant, se non subtraxerunt, [1]dando eis licentiam male tractandi homines quos liberet, et [2]ipsos scaenicos non turpes iudicauerunt, sed dignos etiam praeclaris honoribus habuerunt.

(B) Sicut autem potuerunt auream pecuniam habere Romani, quamuis deum Aurinum non colerent: sic et argenteam habere potuerunt et aeream, si nec Argentinum nec eius patrem colerent Aesculanum, et sic omnia quae retexere piget. Sic ergo et regnum inuito quidem Deo uero nullo modo habere possent; dis uero istis falsis et multis ignoratis siue contemtis adque illo uno cognito et fide sincera ac moribus culto et melius hic regnum haberent, quantumcumque haberent, et post haec acciperent sempiternum, siue hic haberent siue non haberent.

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7. **deputant**=*inputant* in Classical Latinity.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Whether the worship of the gods was a help to the Romans in the acquisition and amplification of their empire.

1. **dando eis licentiam,** etc.—in the old Comedy, as it was called, at Athens.
2. **ipsos scaenicos non turpes iudicauerunt.** Cp. ii. 11 B.

CAPUT XXIX.

DE FALSITATE AUSPICII, QUO ROMANI REGNI FORTITUDO ET STABILITAS VISA EST INDICARI.

(A) Nam illud quale est quod pulcherrimum auspicium fuisse dixerunt, quod *paulo ante commemoraui, Martem et Terminum et Iuuentatem nec Ioui regi deorum loco cedere uoluisse? Sic enim, inquiunt, significatum est, Martiam gentem, id est Romanam, nemini locum quem teneret daturam, Romanos quoque terminos propter deum Terminum neminem commoturum, iuuentutem etiam Romanam propter deam Iuuentatem nemini esse cessuram.

(B) Videant ergo[1] quo modo habeant istum regem deorum suorum et datorem regni sui, ut eum auspicia ista pro aduersario ponerent, cui non cedere pulchrum esset. Quamquam haec si uera sunt, non habent omnino quid timeant. Non enim confessuri sunt, quod di cesserint Christo, qui Ioui cedere noluerunt; saluis quippe imperii finibus Christo cedere potuerunt et de sedibus locorum et maxime de corde credentium.

(C) Sed antequam Christus uenisset in carne, antequam denique ista scriberentur, quae de libris eorum proferimus, sed tamen postea quam factum est sub rege Tarquinio illud auspicium, aliquotiens Romanus exercitus fusus est, hoc est uersus in fugam, falsumque ostendit auspicium, quo Iuuentas illa non cesserat Ioui, et gens Martia superantibus adque inrumpentibus Gallis in ipsa Urbe contrita est, et termini imperii deficientibus multis ad Hannibalem ciuitatibus in angustum fuerant coartati.

(D) Ita euacuata est pulchritudo auspiciorum, remansit contra Iouem contumacia, non deorum, sed daemoniorum. Aliud est enim non cessisse, aliud unde cesseras redisse. Quamquam et postea in orientalibus partibus [2]Hadriani uoluntate mutati sunt

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the misleading character of the augury by which the strength and stability of the Roman Empire were thought to be indicated.

1. quo modo habeant, etc. = "how their view of him (Jupiter) as king of their gods . . . is consistent with the fact that the auguries set him down as an adversary."

2. Hadriani uoluntate. Gibbon says in his caustic style—hardly more caustic than A.'s here—"Though Terminus had resisted the majesty of Jupiter, he submitted to the authority of the Emperor Hadrian. The resignation of all the eastern conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign; withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria; and, in compliance with the precept of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire." ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i., ch. 1, p. 7, Bury's edition). The date was A.D. 117. Cp. Eutropius, who specially mentions the reversion to the Euphrates as the frontier of Empire ("Breu. Rom. Hist.," viii. 3).

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termini imperii Romani. Ille namque tres prouincias nobiles, Armeniam, Mesopotamiam, Assyriam, Persarum concessit imperio, ut deus ille Terminus, qui Romanos terminos secundum istos tuebatur et per illud pulcherrimum auspicium loco non cesserat Ioui, plus Hadrianum regem hominum quam regem deorum timuisse uideatur.

(E) Receptis quoque alio tempore prouinciis memoratis nostra paene memoria retrorsus Terminus cessit, quando [3]Iulianus deorum illorum oraculis deditus inmoderato ausu naues iussit incendi, quibus alimonia portabatur; qua exercitus destitutus mox etiam ipso hostili uulnere extincto in tantam est redactus inopiam, [4]ut inde nullus euaderet undique hostibus incursantibus militem imperatoris morte turbatum, nisi placito pacis illic imperii fines constituerentur, ubi hodieque persistunt, non quidem tanto detrimento, quantum concesserat Hadrianus, sed media tamen compositione defixi. Uano igitur augurio deus Terminus non cessit Ioui, qui cessit Hadriani uoluntati, cessit etiam Iuliani temeritati et [5]Iouiani necessitati.

(F) Uiderunt haec intellegentiores grauioresque Romani; sed contra consuetudinem ciuitatis, quae daemonicis ritibus fuerat obligata, parum ualebant, quia et ipsi, etiamsi illa uana esse sentiebant, [6]naturae tamen rerum sub unius ueri Dei regimine adque imperio constitutae religiosum cultum, qui Deo debetur, exhibendum putabant, *seruientes*, ut ait apostolus, **creaturae potius quam creatori, qui est benedictus in saecula.* Huius Dei ueri erat auxilium necessarium, a quo mitterentur sancti uiri et ueraciter pii, qui pro uera religione morerentur, ut falsae a uiuentibus tollerentur.

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3. Iulianus—the Apostate, as he is called—*e.g.*, v. 21 C. The burning of his fleet during the Persian expedition, in which he lost his life A.D. 363, is related by Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. ii., ch. 24, p. 508, Bury's edition). A. relates the *temeritas* (or *securitas uictoriae*) of Julian; but not without evidence of his own strong theological animus against him (v. *l.c.*). Cp. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 7).

4. ut inde nullus euaderet = "that not a man would have escaped." For the sense of the Subjunctive after *ut* see note on i. 1 A.

5. Iouiani necessitati. Jovian was elected by the army after the death of Julian. Upon his humiliating treaty with King Sapor II. see Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. ii., ch. 24, p. 517, Bury's edition). See also v. 21 C. Cp. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxv. 8).

6. naturae tamen rerum. A. refers to the pantheistic Nature-worship which had come or was coming into fashion in his time, as a despairing effort to preserve the spirit, if not the outward form, of paganism.

* Rom. i. 25.

CAPUT XXX.

QUALIA DE DIS GENTIUM ETIAM CULTORES EORUM SE SENTIRE FATEANTUR.

(A) [1]Cicero augur inridet auguria et inridet homines corui et corniculae uocibus uitae consilia moderantes. Sed [2]iste Academicus, qui omnia esse contendit incerta, indignus est qui habeat ullam in his rebus auctoritatem. Disputat aput eum [3]Quintus Lucilius Balbus in secundo de deorum natura libro, et cum ipse superstitiones ex natura rerum uelut physicas et philosophicas inserat, indignatur tamen institutioni simulacrorum et opinionibus fabulosis, ita loquens: *"Videtisne igitur, ut a physicis rebus bene adque utiliter inuentis ratio sit tracta ad commenticios et fictos deos ?

(B) "Quae res genuit falsas opiniones erroresque turbulentos et superstitiones paene aniles. Et formae enim nobis deorum et aetates et uestitus ornatusque noti sunt, genera praeterea, coniugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta ad similitudinem inbecillitatis humanae. Nam et [4]perturbatis animis inducuntur; accepimus enim deorum cupiditates, aegritudines, iracundias. Nec uero, ut fabulae ferunt, di bellis proeliisque caruerunt; nec solum, [5]ut aput Homerum, cum duos exercitus contrarios alii di ex alia parte defenderent, sed etiam ut cum Titanis aut cum Gigantibus, sua propria bella gesserunt.

(C) "Haec et dicuntur et creduntur stultissime et plena sunt uanitatis summaeque leuitatis." Ecce interim quae confitentur qui defendunt deos gentium. Deinde cum haec ad [6]superstitionem

CHAPTER XXX.

What kind of ideas the worshippers of the gods of the nations confess themselves to entertain about them.

1. Cicero augur inridet auguria. Cicero was elected Augur B.C. 53. His ridicule of the Augural functions may be read in "De Diuin.," ii. 36-38.

2. iste Academicus. So far as Cicero was a consistent, and not a mere eclectic, philosopher, he may be taken to represent the sceptical doctrine of the New Academy, whose founder Carneades had taught the impossibility of knowledge or certitude.

3. Quintus Lucilius Balbus, who is mentioned again (v. 9 B), was a Stoic philosopher, a pupil of Panaetius. He is, as A. says, one of the interlocutors in Cicero's "De Natura Deorum."

4. perturbatis animis inducuntur = "the gods are brought upon the stage in conditions of mental disturbance."

5. ut aput Homerum—*e.g.*, "Iliad," xx. 31 *sqq.*

6. superstitionem. Cicero's derivation is purely fanciful; it is criticised by

* "De Nat. Deor.," ii. 28, 70.

pertinere dicat, ad religionem uero, quae ipse [7]secundum Stoicos uidetur docere: "non enim philosophi solum, inquit, uerum etiam maiores nostri superstitionem a religione separauerunt; nam qui totos dies precabantur, inquit, et immolabant, ut sibi sui liberi superstites essent, superstitiosi sunt appellati."

(D) Quis non intellegat eum conari, dum consuetudinem ciuitatis timet, religionem laudare maiorum eamque a superstitione uelle seiungere, sed quo modo id possit non inuenire? Si enim a maioribus illi sunt appellati superstitiosi, qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant, numquid et illi, qui instituerunt (quod iste reprehendit) deorum simulacra diuersa aetate et ueste distincta, deorum genera, coniugia, cognationes? Haec utique cum tamquam superstitiosa culpantur, inplicat ista culpa maiores talium simulacrorum institutores adque cultores; inplicat et ipsum, qui, quantolibet eloquio se in libertatem nitatur euoluere, necesse habebat ista uenerari; nec quod in hac disputatione disertus insonat, muttire auderet in populi contione.

(E) Agamus itaque Christiani Domino Deo nostro gratias, non caelo et terrae, sicut iste disputat, sed ei qui fecit caelum et terram, qui has superstitiones, quas iste [8]Balbus uelut balbutiens uix reprehendit, per altissimam Christi humilitatem, per apostolorum praedicationem, per fidem martyrum pro ueritate morientium et cum ueritate uiuentium non solum in cordibus religiosis, uerum etiam in aedibus superstitiosis [9]libera suorum seruitute subuertit.

CAPUT XXXI.

DE OPINIONIBUS VARRONIS, QUI REPROBATA PERSUASIONE POPULARI, LICET AD NOTITIAM VERI DEI NON PERVENERIT, UNUM TAMEN DEUM COLENDUM ESSE CENSUERIT.

(A) Quid ipse Varro, quem dolemus in rebus diuinis ludos scaenicos, quamuis non iudicio proprio, posuisse, cum ad deos colendos multis locis uelut religiosus hortetur, nonne ita confitetur non se illa iudicio suo sequi, quae ciuitatem Romanam instituisse comme-

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Lactantius, who gives a derivation or derivations of his own: *Superstitiosi uocantur . . . aut ii qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt aut ii qui parentibus suis superstites celebrant imagines eorum domi tamquam deos penates* ("De Ver. Sapient.," iv. 28).

7. secundum Stoicos—"in agreement with the Stoics."

8. Balbus uelut balbutiens—a play upon the name Balbus, for it is an adjective = "stammering." Translate "the babbling Balbus, as he may be called."

9. libera suorum seruitute—*sc.* the "service" which in the Liturgy is said to be "perfect freedom." But the thought of the service (or slavery), which is the relation of the Christian to Christ, as the only true freedom is thoroughly Pauline.

morat, ut, si eam ciuitatem nouam constituerct,[1] ex naturae potius formula deos nominaque eorum se fuisse dedicaturum non dubitet confiteri ? Sed iam quoniam in uetere populo esset, acceptam ab antiquis nominum et cognominum historiam tenere, ut tradita est, debere se dicit, et ad eum finem illa scribere ac perscrutari, ut potius eos magis colere quam despicere uulgus uelit.

(B) Quibus uerbis homo acutissimus satis indicat non se aperire omnia, quae non sibi tantum contemtui essent, sed etiam ipsi uulgo despicienda uiderentur, nisi tacerentur. Ego ista conicere putari debui, nisi euidenter alio loco ipse diceret de religionibus loquens multa esse uera, quae non modo uulgo scire non sit utile, sed etiam, tametsi falsa sunt, aliter existimare populum expediat, et ideo Graecos [2]teletas ac mysteria [3]taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. Hic certe totum consilium prodidit [4]uelut sapientium, per quos ciuitates et populi regerentur. Hac tamen fallacia miris modis maligni daemones delectantur, qui et deceptores et deceptos pariter possident, a quorum dominatione non liberat nisi gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

(C) Dicit etiam idem auctor acutissimus adque doctissimus, quod hi soli ei uideantur animum aduertisse quid esset Deus, qui crediderunt [5]eum esse animam motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem, ac per hoc, etsi nondum tenebat quod ueritas habet (Deus enim uerus non anima, sed animae quoque est effector et conditor), tamen si contra praeiudicia consuetudinis liber esse posset, unum Deum colendum fateretur adque suaderet, motu ac ratione mundum gubernantem, ut ea cum illo de hac re quaestio remaneret, quod eum diceret esse animam, non potius et animae creatorem.

(D) Dicit etiam [6]antiquos Romanos plus annos centum et septuaginta deos sine simulacro coluisse. "Quod si adhuc," inquit, "mansisset, castius di obseruarentur." Cui sententiae

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the opinions of Varro, who reprobated the popular Creed, although he did not attain to the knowledge of the true God.

1. ex naturae . . . formula="in accordance with the rule of Nature." Cp. vi. 4 H. Varro's personal inclination was apparently to some form of Natural Theology, and, indeed, to Nature-worship; but in his books he accepted the established theology of the Roman State.

2. teletas ac mysteria—two Latinised Greek words="religious rites and mysteries."

3. taciturnitate parietibusque="within the walls of Silence" (ἐν διὰ δυοῖν).

4. uelut sapientium="the wiseacres."

5. cum esse animam, etc. Cp. Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 2, 4).

6. antiquos Romanos. Eusebius says (in words almost exactly borrowed from Plutarch, "Numa," 8): Νουμᾶς ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Πυθαγόρειος μὲν ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Μωσέως ὠφεληθεὶς διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζωόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ρωμαίους κτίζειν ("Praef. Euang.," ix. 6).

suae testem adhibet inter cetera etiam gentem Iudaeam; nec dubitat cum locum ita concludere, ut dicat, "qui primi simulacra deorum populis posuerunt," eos ciuitatibus suis et "metum demsisse et errorem addidisse," prudenter existimans deos facile posse in simulacrorum stoliditate contemni. Quod uero non ait "errorem tradiderunt," sed "addiderunt," iam utique fuisse etiam sine simulacris uult intellegi errorem.

(E) Quapropter cum solos dicit animaduertisse quid esset Deus, qui eum crederent animam mundum gubernantem, castiusque existimat sine simulacris obseruari religionem, quis non uideat quantum propinquauerit ueritati? Si enim aliquid contra uetustatem tanti posset erroris, profecto et unum Deum, a quo mundum crederet gubernari, et sine simulacro colendum esse censeret; adque [7]in tam proximo inuentus facile fortasse de animae mutabilitate commoneretur, ut naturam potius incommutabilem, quae ipsam quoque animam condidisset, Deum uerum esse sentiret.

(F) Haec cum ita sint, quaecumque tales uiri in suis litteris multorum deorum ludibria posuerunt, confiteri ea potius occulta Dei uoluntate conpulsi sunt quam persuadere conati. Si qua igitur a nobis inde testimonia proferuntur, ad eos redarguendos proferuntur, qui nolunt aduertere de quanta et quam maligna daemonum potestate nos liberet singulare sacrificium tam sancti sanguinis fusi et donum Spiritus inpertiti.

CAPUT XXXII.

OB QUAM SPECIEM UTILITATIS PRINCIPES GENTIUM APUT SUBIECTOS SIBI POPULOS FALSAS RELIGIONES VOLUERUNT PERMANERE.

(A) Dicit etiam de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas quam ad [1]physicos fuisse populos inclinatos, et ideo et sexum et generationes deorum maiores suos, id est ueteres credidisse Romanos et eorum constituisse coniugia. Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum uidetur, nisi quia hominum uelut prudentium et sapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere, et in eo ipso non solum colere sed imitari etiam daemones, quibus maxima est allendi fcupiditas.

(B) Sicut enim daemones nisi eos, quos fallendo deceperint, possidere non possunt, sic et homines principes, non sane iusti, sed daemonum similes, [2]ea, quae uana esse nouerant, religionis

7. **in tam proximo inuentus** = "when he had come so near to the truth."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the utilitarian pretext upon which the governors of the nations desired the continuance of false religions among their subject peoples.

1. **physicos**—*sc.* the natural philosophers, *philosophis* (iv. 27 A).
2. **ea, quae uana esse nouerant.** Cp. iv. 1 B.

nomine populis tamquam uera suadebant, hoc modo eos ciuili societati uelut aptius adligantes, quo similiter subditos possiderent. Quis autem infirmus et indoctus euaderet simul fallaces et principes ciuitatis et daemones ?

CAPUT XXXIII.

QUOD IUDICIO ET POTESTATE DEI VERI OMNIUM REGUM ADQUE REGNORUM ORDINATA SINT TEMPORA.

(A) Deus igitur ille felicitatis auctor et dator, quia solus est uerus Deus, ipse dat regna terrena et bonis et malis, neque hoc temere et quasi fortuito, quia Deus est, non fortuna, sed pro rerum ordine ac temporum occulto nobis, notissimo sibi; cui tamen ordini temporum non subditus seruit, sed eum ipse tamquam dominus regit moderatorque disponit; felicitatem uero non dat nisi bonis.

(B) Hanc enim possunt et non habere et habere seruientes, possunt et non habere et habere regnantes; quae tamen plena in ea uita erit, ubi nemo iam seruiet. Et ideo regna terrena et bonis ab illo dantur et malis, ne eius cultores [1]adhuc in prouectu animi paruuli haec ab eo munera quasi magnum aliquid concupiscant. Et hoc est [2]sacramentum ueteris testamenti, [3]ubi occultum erat

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

That the times of all kings and kingdoms have been appointed by the judgment and power of the true God.

1. adhuc in prouectu animi paruuli = " with the constant advance of a weakling mind."

2. sacramentum ueteris testamenti. The ecclesiastical use of the word *sacramentum* is highly interesting; and it can be traced in A. as much as in any other early Christian writer. From the original meaning of " the soldier's oath " of allegiance to his *imperator*—which is common in the classical authors and naturally most common in Cæsar—it develops the following meanings:

(1) A sacred rite (vi. 11 B; vii. 32 A; x. 3 B).
(2) A sacred object (x. 17 D).
(3) A sacred sign (x. 8 B, 17 D; xvi. 7 C; xvii. 6 C). Cp. " De Gen. ad Lit.," viii. 10 (v.).
(4) A sacred institution (vi. 11 A).
(5) A sacred mystery, as here (vii. 30 A; x. 24 B, 32 N; xvi. 2 E. Cp. " Confess.," vii. 19).
(6) A sacrament. *Sacramenta Christiana* (xviii. 51 E, cp. xxi. 20 A).

In xv. 26 C it is said of our Lord's wounded side that *inde sacramenta manarunt, quibus credentes initiantur.* It must be observed that the several meanings of *sacramentum* run easily one into the others; and sometimes the meaning in a particular passage hovers apparently between two of them—*e.g.*, x. 20 B; xviii. 49 C. *sacramentum* in the sense of " mystery " generally inclines, like the Greek *μυστήριον*, to the meaning of a mystery not so much concealed as revealed to the initiated.

3. ubi occultum erat nouum—in the sense of A.'s famous adage *quamquam et in Vetere Testamento Nouum lateat et in Nouo Vetus pateat* (" Quaest. in Exod,." ii. 33). Cp. v. 19 Q; xvi. 26 H; also " De Catechiz. Rud.," 8 (iv.).

nouum, quod illic promissa et dona terrena sunt, intellegentibus et tunc [4]spiritalibus, quamuis nondum in manifestatione praedicantibus, et quae illis temporalibus rebus significaretur aeternitas, et in quibus Dei donis esset uera felicitas.

CAPUT XXXIV.

DE REGNO IUDAEORUM, QUOD AB UNO ET VERO DEO INSTITUTUM ADQUE SERVATUM EST, DONEC IN VERA RELIGIONE MANSERUNT.

(A) Itaque ut cognosceretur etiam illa terrena bona, quibus solis inhiant qui meliora cogitare non possunt, in ipsius unius Dei esse posita potestate, non in multorum falsorum, quos colendos Romani antea crediderunt, populum suum in Aegypto de paucissimis multiplicauit et inde signis mirabilibus liberauit. Nec [1]Lucinam mulieres illae inuocauerunt, quando earum partus, [2]ut miris modis multiplicarentur et gens illa incredibiliter cresceret, ab Aegyptiorum persequentium et infantes omnes necare uolentium manibus ipse seruauit.

(B) [3]Sine dea Rumina suxerunt, sine Cunina in cunis fuerunt, sine Educa et Potina escam potumque sumserunt, sine tot dis puerilibus educati sunt, sine dis coniugalibus coniugati, sine cultu [4]Priapi coniugibus mixti; sine inuocatione Neptuni mare transeuntibus [5]diuisum patuit et sequentes eorum inimicos fluctibus in se redeuntibus obruit. Nec consecrauerunt aliquam deam Manniam, quando de caelo manna sumserunt; nec quando sitientibus aquam percussa petra profudit, Nymphas Lymphasque coluerunt. Sine insanis sacris Martis et Bellonae bella gesserunt, et sine uictoria quidem non uicerunt, non eam tamen deam, sed Dei sui munus habuerunt.

(C) Sine Segetia segetes, sine Bubona boues, mella sine [6]Mellona poma sine Pomona, et prorsus omnia, pro quibus tantae falsorum

4. spiritalibus. Such is the orthography, according to the MSS., in A., as appears from vi. 1 C; x. 9 B; 15 A, etc.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the kingdom of the Jews which was founded by the one true God and preserved so long as they were constant to the true religion.

1. Lucinam—*quae a parturientibus inuocatur* (iv. 11 B).

2. ut miris modis multiplicarentur. Cp. Exod. i. 7, 12, 20.

3. Sine dea Rumina, etc. For the goddesses here mentioned see notes on iv. 11 C.

4. Priapi—whose association with marriage is implied in vi. 9 G; vii. 24 H.

5. diuisum patuit, etc. Exod. xiv. 22, 27-29.

6. Mellona. The goddesses (if goddesses they were)—Segetia, Bubona, and Pomona—have been mentioned before (iv. 24 B); not Mellona, for whom see Arnobius, who calls her Mellonia ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 7).

deorum turbae Romani supplicandum putarunt, ab uno uero Deo multo felicius acceperunt. Et si non in eum peccassent, inpia curiositate tamquam magicis artibus seducti ad alienos deos et ad idola defluendo, et postremo Christum occidendo, in eodem regno etsi non spatiosiore, tamen feliciore mansissent.

(D) Et nunc quod per omnes fere terras gentesque dispersi sunt, illius unius ueri Dei prouidentia est, ut, quod deorum falsorum usquequaque simulacra arae, luci, templa euertuntur et sacrificia prohibentur, de codicibus eorum probetur, quem ad modum hoc fuerit [7]tanto ante prophetatum; ne forte, cum legeretur in nostris, a nobis putaretur esse confictum. Iam quod sequitur in uolumine sequenti uidendum est, et hic dandus huius prolixitatis modus.

7. tanto ante prophetatum. A. lays great stress upon the fulfilment of prophecy. Cp. xv. 9 E; xvi. 2 K; xvii. 17 E; xviii. 46 B; xxi. 7 I: xxii. 6 F. He speaks of *prophetiam luce clariorem* (v. 9 A).

LIBER V

PRAEFATIO.

Quoniam constat omnium rerum optandarum plenitudinem esse felicitatem, quae non est dea, sed donum Dei, et ideo nullum deum colendum esse ab hominibus, nisi qui potest eos facere felices (unde si illa dea esset, sola colenda merito diceretur): iam consequenter uideamus, qua causa Deus, qui potest et illa bona dare, quae habere possunt etiam non boni ac per hoc etiam non felices, Romanum imperium tam magnum tamque diuturnum esse uoluerit. [1]Quia enim hoc deorum falsorum illa quam colebant multitudo non fecit, et multa iam diximus, et ubi uisum fuerit opportunum esse dicemus.

CAPUT I.

CAUSAM ROMANI IMPERII OMNIUMQUE REGNORUM NEC FORTUITAM ESSE NEC IN STELLARUM POSITIONE CONSISTERE.

(A) Causa ergo magnitudinis imperii Romani nec fortuita est nec fatalis secundum eorum sententiam siue opinionem, qui ea dicunt esse fortuita, quae uel nullas causas habent uel non ex aliquo rationabili ordine uenientes, et ea fatalia, quae praeter Dei et hominum uoluntatem cuiusdam ordinis necessitate contingunt. Prorsus diuina prouidentia regna constituuntur humana. Quae si propterea quisquam fato tribuit, quia ipsam Dei uoluntatem uel potestatem fati nomine appellat, sententiam teneat, linguam corrigat. Quur enim non hoc primum dicit, quod postea dicturus est, cum ab illo quisquam quaesierit quid dixerit fatum ?

(B) Nam id homines quando audiunt, usitata loquendi consue tudine non intellegunt nisi [1]uim positionis siderum, qualis est quando quis nascitur siue concipitur; quod aliqui alienant a Dei

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PREFACE.

[*Book V. was composed by A. in the year* A.D. 415. *See note at the beginning of Book IV.*]

1. Quia = "to show that" or simply "that." In ecclesiastical Latinity *quia* gets the meaning of "that"; but there are many passages in which it may be said to hover in meaning between "that" and "because." Similar is the use of *quoniam*—*e.g.*, V. 9 H.

CHAPTER I.

That the reason of the Roman Empire and of all kingdoms was neither accidental nor dependent upon the position of the stars.

1. uim positionis siderum. The ancient world, whether pagan or Christian, drew no sharp dividing line between astronomy and astrology. The influence of astrological theory upon language survives in such adjectives as "disastrous," "lunatic,"

uoluntate, aliqui ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant. Sed illi, qui sine Dei uoluntate decernere opinantur sidera quid agamus uel quid bonorum habeamus malorumue patiamur, ab auribus omnium repellendi sunt, non solum eorum qui ueram religionem tenent sed qui deorum qualiumcumque, licet falsorum, uolunt esse cultores. Haec enim opinio quid agit aliud, nisi ut nullus omnino colatur aut rogetur Deus ?

(c) Contra quos modo nobis disputatio non est instituta, sed contra hos qui pro defensione eorum, quos deos putant, Christianae religioni aduersantur. Illi uero, qui positionem stellarum quodam modo decernentium qualis quisque sit et quid ei proueniat boni quidue mali accidat ex Dei uoluntate suspendunt, si easdem stellas putant habere hanc potestatem traditam sibi a summa illius potestate, [2]ut uolentes ista decernant: magnam caelo faciunt iniuriam, [3]in cuius uelut clarissimo senatu ac splendidissima curia opinantur scelera facienda decerni, qualia si aliqua terrena ciuitas decreuisset, genere humano decernente fuerat euertenda.

(d) Quale deinde iudicium de hominum factis Deo relinquitur, quibus caelestis necessitas adhibetur, cum dominus ille sit et siderum et hominum ? Aut si non dicunt stellas, accepta quidem potestate a summo Deo, arbitrio suo ista decernere, sed in talibus necessitatibus ingerendis illius omnino iussa conplere: itane de ipso Deo sentiendum est, quod indignissimum uisum est de stellarum uoluntate sentire ?

(e) Quod si dicuntur stellae significare potius ista quam facere, ut quasi [4]locutio quaedam sit illa positio praedicens futura, non agens [5](non enim mediocriter doctorum hominum fuit ista sententia): non quidem ita solent loqui [6]mathematici, ut uerbi gratia dicant: "Mars ita positus homicidam significat," sed: "homicidam facit"; uerumtamen ut concedamus non eos ut debent loqui et a philosophis accipere oportere sermonis regulam ad ea praenuntianda, quae in siderum positione reperire se putant: quid fit,

"jovial," "mercurial," "saturnine," etc. But that supposed influence was regarded as national no less than personal. See Cicero ("De Diuin.," ii. 47, 98 and 99).

2. ut uolentes ista decernant—the heavenly bodies being regarded as living beings. Cp. iv. 11 F; x. 29 G.

3. in cuius uelut clarissimo senatu ac splendidissima curia—a fine phrase descriptive of the heavenly bodies. The nearest parallel to it is perhaps to be found in Aeschylus:

ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὑμήγυριν ("Agam.," 4).

4. locutio quaedam="a figure of speech."

5. non enim mediocriter doctorum hominum. A. may be thinking (as the Benedictine editors suggest) of Origen; see the chapter in which Origen's relation to astrology is set out by Eusebius ("Praef. Euang.," vi. 11). The doctrine to which A. refers is evidently an attempt to reconcile Christian theology with pagan science.

6 mathematici. See note on v. 3 c.

quod nihil umquam dicere potuerunt, quur in uita geminorum, in actionibus, in euentis, in professionibus, artibus, honoribus ceterisque rebus a humanam uitam pertinentibus adque in ipsa morte sit plerumque tanta diuersitas, ut similiores eis sint, quantum ad haec adtinet, multi extranei quam ipsi inter se gemini perexiguo temporis interuallo in nascendo separati, in conceptu autem per unum concubitum uno etiam momento seminati ?

CAPUT II.

DE GEMINORUM SIMILI DISSIMILIQUE VALETUDINE.

(A) [1]Cicero dicit [2]Hippocratem, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum reliquisse, quosdam fratres, cum simul aegrotare coepissent et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingrauesceret, eodem leuaretur, geminos suspicatum: quos [3]Posidonius Stoicus, multum astrologiae deditus, eadem constitutione astrorum natos eademque conceptos solebat adserere. Ita quod medicus pertinere credebat ad simillimam temperiem ualetudinis, hoc philosophus astrologus ad uim constitutionemque siderum, quae fuerat quo tempore concepti natique sunt.

(B) In hac causa multo est acceptabilior et [4]de proximo credibilior coniectura medicinalis, quoniam parentes ut erant corpore adfecti, [5]dum concumberent, ita primordia conceptorum adfici potuerunt, ut consecutis ex materno corpore [6]prioribus incrementis paris ualetudinis nascerentur; deinde in una domo eisdem alimentis nutriti, ubi aerem et loci positionem et uim aquarum plurimum ualere ad corpus uel bene uel male accipiendum medicina testatur,

CHAPTER II.

Of the similarity and dissimilarity of twins in point of health.

1. Cicero dicit. No such incident is related in any extant writings of Cicero or of Hippocrates. A. may be thinking (as Vives suggests) of Cicero's "De Fato," a work only imperfectly preserved, but containing a reference to Posidonius (iii. 5).

2. Hippocratem. Hippocrates of Cos, whose life traditionally extended from 460 to B.C. 357, was the most celebrated physician in Greek antiquity. A. alludes to him again (xxii. 8 O).

3. Posidonius was Cicero's teacher at Rhodes. He was an astrologer as well as a philosopher, *magnus astrologus idemque philosophus* (V. 5 G). Cp. Cicero ("De Diuin.," ii. 21, 47). He died at Rome in or about B.C. 50.

4. de proximo = "at once" or "obviously." Cp. v. 5 G where *de proximo* may be translated "at once" or "offhand." Cp. "Reg. ad Seru. Dei," 7; "De Gen. ad Lit.," viii. 4; "C. Maxim.," i. 1.

5. dum concumberent = "at the time of copulation." So A. uses *dum* with the conjunctive—*e.g.*, *dum nascerentur* (D below and v. 6 B), *dum requireremus* (xxii. 8 DDD).

6. prioribus incrementis = "their increases up to the time of birth," *prioribus* being explained by *nascerentur*. There are interesting references to the twins of Hippocrates in Lyly's "Euphues and his England" ("The Epistle Dedicatory," p. 215; text, p. 301 Arber's Edition) and in Milton's "Eikonoklastes," xxi.

eisdem etiam exercitationibus adsuefacti tam similia corpora gererent, ut etiam ad aegrotandum uno tempore eisdemque causis similiter mouerentur.

(c) Constitutionem uero caeli ac siderum, quae fuit quando concepti siue nati sunt, uelle trahere ad istam aegrotandi parilitatem, cum tam multa diuersissimi generis, diuersissimorum effectuum et euentorum eodem tempore in unius regionis terra eidem caelo subdita potuerint concipi et nasci, nescio cuius sit insolentiae. [7]Nos autem nouimus geminos non solum actus et peregrinationes habere diuersas, uerum etiam dispares aegritudines perpeti. De qua re facillimam, quantum mihi uidetur, rationem redderet Hippocrates, diuersis alimentis et exercitationibus, quae non de corporis temperatione, sed de animi uoluntate ueniunt, dissimiles eis accidere potuisse ualetudines.

(d) Porro autem Posidonius uel quilibet [8]fatalium siderum adsertor mirum si potest hic inuenire quid dicat, si nolit inperitorum mentibus in eis quas nesciunt rebus inludere. Quod enim conantur efficere de interuallo exiguo temporis, quod inter se gemini dum nascerentur habuerunt, propter caeli particulam, ubi ponitur horae notatio, quem horoscopum uocant: aut non tantum ualet, quanta inuenitur in geminorum uoluntatibus, actibus, moribus, casibusque diuersitas, aut plus etiam ualet, quam est geminorum uel humilitas generis eadem uel nobilitas, cuius maximam diuersitatem non nisi in hora, qua quisque nascitur, ponunt.

(e) Ac per hoc si tam celeriter alter post alterum nascitur, ut eadem pars horoscopi maneat, paria cuncta quaero, quae in nullis possunt geminis inueniri; si autem [9]sequentis tarditas horoscopum mutat, parentes diuersos quaero, quos gemini habere non possunt.

CAPUT III.

DE ARGUMENTO, QUOD EX ROTA FIGULI NIGIDIUS MATHEMATICUS ADSUMSIT IN QUAESTIONE GEMINORUM.

(a) Frustra itaque adfertur nobile illud commentum de figuli rota, quod respondisse ferunt [1]Nigidium hac quaestione turbatum,

7. Nos autem nouimus geminos, etc. The astrological difficulty arising from the horoscope of twins is critically discussed by Cicero ("De Diuin.," ii. 42 *sqq.*).

8. fatalium siderum adsertor = "advocate of sidereal influence upon destiny."

9. sequentis tarditas = "the long interval before the birth of the second twin."

CHAPTER III.

Of the argument drawn by the mathematician Nigidius from the potter's wheel, as it affects the question of twins.

1. Nigidium—a Pythagorean philosopher who, like Posidonius, combined astrology with philosophy. According to Cicero, who made use of his political services

unde et Figulus appellatus est. Dum enim rotam figuli ui quanta potuit intorsisset, currente illa bis numero de atramento tamquam uno eius loco summa celeritate percussit; deinde inuenta sunt signa, quae fixerat, desistente motu, non paruo interuallo in rotae illius extremitate distantia. "Sic," inquit, "in tanta rapacitate caeli, etiamsi alter post alterum tanta celeritate nascatur, quanta rotam bis ipse percussi, in caeli spatio plurimum est: hinc sunt, inquit, quaecumque dissimillima perhibentur in moribus casibusque geminorum."

(B) Hoc figmentum fragilius est quam uasa, quae illa rotatione finguntur. Nam si tam multum in caelo interest, quod constellationibus conprehendi non potest, ut alteri geminorum hereditas obueniat, alteri non obueniat: quur audent ceteris, qui gemini non sunt, cum inspexerint eorum constellationes, talia pronuntiare, quae ad illud secretum pertinent, quod nemo potest conprehendere et [2]momentis adnotare nascentium?

(C) Si autem propterea talia dicunt in aliorum genituris, quia haec ad productiora spatia temporum pertinent; momenta uero illa partium minutarum, quae inter se gemini possunt habere nascentes, rebus minimis tribuuntur, de qualibus [3]mathematici non solent consuli (quis enim consulat quando sedeat, quando deambulet, quando uel quid prandeat?): numquid ista dicimus, quando in moribus, operibus casibusque geminorum plurima plurimumque diuersa monstramus?

CAPUT IV.

DE ESAU ET IACOB GEMINIS MULTUM INTER SE MORUM ET ACTIONUM QUALITATE DISPARIBUS.

(A) Nati sunt duo gemini antiqua patrum memoria (ut de insignibus loquar) sic alter post alterum, ut *posterior plantam

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at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, he was *cum ceteris artibus . . . quae quidem dignae libero essent ornatus omnibus, tum acer inuestigator et diligens earum rerum quae a natura inuolutae uidentur* ("Tim." i.). Cp. Cicero ("Ad Famil.," iv. 13). Suetonius ("August.," 94) relates the story that Nigidius, on the birthday of Octauianus (Augustus), predicted *dominum terrarum orbi natum*. Cp. Lucan ("Pharsal.," i. 639-645).

2. momentis adnotare nascentium. It seems that the word *momentum*, as used by A. here, and in the following chapters, varies between the two meanings: (1) a moment of time; (2) an influence. Contrast, *e.g.*, *uno momento temporis* (v. 5) with *nihil momenti adtulit* (v. 5 B). Here the probable meaning is "assign to the moments of their birth." Similarly *momenta illa partium minutarum* means, I think, "those moments, those minute particles of time."

3. mathematici = "astrologers," as in iv. 4 A; v. 1 E, etc. Cp. the well-known passage of Tacitus: *mathematici, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in ciuitate nostra et uetabitur semper et retinebitur* ("Hist.," i. 22).

* Gen. xxv. 26.

prioris teneret. Tanta in eorum uita fuerunt moribusque diuersa, tanta in actibus disparilitas, tanta in parentum amore dissimilitudo, ut etiam inimicos eos inter se faceret ipsa distantia. Numquid hoc dicitur, quia uno ambulante alius sedebat, et alio dormiente alius uigilabat, et alio loquente tacebat alius; quae pertinent ad illas minutias, quae non possunt ab eis conprehendi, qui constitutionem siderum, qua quisque nascitur, scribunt, [1]unde mathematici consulantur ?

(B) Unus duxit mercennariam seruitutem, alius non seruiuit; unus a matre diligebatur, alius non diligebatur; unus honorem, qui magnus aput eos habebatur, amisit, indeptus est alter. Quid de uxoribus, quid de filiis, quid de rebus, quanta diuersitas ! Si ergo haec ad illas pertinent minutias temporum, quae inter se habent gemini, et constellationibus non adscribuntur: quare aliorum constellationibus inspectis ista dicuntur ? Si autem ideo dicuntur, quia non ad minuta inconprehensibilia, sed ad temporum spatia pertinent, quae obseruari notarique possunt: quid hic agit [2]rota illa figuli, nisi ut homines [3]luteum cor habentes [4]in gyrum mittantur, ne mathematicorum uaniloquia conuincantur ?

CAPUT V.

QUIBUS MODIS CONVINCANTUR MATHEMATICI VANAM SCIENTIAM PROFITERI.

(A) Quid idem ipsi, quorum morbum, quod eodem tempore grauior leuiorque apparebat amborum, medicinaliter inspiciens [1]Hippocrates geminos suspicatus est, nonne satis istos redarguunt, qui uolunt sideribus dare, quod de corporum simili temperatione ueniebat ? Quur enim similiter eodemque tempore, non alter

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CHAPTER IV.

Of Esau and Jacob, who were twins, and of the wide difference between them in the quality of their characters and their actions.

1. unde mathematici consulantur = "that the astrologers may be consulted about it."

2. rota illa figuli. Cp. v. 3 A.

3. luteum cor. Not "hearts of clay" (Dods), but "a muddy intelligence." A. means "men who cannot think clearly," using *cor* in the sense illustrated in the note upon i. 3 G; although there are passages in which *cor*, as used by him, comes nearer to "heart" than to "mind." But *luteum* suits the figure of the potter.

4. in gyrum mittantur = "may be driven to go round and round in a whirligig," the phrase being chosen to harmonise with *rota illa figuli*. See note on i. 10 F. A. deals elsewhere with the bearing of the differences between twins upon the supposed influence of the heavenly bodies—*e.g.*, "De Doct. Christ.," ii. 33.

CHAPTER V.

By what means astrologers are convicted of professing a vain science.

1. Hippocrates geminos suspicatus est. Cp. v. 2 A.

prior, alter posterior aegrotabant, sicut nati fuerant, quia utique simul nasci ambo non poterant ?

(B) Aut si [2]nihil momenti adtulit, ut diuersis temporibus aegrotarent, quod diuersis temporibus nati sunt: quare tempus in nascendo diuersum ad aliarum rerum diuersitates ualere contendunt ? Quur potuerunt diuersis temporibus peregrinari, diuersis temporibus ducere uxores, diuersis temporibus filios procreare et multa alia, propterea quia diuersis temporibus nati sunt, et non potuerunt eadem causa diuersis etiam temporibus aegrotare ? Si enim dispar [3]nascendi mora mutauit horoscopum et disparilitatem intulit ceteris rebus: quur illud in aegritudinibus mansit, quod habebat in temporis aequalitate conceptus ?

(C) Aut si fata ualetudinis in conceptu sunt, aliarum uero rerum in ortu esse dicuntur, non deberent inspectis natalium constellationibus de ualetudine aliquid dicere, quando eis inspicienda conceptionalis hora non datur. Si autem ideo praenuntiant aegritudines non inspecto conceptionis horoscopo, quia indicant eas momenta nascentium: quo modo dicerent cuilibet eorum geminorum ex natiuitatis hora, quando aegrotaturus esset, cum et alter, qui non habebat eandem horam natiuitatis, necesse haberet pariter aegrotare ?

(D) Deinde quaero: si tanta distantia est temporis in natiuitate geminorum, ut per hanc oporteat eis constellationes fieri diuersas propter diuersum horoscopum et ob hoc diuersos omnes [4]cardines, ubi tanta uis ponitur, ut hinc etiam diuersa sint fata: unde hoc accidere potuit, cum eorum conceptus diuersum tempus habere non possit ? Aut si duorum uno momento temporis conceptorum potuerunt esse ad nascendum fata disparia, quur non et duorum uno momento temporis natorum possint esse ad uiuendum adque moriendum fata disparia ?

(E) Nam si unum momentum, quo ambo concepti sunt, non inpediuit, ut alter prior, alter posterior nasceretur: quur, uno momento si duo nascantur, inpedit aliquid, ut alter prior, alter posterior moriatur ? Si [5]conceptio momenti unius diuersos casus in utero geminos habere permittit, quur natiuitas momenti unius non etiam quoslibet duos in terra diuersos casus habere permittat, ac sic omnis huius artis uel potius uanitatis commenta tollantur ?

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2. nihil momenti adtulit = "produced no effect." *Momentum* here must = "influence" or "effect."

3. nascendi mora. The MSS. support *mora*, and it is a possible reading, *dispar nascendi mora* being = "the difference arising from the delay of birth." But *hora* is more natural.

4. cardines = "cardinal points"—an astrological term.

5. conceptio momenti unius = "simultaneous conception at one moment."

(F) Quid est hoc, quur uno tempore, momento uno, sub una eademque caeli positione concepti diuersa habent fata, quae illos perducant ad diuersarum horarum natiuitatem, et uno momento temporis sub una eademque caeli positione de duabus matribus duo pariter nati diuersa fata habere non possint, quae illos perducant ad diuersam uiuendi uel moriendi nescessitatem ? An concepti nondum habent fata, quae nisi nascantur habere non poterunt ? Quid est ergo quod dicunt, si hora conceptionalis inueniatur, multa [6]ab istis dici posse [7]diuinius ? Unde etiam illud a nonnullis praedicatur, quod quidam sapiens horam elegit, qua cum uxore concumberet, unde filium mirabilem gigneret.

(G) Unde postremo et hoc est, quod de illis pariter aegrotantibus geminis [8]Posidonius, magnus astrologus idemque philosophus, respondebat, ideo fieri, quod eodem tempore fuissent nati eodemque concepti. Nam utique propter hoc addebat conceptionem, ne diceretur ei non [9]ad liquidum eodem tempore potuisse nasci, quos constabat omnino eodem tempore fuisse conceptos, ut hoc, quod similiter simulque aegrotabant, non daret [10]de proximo pari corporis temperamento, sed eandem quoque ualetudinis parilitatem sidereis nexibus adligaret.

(H) Si igitur in conceptu tanta uis est ad aequalitatem fatorum, non debuerunt nascendo eadem fata mutari. Aut si propterea mutantur fata geminorum, quia temporibus diuersis nascuntur, quur non potius intellegamus iam fuisse mutata, ut diuersis temporibus nascerentur ? Itane non mutat fata natiuitatis uoluntas uiuentium, cum mutet fata conceptionis ordo nascentium ?

CAPUT VI.

DE GEMINIS DISPARIS SEXUS.

(A) Quamquam et in ipsis geminorum conceptibus, ubi certe amborum eadem momenta sunt temporum, unde fit ut sub eadem constellatione fatali alter concipiatur masculus, altera femina ? Nouimus geminos diuersi sexus, ambo adhuc uiuunt, ambo aetate adhuc uigent; quorum cum sint inter se similes corporum species, quantum in diuerso sexu potest, instituto tamen et proposito uitae

6. ab istis—*sc.* the astrologers.

7. diuinius="with greater power of divination."

8. Posidonius. See note on v. 2 A.

9. ad liquidum="clearly" and so "exactly"; as viii. 3 A; xvi. 1 A. Cp. *liquido examine* (v. 21 A). So, too, A. uses *liquido* adverbially—*e.g.*, "De Doct. Christ.," i. 21 (xxii.); "De Haeres.," xli.; "De Util. Cred.," 12 (v.). In "De Trin.," ix. 17 (xii.) the meaning is "clearly."

10. de proximo="offhand." Cp. v. 2 B.

ita sunt dispares, ut praeter actus, quos necesse est a uirilibus distare femineos (quod ille [1]in officio comitis militat et a sua domo paene semper peregrinatur, illa de solo patrio et de rure proprio non recedit), insuper (quod est incredibilius, si astralia fata credantur; non autem mirum, si uoluntates hominum et Dei munera cogitentur) ille coniugatus, illa uirgo sacra est; ille numerosam prolem genuit, illa nec nupsit.

(B) [2]At enim plurimum uis horoscopi ualet. Hoc quam nihil sit, iam satis disserui. Sed qualecumque sit, in ortu ualere dicunt; numquid et in conceptu? ubi et unum concubitum esse manifestum est, et tanta naturae uis est, ut, cum conceperit femina, deinde alterum concipere omnino non possit; unde necesse est eadem esse in geminis momenta conceptus. An forte quia diuerso horoscopo nati sunt, aut ille in masculum, [3]dum nascerentur, aut illa in feminam commutata est?

(C) Cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici posset ad solas corporum differentias adflatus quosdam ualere sidereos, sicut in solaribus accessibus et decessibus uidemus etiam ipsius anni tempora uariari et lunaribus incrementis adque detrimentis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum, sicut echinos et conchas et mirabiles [4]aestus oceani; non autem et animi uoluntates positionibus siderum subdi: nunc isti, cum etiam nostros actus [5]inde religare conantur, admonent ut quaeramus, unde ne in ipsis quidem corporibus eis possit ratio ista constare.

(D) Quid enim tam ad corpus pertinens quam corporis sexus? et tamen sub eadem positione siderum diuersi sexus gemini concipi potuerunt. Unde quid insipientius dici aut credi potest, quam siderum positionem, quae ad horam conceptionis eadem ambobus fuit, facere non potuisse, ut, cum quo habebat eandem constellationem, sexum diuersum a fratre non haberet; et positionem siderum, quae fuit ad horam nascentium, facere potuisse, ut ab eo tam multum uirginali sanctitate distaret?

CHAPTER VI.

Of twins of different sexes.

1. in officio comitis = "on the staff." *Comes* relates to the staff of a military commander as well as to the retinue of a civil governor.

2. At enim—as usual, introduces an argument or a consideration to which a reply is immediately made.

3. dum nascerentur = "at the time of their birth."

4. aestus oceani. A. understands the influence of the moon upon the tides, but he limits it perhaps to extraordinarily high tides (*mirabiles aestus*). For the supposed influence of the moon upon the life or growth of sea-urchins (*echini*) and mussels or oysters (*conchae*) see Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," ix. 51, 164; ii. 38, 109).

5. inde religare = "to connect with the constellations."

CAPUT VII.

DE ELECTIONE DIEI, QUO UXOR DUCITUR QUOVE IN AGRO ALIQUID PLANTATUR AUT SERITUR.

(A) Iam illud quis ferat, quod in eligendis diebus noua quaedam suis actibus fata moliuntur ? Non erat uidelicet ille ita natus, ut haberet admirabilem filium, sed ita potius, ut contemtibilem gigneret, et ideo uir doctus elegit horam qua misceretur uxori. Fecit ergo fatum, quod non habebat, et ex ipsius facto coepit esse fatale quod in eius natiuitate non fuerat. O stultitiam singularem ! Eligitur dies ut ducatur uxor; credo propterea, quia potest in diem non bonum, nisi eligatur, incurri et infeliciter duci.

(B) Ubi est ergo quod nascenti iam sidera decreuerunt ? An potest homo, quod ei iam constitutum est, dici electione mutare, et quod ipse in eligendo die constituerit, non poterit ab alia potestate mutari ? Deinde si soli homines, non autem omnia quae sub caelo sunt, constellationibus subiacent, quur [1]aliter eligunt dies adcommodatos ponendis uitibus uel arboribus uel segetibus, alios dies pecoribus uel domandis uel admittendis maribus, quibus equarum uel boum fetentur armenta, et cetera huius modi ?

(C) Si autem propterea ualent ad has res dies electi, quia terrenis omnibus corporibus siue animantibus siue non animantibus, secundum diuersitates temporalium momentorum siderum positio dominatur; [2]considerent quam innumerabilia sub uno temporis puncto uel nascantur uel oriantur uel inchoentur, et tam diuersos exitus habeant, ut istas obseruationes cuiuis puero ridendas esse persuadeant. Quis enim est tam [3]excors, ut audeat dicere omnes arbores, omnes herbas, omnes bestias, serpentes, aues, pisces, uermiculos momenta nascendi singillatim habere diuersa ?

(D) Solent tamen homines ad tentandam peritiam mathematicorum adferre ad eos constellationes mutorum animalium, quorum ortus [4]propter hanc explorationem domi suae diligenter obseruant, eosque mathematicos praeferunt ceteris, qui constellationibus inspectis dicunt non esse hominem natum, sed pecus.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the choice of a day for marriage or for planting or sowing in the field.

1. aliter = "inconsistently."

2. considerent. If *considerare* means originally, as is said, "to observe the stars," its occurrence, more than once, in a passage relating to astrology is a coincidence possibly not undesigned. Cp. "De Gen. ad Litt.," ii. 35 (xvii.). See note on i. 10 F.

3. excors = "unintelligent." See note on i. 3 D.

4. propter hanc explorationem = "with a view to this testing process."

Audent etiam dicere quale pecus, utrum aptum lanitio, an uectationi, an aratro, an custodiae domus. Nam et ad canina fata tentantur et cum magnis admirantium clamoribus ista respondent. Sic desipiunt homines, ut existiment, cum homo nascitur, ceteros rerum ortus ita inhiberi, ut cum illo sub eadem caeli plaga nec musca nascatur. Nam si hanc admiserint, procedit ratiocinatio, quae [5]gradatim accessibus modicis eos a muscis ad camelos elephantosque perducat.

(E) Nec illud uolunt aduertere, quod electo ad seminandum agrum die tam multa grana in terram simul ueniunt, simul germinant, exorta segete simul herbescunt, pubescunt, flauescunt, et tamen inde spicas ceteris coaeuas adque, ut ita dixerim, congerminales, alias robigo interimit, alias aues depopulantur, alias homines auellunt. Quo modo istis alias constellationes fuisse dicturi sunt quas tam diuersos exitus habere conspiciunt ?

(F) An eos paenitebit his rebus dies eligere easque ad caeleste negabunt pertinere decretum, et solos sideribus subdent homines, [6]quibus solis in terra Deus dedit liberas uoluntates ? His omnibus consideratis non inmerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa uera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri [7]spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de [8]astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus adque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quae nulla est.

CAPUT VIII.

DE HIS, QUI NON ASTRORUM POSITIONEM, SED CONEXIONEM CAUSARUM EX DEI VOLUNTATE PENDENTEM FATI NOMINE APPELLANT.

(A) Qui uero non astrorum constitutionem, sicuti est cum quidque concipitur uel nascitur uel inchoatur, sed omnium conexionem seriemque causarum, qua fit omne quod fit, fati nomine appellant: non multum cum eis de uerbi controuersia laborandum adque certandum est, quando quidem ipsum causarum ordinem et, quandam conexionem Dei summi tribuunt uoluntati et potestati, qui optime et ueracissime creditur et cuncta scire antequam fiant et nihil inordinatum relioquere; a quo sunt omnes potestates, quamuis ab illo non sint omnium uoluntates.

5. **gradatim accessibus modicis**—upon the principle of the *Sorites*.

6. **quibus solis in terra,** etc. A. seems here to adopt the unscientific theory of an absolute distinction between animal instinct or necessity and human reason or liberty. Cp. v. 11 B. He speaks more hesitatingly (v. 9 L).

7. **spirituum non bonorum.** In astrology as in many another aspects of life or thought A. detects the all-pervading influence of the *daemones* or evil spirits.

8. **astralibus fatis**="astral fates"—*i.e.*, destinies as appointed or declared by the stars Cp. *siderea fata* (v. 9 B).

(B) Ipsam itaque praecipue Dei summi uoluntatem, cuius potestas insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, eos appellare fatum sic probatur. [1]Annaei Senecae sunt, nisi fallor, hi uersus:

*Duc, summe pater altique dominator poli,
Quocumque placuit, nulla parendi mora est.
Adsum inpiger: fac nolle, comitabor gemens
Malusque patiar, facere quod licuit bono.
Ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

Nempe euidentissime hoc ultimo uersu ea fata appellauit, quam supra dixerat summi patris uoluntatem; cui paratum se oboedire dicit, ut uolens ducatur, ne nolens trahatur; quodniam scilicet

Ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt.

Illi quoque [2]uersus †Homerici huic sententiae suffragantur, quos Cicero in Latinum uertit:

†Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Iuppiter auctiferas lustrauit lumine terras.

(C) Nec in hac quaestione auctoritatem haberet poetica sententia; sed quoniam Stoicos [3]dicit uim fati adserentes istos ex Homero uersus solere usurpare, non de illius poetae, sed de istorum philosophorum opinione tractatur, cum per istos uersus, quos disputationi adhibent quam de facto habent, quid sentiant esse fatum apertissime declaratur, quoniam Iouem appellant, quem summum deum putant, a quo conexionem dicunt pendere fatorum.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of those who give the name of "fate," not to the position of the stars, but to the chain of causes which depends upon the Will of God.

1. Annaei Senecae—L. Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, whose history reflected a somewhat lurid light upon the association of philosophy with politics. Cp. vi. 10 A. The lines here quoted, which occur at the end of Seneca's 107th Letter, were by him translated from Cleanthes the Stoic philosopher, the successor of Zeno; he says he translated them in imitation of Cicero. If the original Greek of Cleanthes is correctly quoted by Epictetus ("Enchir.," 77), Seneca's translation is widely removed from it.

2. uersus Homerici. The Greek lines are:

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε;

but Cicero's translation of them, which does not occur in any one of his extant writings, is not very close. Aristotle ("De Anim.," iii. 3, 2) refers to these lines somewhat in the same sense as A. It has been suggested that the lost part of Cicero's "De Fato" or of the "Academica Priora" was the source from which A. drew his quotation. His language would suit the "De Fato."

3. dicit—*sc.* Cicero.

* "Epist. Moral.," 107.

† "Odyss.," xviii. 136-7.

CAPUT IX.

DE PRAESCIENTIA DEI ET LIBERA HOMINIS VOLUNTATE CONTRA CICERONIS DEFINITIONEM.

(A) Hos [1]Cicero [2]ita redarguere nititur, ut non existimet aliquid se aduersus eos ualere, nisi auferat diuinationem. Quam sic conatur auferre, ut neget esse scientiam futurorum, eamque omnibus uiribus nullam esse omnino contendat, uel in homine uel in deo, nullamque rerum praedictionem. Ita et Dei praescientiam negat et omnem prophetiam luce clariorem conatur euertere uanis argumentationibus et [3]obponendo sibi quaedam oracula, quae facile possunt refelli; [4]quae tamen nec ipsa conuincit. In his autem mathematicorum coniecturis refutandis eius regnat oratio, quia uere tales sunt, ut se ipsae destruant et refellant.

(B) Multo sunt autem tolerabiliores, qui uel [5]siderea fata constituunt, quam iste qui tollit praescientiam futurorum. Nam et confiteri esse Deum et negare praescium futurorum apertissima insania est. Quod et ipse cum uideret, etiam illud tentauit quod scriptum est: **Dixit insipiens in corde suo : Non est Deus;* sed non ex sua persona. Vidit enim quam esset inuidiosum et molestum, ideoque [6]Cottam fecit disputantem de hac re aduersus Stoicos in libris de deorum natura et pro [7]Lucilio Balbo, cui Stoicorum partes defendendas dedit, maluit ferre sententiam quam pro Cotta, qui nullam diuinam naturam esse contendit. In libris uero de diuinatione ex se ipso apertissime obpugnat praescientiam futurorum.

(C) Hoc autem totum facere uidetur, ne fatum esse consentiat et perdat liberam uoluntatem. Putat enim concessa scientia futurorum ita esse consequens fatum, ut negari omnino non possit.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the foreknowledge of God and the freewill of man, as against the definition given by Cicero.

1. Cicero. The reference is to the "De Diuinatione," especially Book II.

2. ita redarguere nititur, etc.="he shows by his manner of trying to refute them that he holds."

3. obponendo sibi quaedam oracula. See "De Diuin.," ii. 56.

4. Quae tamen nec ipsa, etc.="But, after all, he does not confute even these oracles themselves."

5. siderea fata. Cp. *astralia fata* (v. 7 F).

6. Cottam. C. Aurelius Cotta was Consul B.C. 75. He is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's "De Oratore" as well as in his "De Natura Deorum." He is there the representative of the Academic, as Balbus of the Stoic, philosophy.

7. Lucilio Balbo. See note on iv. 30 A. The argument of Balbus runs through a great part of "De Natura Deorum," Book II.

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* Ps. xiv. 1.

Sed quoquo modo se habeant tortuosissimae concertationes et disputationes philosophorum, nos ut confitemur summum et uerum Deum, ita uoluntatem summamque potestatem ac praescientiam eius confitemur; nec timemus ne ideo non uoluntate faciamus, quod uoluntate facimus, quia id nos facturos ille praesciuit, cuius praescientia falli non potest; quod Cicero timuit, ut obpugnaret praescientiam, et [8]Stoici, ut non omnia necessitate fieri dicerent, quamuis omnia fato fieri contenderent.

(D) Quid est ergo, [9]quod Cicero timuit in praescientia futurorum, ut eam labefactare disputatione detestabili niteretur? Videlicet quia, si praescita sunt omnia futura, hoc ordine uenient, quo uentura esse praescita sunt; et si hoc ordine uenient, certus est ordo rerum praescienti Deo; et si certus est ordo rerum, certus est ordo causarum; non enim fieri aliquid potest, quod non aliqua efficiens causa praecesserit; si autem certus est ordo causarum, quo fit omne quod fit, fato, inquit, fiunt omnia quae fiunt. Quod si ita est, nihil est in nostra potestate nullumque est arbitrium uoluntatis; quod si concedimus, inquit, omnis humana uita subuertitur, frustra leges dantur, frustra obiurgationes, laudes, uituperationes, exhortationes adhibentur, neque ulla iustitia bonis praemia et malis supplicia constituta sunt.

(E) Haec ergo ne consequantur indigna et absurda et perniciosa rebus humanis, non uult esse praescientiam futurorum; adque [10]in has angustias coartat animum religiosum, ut unum eligat e duobus, aut esse aliquid in nostra uoluntate, aut esse praescientiam futurorum, quoniam utrumque arbitratur esse non posse, sed si alterum confirmabitur, alterum tolli; si elegerimus praescientiam futurorum, tolli uoluntatis arbitrium; si elegerimus uoluntatis arbitrium, tolli praescientiam futurorum. Ipse itaque, ut uir magnus et doctus et uitae humanae plurimum ac pertissime consulens, ex his duobus elegit liberum uoluntatis arbitrium; quod ut confirmaretur, negauit praescientiam futurorum adque ita, dum uult facere liberos, fecit sacrilegos.

(F) [11]Religiosus autem animus utrumque eligit, utrumque confitetur et fide pietatis utrumque confirmat. Quo modo? inquit;

8. Stoici. The Stoical discrimination, which the Stoics themselves did not uniformly observe, between *fatum* and *necessitas* was one among the various means invented or adopted in the history of speculation at different times for escaping from the logical chains of necessarianism. See, *e.g.*, the doctrine of Chrysippus as stated by Cicero ("De Fat.," xviii. 41). Cp. Zeller, "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics" (ch. 7, pp. 168-9).

9. quod Cicero timuit, etc. = "which was Cicero's fear that led him to oppose foreknowledge," etc.

10. in has angustias. See "De Fato," 31-33.

11. Religiosus autem animus utrumque eligit. There is no logical escape from

nam si est praescientia futurorum, sequentur illa omnia, quae conexa sunt, donec eo perueniatur, ut nihil sit in nostra uoluntate. Porro si est aliquid in nostra uoluntate, eisdem recursis gradibus eo peruenitur, ut non sit praescientia futurorum. Nam per illa omnia sic recurritur: si est uoluntatis arbitrium, non omnia fato fiunt; si non omnia fato fiunt, non est omnium certus ordo causarum; si certus ordo causarum non est, nec rerum certus est ordo praescienti Deo, quae fieri non possunt, nisi praecedentibus et efficientibus causis; si rerum ordo praescienti Deo certus non est, non omnia sic ueniunt, ut ea uentura praesciuit; porro si non omnia sic ueniunt, ut ab illo uentura praescita sunt, non est, inquit, in Deo praescientia omnium futurorum.

(G) Nos aduersus istos sacrilegos ausus adque inpios et Deum dicimus omnia scire antequam fiant, et uoluntate nos facere,[12] quidquid a nobis non nisi uolentibus fieri sentimus et nouimus. Omnia uero fieri fato non dicimus, immonulla fieri fato dicimus; quoniam fati nomen ubi solet a loquentibus poni, id est in constitutione siderum cum quisque conceptus aut natus est, quoniam res ipsa inaniter adseritur, nihil ualere monstramus.

(H) Ordinem autem causarum, ubi uoluntas Dei plurimum potest, neque negamus, neque fati uocabulo nuncupamus, nisi forte ut [13]fatum a fando dictum intellegamus, id est a loquendo; non enim abnuere possumus esse scriptum in litteris sanctis: **Semel locutus est Deus, duo haec audiui, quoniam potestas Dei est, et tibi, Domine, misericordia,* [14]*qui reddis unicuique secundum opera eius.* Quod enim dictum est: *Semel locutus est*, intellegitur "inmobiliter," hoc est incommutabiliter, "est locutus," sicut nouit incommutabiliter omnia quae futura sunt et quae ipse facturus est.

(I) Hac itaque ratione possemus a fando fatum appellare, nisi hoc nomen iam in alia re soleret intellegi, quo corda hominum nolumus inclinari. Non est autem consequens, ut, si Deo certus est omnium ordo causarum, ideo nihil sit in nostrae uoluntatis

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Cicero's dilemma. The answer to it lies in the impotence of finite human nature to comprehend the Infinite Nature of God. The parallel lines of Predestination and Freewill can meet only in Eternity. Hence arises the need of *fides pietatis* as A. calls it here; cp. v. 10 E.

12. quidquid a nobis, etc. A. falls back (like Dr. Johnson) upon consciousness as the demonstration of freedom.

13. fatum a fando—a derivation generally accepted; *fatum*="an oracle," and therefore "a decree" or "a destiny." Varro, speaking of childhood, says: "*Ab hoc tempore, quod tum pueris constituant Parcae fando, dictum fatum et res fatalis*" ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 52).

14. qui reddis=ὅτι σὺ ἀποδώσεις (LXX).

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* Ps. lxi. 11, 12.

arbitrio. Et ipsae quippe nostrae uoluntates in causarum ordine sunt, qui certus est Deo eiusque praescientia continetur, quoniam et humanae uoluntates humanorum operum causae sunt. Adque ita, qui omnes rerum causas praesciuit, profecto in eis causis etiam nostras uoluntates ignorare non potuit, quas nostrorum operum causas esse praesciuit.

(K) Nam et illud, quod idem *Cicero concedit, nihil fieri si causa efficiens non praecedat, satis est ad eum in hac quaestione redarguendum. Quid enim eum adiuuat, quod dicit nihil quidem fieri sine causa, sed non omnem causam esse fatalem, quia [15]est causa fortuita, est naturalis, est uoluntaria ? Sufficit, quia omne, quod fit, non nisi causa praecedente fieri confitetur.

(L) Nos enim eas causas, quae dicuntur fortuitae, unde etiam fortuna nomen accepit, non esse dicimus nullas, sed latentes, easque tribuimus Dei ueri uel uel quorumlibet spirituum uoluntati, ipsasque naturales nequaquam ab illius uoluntate seiungimus, qui est auctor omnis conditorque naturae. Iam uero causae uoluntariae aut Dei sunt aut angelorum aut hominum aut quor umque animalium, si tamen uoluntates appellandae sunt animarum rationis expertium motus illi, quibus aliqua faciunt secundum naturam suam, cum quid uel adpetunt uel euitant. Angelorum autem uoluntates dico seu bonorum, quos angelos Dei dicimus, seu malorum, quos angelos diaboli uel etiam daemones appellamus: sic et hominum, et bonorum scilicet et malorum.

(M) Ac per hoc colligitur non esse causas efficientes omnium quae fiunt nisi uoluntarias, illius naturae scilicet, quae spiritus uitae est. Nam et [16]aer iste seu uentus dicitur spiritus; sed quoniam corpus est, non est spiritus uitae. Spiritus ergo uitae, qui uiuificat omnia creatorque est omnis corporis et omnis creati spiritus, [17]ipse est Deus, spiritus utique non creatus. In eius uoluntate summa potestas est, quae creatorum spirituum bonas uoluntates adiuuat, malas iudicat, omnes ordinat et quibusdam tribuit potestates, quibusdam non tribuit.

(N) Sicut enim omnium naturarum creator est, ita omnium potestatum dator, non uoluntatum. Malae quippe uoluntates

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15. est causa fortuita, etc. A. summarises here the various causes or methods of causation described by Cicero ("De Fat.," xi. 25; xii. 28).

16. aer iste seu uentus dicitur spiritus—an identification common to all the three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. It underlies our Lord's teaching in the interview with Nicodemus (St. John iii. 5-8).

17. ipse est Deus—*πνεῦμα ὁ θεός* (St. John iv. 24).

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* "De Fat.," x. 20-21.

ab illo non sunt, quoniam [18]contra naturam sunt, quae ab illo est. Corpora igitur magis subiacent uoluntatibus; quaedam nostris, id est omnium animantium mortalium et magis hominum quam bestiarum; quaedam uero angelorum; sed omnia maxime Dei uoluntati subdita sunt, cui etiam uoluntates omnes subiciuntur, quia non habent potestatem nisi quam ille concedit.

(o) Causa itaque rerum, quae facit nec fit, Deus est; aliae uero causae et faciunt et fiunt, sicut sunt omnes creati spiritus, maxime rationales. Corporales autem causae, quae magis fiunt quam faciunt, non sunt inter causas efficientes adnumerandae, quoniam hoc possunt, quod ex ipsis faciunt spirituum uoluntates. Quo modo igitur ordo causarum, qui praescienti certus est Deo, id efficit, ut nihil sit in nostra uoluntate, cum in ipso causarum ordine magnum habeant locum nostrae uoluntates ?

(p) Contendat ergo Cicero cum eis, qui hunc causarum ordinem dicunt esse fatalem uel potius ipsum fati nomine appellant, quod nos abhorremus praecipue propter uocabulum, [19]quod non in re uera consueuit intellegi. Quod uero negat ordinem omnium causarum esse certissimum et Dei praescientiae notissimum, plus eum quam Stoici detestamur. Aut enim esse Deum negat, quod quidem [20]inducta alterius persona in libris de deorum natura facere molitus est; aut si esse confitetur Deum, quem negat praescium futurorum, etiam sic nihil dicit aliud, quam quod ille **dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.* Qui enim non est praescius omnium futurorum, non est utique Deus.

(q) Quapropter et uoluntates nostrae tantum ualent, quantum Deus eas ualere uoluit adque praesciuit; et ideo quidquid ualent, certissime ualent, et quod facturae sunt, ipsae omnino facturae sunt, quia ualituras adque facturas ille praesciuit, cuius praescientia falli non potest. Quapropter si mihi fati nomen alicui rei adhibendum placeret, magis dicerem fatum esse infirmioris, potentioris uoluntatem, qui eum habet in potestate, quam [21]illo causarum ordine, quem non usitato sed suo more Stoici fatum appellant, arbitrium nostrae uoluntatis auferri.

18. contra naturam sunt. All nature, according to A., as being the work of God, is necessarily good. Whatever in man or in the world is not good, is not natural. See note on xi. 9 c. Cp. "De Lib. Arbitr.," iii. 41; "De Mor. Manich.," ii. 2 (ii.); "Con. Epist. Manich.," 27 (xxv.); and especially "Con. Epist. Manich.," 36 (xxxiii.); "Enchir.," 4 (xii.). It is the Manichaean heresy that A. opposes.

19. quod non in re uera, etc.="which is usually not understood in a true sense."

20. inducta alterius persona—*sc.* Cotta. See B. above.

21. illo causarum ordine. The Stoical conception of fate is criticised by Cicero in many passages—*e.g.*, "De Diuin.," ii. 8, 20 and 21.

* Ps. xiv. 1.

CAPUT X

AN VOLUNTATIBUS HOMINUM ALIQUA DOMINETUR NECESSITAS.

(A) Unde nec illa necessitas formidanda est, quam formidando Stoici laborauerunt causas rerum distinguere ita, ut quasdam subtraherent necessitati, quasdam subderent, adque in his, quas esse sub necessitate noluerunt, posuerunt etiam nostras uoluntates, ne uidelicet non essent liberae, si subderentur necessitati. Si enim necessitas nostra illa dicenda est, quae non est in nostra potestate, sed etiam si nolimus efficit quod potest, sicut est necessitas mortis: manifestum est uoluntates nostras, quibus recte uel perperam uiuitur, sub tali necessitate non esse.

(B) Multa enim facimus, quae si nollemus, non utique faceremus. Quo primitus pertinet ipsum uelle; nam [1] si uolumus, est, si nolumus, non est; non enim uellemus, si nollemus. Si autem illa definitur esse necessitas, secundum quam dicimus necesse esse ut ita sit aliquid uel ita fiat, nescio quur eam timeamus, ne nobis libertatem auferat uoluntatis. Neque enim et uitam Dei et praescientiam Dei sub necessitate ponimus, si dicamus necesse esse Deum semper uiuere et cuncta praescire; sicut nec potestas eius minuitur, cum dicitur mori fallique non posse. [2] Sic enim hoc non potest, ut potius, si posset, minoris esset utique potestatis.

(C) [3] Recte quippe omnipotens dicitur, qui tamen mori et falli non potest. Dicitur enim omnipotens faciendo quod uult, non patiendo quod non uult; quod ei si accideret, nequaquam esset omnipotens. Unde propterea quaedam non potest, quia omnipotens est. Sic etiam cum dicimus necesse esse, ut, cum uolumus, libero uelimus arbitrio: et uerum procul dubio dicimus, et non ideo ipsum liberum arbitrium necessitati subicimus, quae adimit libertatem. Sunt igitur nostrae uoluntates et ipsae faciunt, quidquid uolendo facimus, quod non fieret, si nollemus. Quidquid autem aliorum hominum uoluntate nolens quisque patitur, etiam

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CHAPTER X.

Whether the wills of men are subject to necessity.

1. si uolumus, est = "if we will, there is an act of willing."

2. Sic enim hoc non potest, etc. = "For the reason why God cannot die or be deceived is that, if He could, He would certainly be less powerful than He is."

3. Recte quippe omnipotens dicitur. All philosophical speculation upon God necessarily recognises certain limits of His power. Some of those limits A. defines here. He does not refer to the impossibility of the past, as human reason conceives it, being changeable by the Will of God. But his reconciliation of God's foreknowledge with man's freewill is as complete as it can be made under the conditions of humanity. The sentence which follows: *Quocirca nullo modo cogimur* (L), etc., is admirable, not only as a statement, but as a solution (so far as it is possible) of the problem which lies in the very nature of necessity and liberty.

sic uoluntas ualet, etsi non illius, tamen hominis uoluntas; sed potestas Dei.

(D) Nam si uoluntas tantum esset nec posset quod uellet, potentiore uoluntate inpediretur; nec sic tamen uoluntas nisi uoluntas esset, nec alterius, sed eius esset qui uellet, etsi non posset inplere quod uellet. Unde quidquid praeter suam uoluntatem patitur homo, non debet tribuere humanis uel angelicis uel cuiusquam creati spiritus uoluntatibus, sed eius potius, qui dat potestatem uolentibus.

(E) Non ergo propterea nihil est in nostra uoluntate, quia Deus praesciuit quid futurum esset in nostra uoluntate. Non enim, qui hoc praesciuit, nihil praesciuit. Porro si ille, qui praesciuit quid futurum esset in nostra uoluntate, non utique nihil, sed aliquid praesciuit, profecto et illo praesciente est aliquid in nostra uoluntate. Quocirca nullo modo cogimur aut retenta praescientia Dei tollere uoluntatis arbitrium aut retento uoluntatis arbitrio Deum (quod nefas est) negare praescium futurorum; sed utrumque amplectimur, utrumque fideliter et ueraciter confitemur; illud, ut bene credamus; hoc, ut bene uiuamus. [4]Male autem uiuitur, si de Deo non bene creditur.

(F) Unde absit a nobis eius negare praescientiam, ut libere uelimus, quo adiuuante sumus liberi uel erimus. Proinde non frustra sunt leges, obiurgationes, exhortationes, laudes et uituperationes, quia et ipsas futuras esse praesciuit, et ualent plurimum, quantum eas ualituras esse praesciuit, et preces ualent ad ea inpetranda, quae se precantibus concessurum esse praesciuit, et iuste praemia bonis factis et peccatis supplicia constituta sunt. Neque enim ideo peccat homo, quia Deus illum peccaturum esse praesciuit; immo ideo non dubitatur ipsum peccare cum peccat, quia ille, cuius praescientia falli non potest, non fatum, non fortunam, non aliquid aliud, sed ipsum peccaturum esse praesciuit. Qui si nolit, utique non peccat; sed si peccare noluerit, [5]etiam hoc ille praesciuit.

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4. Male autem uiuitur, etc. The connexion between belief and behaviour (as words like "miscreant" suggest) is true, at least if it be regarded on a sufficiently large scale; but it needs to be asserted, if at all, with extreme caution.

5. etiam hoc ille praesciuit. A.'s whole discussion of divine foreknowledge and human freewill is, I think, as convincing to-day as it was when it was written. The intervening centuries have neither increased nor lessened the inherent difficulty of the problem.

CAPUT XI.

DE UNIVERSALI PROVIDENTIA DEI, CUIUS LEGIBUS OMNIA CONTINENTUR.

(A) Deus itaque summus et uerus cum Uerbo suo et Spiritu sancto, [1]quae tria unum sunt, Deus unus omnipotens, creator et factor omnis animae adque omnis corporis, cuius sunt participatione felices, quicumque sunt ueritate, non uanitate felices, qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima et corpore, qui eum peccantem nec inpunitum esse permisit nec sine misericordia dereliquit; qui bonis et malis [2]essentiam etiam cum lapidibus, uitam seminalem etiam cum arboribus, uitam sensualem etiam cum pecoribus, uitam intellectualem cum solis angelis dedit; a quo est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo; a quo est mensura, numerus, pondus;

(B) A quo est quidquid naturaliter est, cuiuscumque generis est, cuiuslibet aestimationis est; a quo sunt semina formarum, formae seminum, motus seminum adque formarum; qui dedit et carni originem, pulchritudinem, ualetudinem, propagationis fecunditatem, membrorum dispositionem, [3]salutem concordiae; qui et animae inrationali dedit memoriam, sensum, adpetitum, rationali autem insuper mentem, intellegentiam, uoluntatem;

(C) Qui non solum caelum et terram, nec solum angelum et hominem, sed nec exigui et contemtibilis animantis uiscera nec auis pinnulam nec herbae flosculum nec arboris folium sine suarum partium conuenientia et quadam ueluti pace dereliquit: nullo modo est credendus regna hominum eorumque dominationes et seruitutes a suae prouidentiae legibus alienas esse uoluisse.

CAPUT XII.

QUIBUS MORIBUS ANTIQUI ROMANI MERUERINT, UT DEUS VERUS, QUAMVIS NON EUM COLERENT, EORUM AUGERET IMPERIUM.

(A) Proinde uideamus, quos Romanorum mores et quam ob causam Deus uerus ad augendum imperium adiuuare dignatus

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CHAPTER XI.

Of the universal Providence of God, by whose laws all things are contained.

1. quae tria unum sunt. The neuter *unum* is a reminiscence of St. John x. 30, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν (*Ego et Pater unum sumus*, Vulg.), "one essence, not one person" (Westcott).

2. essentiam = "existence."

3. salutem concordiae = "the health which comes of harmony between its different parts"; but *salutem concordiam* (although it breaks the sequence of Genitives) would, if it were supported by the MSS., be a more easily intelligible reading.

est, in cuius potestate sunt etiam regna terrena. Quod autem ut absolutius disserere possemus, ad hoc pertinentem etiam superiorem librum conscripsimus, quod in hac re potestas nulla sit eorum deorum, quos etiam rebus nugatoriis colendos putarunt, et praesentis uoluminis partes superiores, quas huc usque perduximus, de fati quaestione tollenda, ne quisquam, cui iam persuasum esset non illorum deorum cultu Romanum imperium propagatum adque seruatum, nescio cui fato potius id tribueret quam Dei summi potentissimae uoluntati.

(B) Ueteres igitur primique Romani, quantum eorum docet et commendat historia, quamuis ut aliae gentes, excepta una populi Hebraeorum, deos falsos colerent et non Deo uictimas, sed daemoniis immolarent, tamen *"laudis auidi, pecuniae liberales erant, gloriam ingentem, diuitias honestas uolebant"; [1]hanc ardentissime dilexerunt, propter hanc uiuere uoluerunt, pro hac emori non dubitauerunt; ceteras cupiditates huius unius ingenti cupiditate presserunt. Ipsam denique patria suam, quoniam seruire uidebatur inglorium, dominari uero adque imperare gloriosum, prius [2]omni studio liberam, deinde dominam esse concupiuerunt.

(C) Hinc est quod regalem dominationem non ferentes †"annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecerunt," qui [3]consules appellati sunt a consulendo, non reges aut domini a regnando adque dominando; cum et reges utique a regendo dicti melius uideantur, ut regnum a regibus, reges autem, ut dictum est, a regendo; sed fastus regius non disciplina putata est regentis uel beneuolentia consulentis, sed superbia dominantis. Expulso itaque rege Tarquinio et consulibus institutis secutum est, quod idem auctor in Romanorum laudibus posuit, quod ‡"ciuitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum breui creuerit; tanta cupido gloriae incesserat." Ista ergo laudis auiditas et cupido gloriae multa illa miranda fecit, laudabilia scilicet adque gloriosa secundum hominum existimationem.

CHAPTER XII.

What was the moral character by which the ancient Romans deserved that the true God, although they did not worship him, should extend their Empire.

1. hanc ardentissime dilexerunt. "*hanc*" is "*gloriam,*" as the full passage of Sallust clearly shows.

2. omni studio="with all their hearts," the words to be taken with *concupiuerunt.*

3. consules . . . a consulendo. The derivation of *consul* from *consulere* is pretty well taken for granted by Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 80) and Cicero ("De Orat.," ii. 39, 165; "De Legg.," iii. 3, 8). But Curtius disputes it ("Greek Etymology," § 538).

* Sallust, "Catil.," 7. † "Catil.," 6. ‡ "Catil.," 7.

(D) Laudat idem Sallustius temporibus suis magnos et praeclaros uiros, [4]Marcum Catonem et [5]Gaium Caesarem, *dicens quod diu illa res publica non habuit quemquam "uirtute magnum," sed sua memoria fuisse illos duos ingenti uirtute, diuersis moribus. In laudibus autem Caesaris posuit, quod sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum nouum exoptabat, ubi uirtus enitescere posset. Ita fiebat in uotis uirorum uirtute magnorum, ut excitaret in bellum miseras gentes et flagello agitaret Bellona sanguineo, ut esset ubi uirtus eorum enitesceret.

(E) Hoc illa profecto laudis auiditas et gloriae cupido faciebat. Amore itaque primitus libertatis, post etiam dominationis et cupiditate laudis et gloriae multa magna fecerunt. Reddit eis utriusque rei testimonium etiam poeta insignis illorum; inde quippe ait:

†Nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
Accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

(F) Tunc itaque magnum illis fuit aut fortiter mori aut liberos uiuere. Sed cum esset adepta libertas, tanta cupido gloriae incesserat, ut parum esset sola libertas, nisi et dominatio quaereretur, dum pro magno habetur, quod uelut loquente Ioue idem poeta dicit:

‡Quin aspera Iuno,
Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet mecumque fouebit
Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Ueniet lustris labentibus aetas,
Cum [6]domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
Seruitio premet ac uictis dominabitur Argis.

(G) Quae quidem Vergilius Iouem inducens tamquam futura praedicentem ipsa iam facta recolebat cernebatque praesentia; uerum propterea commemorare illa uolui, ut ostenderem dominationem [7]post libertatem sic habuisse Romanos, ut in eorum magnis laudibus poneretur.

(H) Hinc est et illud eiusdem poetae, quod, cum artibus aliarum gentium eas ipsas proprias Romanorum artes regnandi adque imperandi et subigendi ac debellandi populos anteponeret, ait:

§Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, uiuos ducent de marmore uultus,
Orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:

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4. Marcum Catonem—Cato of Utica.

5. Gaium Caesarem—Julius Caesar.

6. domus Assaraci—*sc.* the Romans, as legendary descendants of the Trojan King Assaracus, the great grandfather of Aeneas.

7. post libertatem = "next only to liberty."

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* "Catil.," 53.
† Virg., "Aen.," viii. 646-8.
‡ "Aen.," i. 279-85.
§ "Aen.," vi. 847-53.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(Hae tibi erunt artes) [8]pacique inponere mores,
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

Has artes illi tanto peritius exercebant, quanto minus se uoluptatibus dabant et eneruationi animi et corporis in concupiscendis et augendis diuitiis et per illas moribus corrumpendis, rapiendo miseris ciuibus, largiendo scaenicis turpibus.

(I) [9]Qui tales iam morum labe superabant adque abundabant, quando scribebat ista Sallustius canebatque Vergilius, non illis artibus ad honores et gloriam, sed dolis adque fallaciis [10]ambiebant. Unde idem dicit: *"Sed primo magis ambitio quam auaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen uitium propius uirtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignauus aeque sibi exoptant; sed ille," inquit, "uera uia nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis adque fallaciis contendit."

(K) Hae sunt illae bonae artes, per uirtutem scilicet, non per fallacem ambitionem ad honorem et gloriam et imperium peruenire; quae tamen bonus et ignauus aeque sibi exoptant; sed ille, id est bonus, uera uia nititur. Via uirtus est, qua nititur tamquam ad possessionis finem, id est ad gloriam honorem, imperium. Hoc insitum habuisse Romanos etiam deorum aput illos aedes indicant, quas coniunctissimas constituerunt, [11]Virtutis et Honoris, pro dis habentes quae dantur a Deo. Unde intellegi potest quem finem uolebant esse uirtutis et quo eam referebant qui boni erant, ad honorem scilicet; nam mali nec habebant eam, quamuis honorem habere cuperent, quem malis artibus conabantur adipisci, id est dolis adque fallaciis.

(L) Melius laudatus est Cato. De illo quippe ait: "†Quo minus petebat gloriam, eo illum magis sequebatur." Quando quidem gloria est, cuius illi cupiditate flagrabant, iudicium hominum bene de hominibus opinantium; et ideo melior est uirtus, quae

8. pacique inponere mores. The true text of Virgil gives *pacis*.

9. [Unde]—before *Qui tales*, etc., must be omitted; it seems to be an accidental repetition of the *Unde* which begins the next sentence.

10. ambiebant must bear the same sense as *ambitio;* but the verb generally suggests, more than the noun, a desire of gaining rather low ends by rather low means. Cp. ix. 9 A. *Ambitio* (O below)—"self-seeking" or "intrigue." A striking passage is "Confess.," xlii. *Quem inuenirem qui me reconciliarst tibi? Ambiendum mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? Quibus sacramentis?*

11. Virtutis et Honoris—associated iv. 24 B: also as deities of the same temple by Livy (xxvii. 25) and Cicero ("iv. in Verr.," 54, 123). "Near the Porta Capena stood the Temples of Honour and Virtue dedicated by Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse" (Burn., "Rome and The Campagna," ch. iv., p. 49). There was a difficulty raised by the *pontifices* about the twofold dedication of the same temple, as Livy (*l.c.*) relates.

* Sallust, "Catil.," 11. † "Catil.," 54.

humano testimonio contenta non est nisi conscientiae suae. Unde dicit apostolus: **Nam [12]gloria nostra haec est: testimonium conscientiae nostrae;* et alio loco: †*Opus autem suum probet unusquisque, et tunc [13]in semet ipso tantum gloriam habebit et non in altero.*

(M) Gloriam ergo et honorem et imperium, quae sibi exoptabant et quo bonis artibus peruenire nitebantur boni, non debet sequi uirtus, sed ipsa uirtutem. Neque enim est uera uirtus, nisi quae ad eum finem tendit, ubi est bonum hominis, quo melius non est. Unde et honores, quos petiuit Cato, petere non debuit, sed eos ciuitas ob eius uirtutem non petenti dare.

(N) Sed cum [14]illa memoria duo Romani essent uirtute magni, Caesar et Cato, longe uirtus Catonis ueritati uidetur propinquior fuisse quam Caesaris. Proinde qualis esset illo tempore ciuitas et antea qualis fuisset, uideamus in ipsa sententia Catonis: ‡"Nolite," inquit, "existimare maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parua magnam fecisse. Si ita esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus. Quippe sociorum adque ciuium, praeterea armorum et equorum maior copia nobis quam illis est.

(O) Sed alia fuere quae illos magnos fecerunt, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris iustum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam adque auaritiam, publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam; laudamus diuitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia uirtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi uos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi uoluptatibus, hic pecuniae a ut gratiae seruitis, eo fit [15]ut inpetus fiat in uacuam rem publicam."

(P) Qui audit haec Catonis uerba siue Sallustii, putat, quales laudantur Romani ueteres, omnes eos tales tunc fuisse uel plures. Non ita est; alioquin uera non essent, quae ipse item scribit, ea quae commemoraui §in secundo libro huius operis, ubi dicit, iniurias ualidiorum et ob eas discessionem plebis a patribus aliasque dissensiones domi fuisse iam inde a principio, neque amplius aequo et modesto iure actum quam expulsis regibus quamdiu metus a Tarquinio fuit, donec bellum graue, quod propter ipsum cum Etruria susceptum fuerat, finiretur;

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12. gloria=καύχησις.
13. in semet ipso=εἰς ἑαυτόν.
14. illa memoria—*sc.* in the lifetime of Sallust.
15. ut inpetus fiat, etc.="that an assault is made upon the State when it is left defenceless."

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* 2 Cor. i. 12. † Gal. vi. 4.
‡ Sallust, "Catil.," 52. § ii. 18.

(Q) Postea uero seruili imperio patres exercuisse plebem, regio more uerberasse, agro pepulisse et [16]ceteris expertibus solos egisse in imperio; quarum discordiarum, dum illi dominari uellent, illi seruire nollent, finem fuisse bello Punico secundo, quia rursus grauis metus coepit urguere adque ab illis perturbationibus alia maiore cura cohibere animos inquietos et ad concordiam reuocare ciuilem.

(R) Sed per quosdam paucos, qui [17]pro suo modo boni erant, magna administrabantur adque, illis toleratis ac temperatis malis, paucorum bonorum prouidentia res illa crescebat; sicut *idem historicus dicit multa sibi legenti et audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari adque terra praeclara facinora fecerit, libuisse adtendere quae res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset; quoniam sciebat saepenumero parua manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse Romanos, cognouerat paruis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus;

(S) Sibique multa agitanti constare dixit, paucorum ciuium egregiam uirtutem cuncta patrauisse, eoque factum ut diuitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. †"Sed postquam luxu adque desidia," inquit, "ciuitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sui imperatorum adque magistratuum uitia sustentabat." Paucorum igitur uirtus ad gloriam, honorem, imperium uera uia, id est ipsa uirtute, nitentium etiam a Catone laudata est. Hinc erat domi industria, quam commemorauit Cato, ut aerarium esset opulentum, tenues res priuatae. Unde corruptis moribus uitium e contrario posuit, publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam.

CAPUT XIII.

DE AMORE LAUDIS, QUI, CUM SIT VITIUM, OB HOC VIRTUS PUTATUR, QUIA PER IPSAM VITIA MAIORA COHIBENTUR.

(A) Quamob rem [1]quum diu fuissent [2]regna Orientis inlustria, uoluit Deus et Occidentale fieri, quod tempore esset posterius, sed imperii latitudine et magnitudine inlustrius, idque talibus po-

16. ceteris expertibus="to the exclusion of everybody else."
17. pro suo modo boni="comparatively good."

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the love of praise, which, although if it is a vice, yet is accounted a virtue, because it is itself the means of restraining greater vices.

1. quum diu. The MSS. vary between *quum* and *quam;* but *quam*, if it were the true reading, would not give a true sense.

2. regna Orientis—such as the Assyrian, Median, and Persian empires (iv. 7).

* Sallust, "Catil.," 53. † *Ibid.*

tissimum concessit hominibus ad domanda grauia mala multarum gentium, qui causa honoris laudis et gloriae consuluerunt patriae, in qua ipsam gloriam requirebant, salutemque eius saluti suae praeponere non dubitauerunt, pro isto uno uitio, id est amore laudis, pecuniae cupiditatem et multa alia uitia conprimentes.

(B) Nam sanius uidet, qui et amorem laudis uitium esse cognoscit, quod nec poetam fugit Horatium, qui ait:

> *Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula, quae te
> Ter [3]pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.

Idemque in carmine lyrico ad reprimendam dominandi libidinem ita cecinit:

> †Latius regnes auidum domando
> Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
> Gadibus iungas et [4]uterque Poenus
> Seruiat uni.

(C) Uerum tamen qui libidines turpiores fide pietatis inpetrato Spiritu sancto et [5]amore intellegibilis pulchritudinis non refrenant, melius saltem cupiditate humanae laudis et gloriae, non quidem iam sancti, sed minus turpes sunt. Etiam Tullius hinc dissimulare non potuit in eisdem ‡libris quos de re publica scripsit, ubi loquitur de instituendo principe ciuitatis, quem dicit alendum esse gloria, et consequenter commemorat maiores suos multa mira adque praeclara gloriae cupiditate fecisse.

(D) Huic igitur uitio non solum non resistebant, uerum etiam id excitandum et accendendum esse censebant, putantes hoc utile esse rei publicae. Quamquam nec in ipsis philosophiae libris Tullius [6]ab hac peste dissimulet, ubi eam luce clarius confitetur. Cum enim de studiis talibus loqueretur, quae utique sectanda sunt [7]fine ueri boni, non uentositate laudis humanae, hanc intulit uniuersalem

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3. **pure**="after purification."

4. **uterque Poenus**—*sc.* the Carthaginians on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, in Europe and Africa. The phrase only repeats in effect the preceding words:

> *Libyam remotis*
> *Gadibus iungas.*

5. **amore intelligibilis pulchritudinis**—a Platonic or Neo-Platonic phrase="the love of ideal beauty" (*ἰδέα*), but a phrase fully capable of a Christian application.

6. **ab hac peste dissimulet**="disguises the pernicious doctrine." With *dissimulare ab* cp. *hinc dissimulare* (above).

7. **fine ueri boni**, etc.="with the true good as the end in view, not the inflated desire of human praise."

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* "Epist.," i. 1, 36-7. † "Carm.," ii. 2, 9-12.
‡ "De Re Publ.," v. 75.

generalemque sententiam: *"Honos alit artes, omnesque accenduntur ad studia gloria, iacentque ea semper, quae aput quosque inprobantur."

CAPUT XIV.

DE RESECANDO AMORE LAUDIS HUMANAE, QUONIAM IUSTORUM GLORIA OMNIS IN DEO SIT.

(A) Huic igitur cupiditati melius resistitur sine dubitatione quam ceditur. Tanto enim quisque est Deo similior, quanto et ab hac inmunditia mundior. Quae in hac uita etsi non funditus eradicatur ex corde, quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat, saltem cupiditas gloriae superetur dilectione iustitiae: ut, si alicubi iacent quae aput quosque inprobantur, si bona, si recta sunt, etiam ipse amor humanae laudis erubescat et cedat amori ueritatis.

(B) Tam enim est hoc uitium inimicum piae fidei, si maior in corde sit cupiditas gloriae quam Dei timor uel amor, ut Dominus diceret: †*Quo modo potestis credere gloriam ab inuicem* [1] *expectantes et gloriam quae a solo Deo est non quaerentes?* Item de quibusdam, qui in eum crediderant et uerebantur palam confiteri, ait euangelista: ‡*Dilexerunt gloriam hominum magis quam Dei.*

(C) Quod sancti apostoli non fecerunt; qui cum in his locis praedicarent Christi nomen, ubi non solum inprobabatur [2](sicut ille ait: "iacentque ea semper, quae aput quosque inprobantur"), uerum etiam summae detestationis habebatur, tenentes quod audierant a bono magistro eodemque medico mentium: §*Si quis me negauerit coram hominibus, negabo eum coram patre meo, qui in caelis est, uel* ‖*coram angelis Dei*, inter maledicta et obprobria, inter grauissimas persecutiones crudelesque poenas non sunt deterriti a praedicatione salutis humanae tanto fremitu offensionis humanae.

(D) Et quod eos diuina facientes adque dicentes diuineque uiuentes debellatis quodam modo cordibus duris adque introducta pace iustitiae ingens in ecclesia Christi gloria consecuta est: non in ea tamquam in suae uirtutis fine quieuerunt, sed eam quoque ipsam ad Dei gloriam referentes, cuius gratia tales erant, isto quoque fomite eos, quibus consulebant, ad amorem illius, a quo et ipsi tales fierent, accendebant.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the pruning of the love of human praise, because the glory of the just is all in God.

1. expectantes=λαμβάνοντες.

2. sicut ille ait—*ille* is Cicero, as quoted at the end of the last chapter.

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* "Tusc. Disp.," i. 2, 4. † John v. 44.
‡ John xii. 43. § Matt. x. 33. ‖ Luke xii. 9.

(E) Namque ne propter humanam gloriam boni essent, docuerat eos magister illorum dicens: **Cauete facere [3]iustitiam uestram coram hominibus, ut uideamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem [4]non habebitis aput patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est.* Sed rursus ne hoc peruerse intellegentes hominibus placere metuerent minusque prodessent [5]latendo quod boni sunt, demonstrans quo fine innotescere deberent: *†Luceant, inquit, opera uestra coram hominibus, ut uideant bona facta uestra et glorificent patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est.* Non ergo *ut uideamini ab eis*, id est hac intentione, ut eos ad uos conuerti uelitis, quia non per uos aliquid estis; sed *ut glorificent patrem uestrum, qui in caelis est*, ad quem conuersi fiant quod estis.

(F) Hos secuti sunt martyres, qui [6]Scaeuolas et Curtios et Decios non sibi inferendo poenas, sed inlatas ferendo, et uirtute uera, quoniam uera pietate, et innumerabili multitudine superarunt. Sed cum illi essent in ciuitate terrena, quibus propositus erat omnium pro illa officiorum finis incolumitas eius et regnum non in caelo, sed in terra; non in uita aeterna, sed in decessione morientium et successione morturorum: quid aliud amarent quam gloriam, qua uolebant etiam post mortem tamquam uiuere in ore laudantium ?

CAPUT XV.

DE MERCEDE TEMPORALI, QUAM DEUS REDDIDIT BONIS MORIBUS ROMANORUM.

(A) Quibus ergo non erat daturus Deus uitam aeternam cum sanctis angelis suis in sua ciuitate caelesti, ad cuius societatem pietas uera perducit, quae non exhibet seruitutem religionis, quam [1]λατρείαν Graeci uocant, nisi uni uero Deo, si neque hanc eis

3. iustitiam uestram. A. follows the true reading, δικαιοσύνην, as opposed to ἐλεημοσύνην (Text Rec.).

4. non habebitis=οὐκ ἔχετε.

5. latendo quod boni sunt="through the concealment of their goodness"; lit., "because the fact of their goodness is concealed."

6. Scaeuolas et Curtios et Decios="men like Scaevola, Curtius and the Decii." See notes on iv. 20 c.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the temporal reward which God granted to the good moral character of the Romans.

1. λατρείαν—properly "hired service," and then, especially the service of the gods or, as it is now called, divine service. See Plato ("Apol.," p. 23 B). In the New Testament it denotes the public religious worship of the Jews—*e.g.*, Rom. ix. 4 (ὧν . . . ἡ λατρεία): cp. Hebr. ix. 1. In A. the idea of "hired service" or "service," whatever its nature may be, clings to λατρεία—*e.g.*, "Praef.," vi. A. But he expressly defines it as *ea seruitus . . . quae Deo debetur et Graece proprie* λατρεία *dicitur* (vii. 32 B). As service rendered to God, it is contrasted with service rendered to men, which is δουλεία (x. 1 D, where see note).

* Matt. vi. 11. † Matt. v. 16.

terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet; non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est uirtutibus, quibus ad tantam gloriam peruenire nitebantur. De talibus enim, qui propter hoc boni aliquid facere uidentur, ut glorificentur ab hominibus, etiam Dominus ait: **Amen dico uobis, perceperunt mercedem suam.*

(B) Sic et isti priuatas res suas pro re communi, hoc est re publica, et pro eius aerario contemserunt, auaritiae restiterunt, consuluerunt patriae consilio libero, [2]"neque delicto" secundum suas leges "neque libidini obnoxii"; his omnibus artibus tamquam uera uia nisi sunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam; honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges inposuerunt multis gentibus, hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt paene in omnibus gentibus: non est quod de summi et ueri Dei iustititia conquerantur; [3]*perceperunt mercedem suam.*

CAPUT XVI.

DE MERCEDE SANCTORUM CIVIUM CIVITATIS AETERNAE, QUIBUS UTILIA SUNT ROMANORUM EXEMPLA VIRTUTUM.

(A) Merces autem sanctorum longe alia est etiam hic obprobria sustinentium pro ciuitate Dei, quae mundi huius dilectoribus odiosa est. Illa ciuitas sempiterna est; ibi nullus oritur, quia nullus moritur; ibi est uera et plena felicitas, non dea, sed donum Dei; inde fidei pignus accepimus, quamdiu peregrinantes eius pulchritudini suspiramus; ibi non *oritur †sol super bonos et malos*, sed sol iustitiae solos protegit bonos; ibi non erit magna industria ditare publicum aerarium priuatis rebus angustis, ubi thensaurus communis est ueritatis.

(B) Proinde non solum ut talis merces talibus hominibus redderetur Romanum imperium ad humanam gloriam dilatatum est; uerum etiam ut ciues aeternae illius ciuitatis, quamdiu hic [1]peregrinantur, diligenter et sobrie illa intueantur exempla et uideant quanta dilectio debeatur supernae patriae propter uitam aeternam, si tantum a suis ciuibus terrena dilecta est propter hominum gloriam.

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2. neque delicto . . . neque libidini obnoxii—the language of Sallust quoted v. 12 A.

3. perceperunt=ἀπέχουσι.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the reward of the saints, the citizens of the eternal city, to whom the virtues of the Romans are useful as examples.

1. peregrinantur. See note on "Praef.," 1 A.

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* Matt. vi. 2, 5. † Matt. v. 45.

CAPUT XVII.

QUO FRUCTU ROMANI BELLA GESSERINT ET QUANTUM HIS QUOS VICERE CONTULERINT

(A) Quantum enim pertinet ad hanc uitam mortalium, quae paucis diebus ducitur et finitur, [1]quid interest sub cuius imperio uiuat homo moriturus, si illi qui imperant ad inpia et iniqua non cogant? Aut uero aliquid nocuerunt Romani gentibus, quibus subiugatis inposuerunt leges suas, nisi quia id factum est ingenti strage bellorum? Quod si concorditer fieret, id ipsum fieret meliore successu; sed nulla esset gloria triumphantium. Neque enim et Romani non uiuebant sub legibus suis, quas ceteris inponebant.

(B) Hoc si fieret sine Marte et Bellona, ut nec victoria locum haberet, nemine uincente ubi nemo pugnauerat: nonne Romanis et ceteris gentibus una esset eademque condicio? praesertim si mox fieret, quod postea gratissime adque humanissime factum est, ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes [2]societatem acciperent ciuitatis et Romani ciues essent, ac sic esset omnium, quod erat ante paucorum; [3]tantum quod plebs illa, quae suos agros non haberet, de publico uiueret: qui pastus eius per bonos administratores rei publicae gratius a concordibus praestaretur quam uictis extorqueretur.

(C) Nam quid intersit ad incolumitatem bonosque mores, ipsas certe hominum dignitates, quod alii uicerunt, alii uicti sunt, omnino non uideo, praeter illum gloriae humanae inanissimum fastum, in quo "perceperunt mercedem suam," qui eius ingenti cupidine arserunt et ardentia bella gesserunt. Numquid enim illorum agri tributa non soluunt? Numquid eis licet discere, quod aliis non licet? Numquid non multi senatores sunt in aliis terris, qui Romam ne facie quidem norunt? Tolle iactantiam, et omnes homines quid sunt nisi homines?

(D) Quod si peruersitas saeculi admitteret, ut honoratiores essent quique meliores; nec sic pro magno haberi debuit honor humanus, quia nullius est ponderis fumus. Sed utamur etiam in his rebus

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CHAPTER XVII.

What was the profit which the Romans gained by their wars and how much profit they conferred on them when they conquered.

1. quid interest sub, etc. A. speaks here in the spirit of Marcus Aurelius.

2. societatem acciperent ciuitatis. It was the wise policy of Roman statesmanship, both republican and imperial, to extend the range of citizenship. St. Paul's is an instance showing how wide the extension came to be.

3. tantum quod="except that." Cp. vi. 5 E.

beneficio Domini Dei nostri; consideremus quanta contemserint, quae pertulerint, quas cupiditates subegerint pro humana gloria, qui eam tamquam mercedem talium uirtutum accipere meruerunt, (E) et ualeat nobis etiam hoc ad obprimendam superbiam, ut, cum illa ciuitas, in qua nobis regnare promissum est, tantum ab hac distet, quantum distat caelum a terra, a temporali laetitia uita aeterna, ab inanibus laudibus solida gloria, a societate mortalium societas angelorum, a lumine solis et lunae lumen eius qui solem fecit et lunam, nihil sibi magnum fecisse uideantur tantae patriae ciues, si pro illa adipiscenda fecerint boni operis aliquid uel mala aliqua sustinuerint, cum illi pro hac terrena iam adepta tanta fecerint, tanta perpessi sint, praesertim quia remissio peccatorum, quae ciues ad aeternam colligit patriam, habet aliquid, cui per umbram quandam simile fuit asylum illud [4]Romuleum, quo multitudinem, qua illa ciuitas conderetur, quorumlibet delictorum congregauit inpunitas.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUAM ALIENI A IACTANTIA ESSE DEBEANT CHRISTIANI, SI ALIQUID FECERINT PRO DILECTIONE PATRIAE AETERNAE, CUM TANTA ROMANI GESSERINT PRO HUMANA GLORIA ET CIVITATE TERRENA.

(A) Quid ergo magnum est pro illa aeterna caelestique patria cuncta saeculi huius quamlibet iucunda blandimenta contemnere si pro hac temporali adque terrena filios [1]Brutus potuit et occidere, quod [2]illa facere neminem cogit ? Sed certe difficilius est filios interimere, quam quod pro ista faciendum est, ea, quae filiis congreganda uidebantur adque seruanda, uel donare pauperibus uel, si existat tentatio, quae id pro fide adque iustitia fieri conpellat, amittere.

(B) Felices enim uel nos uel filios nostros non diuitiae terrenae faciunt aut nobis uiuentibus amittendae aut nobis mortuis a quibus nescimus uel forte a quibus nolumus possidendae; sed Deus felices facit, qui est mentium uera opulentia. Bruto autem, quia filios

4. asylum illud Romuleum. See note on i. 34 A. Livy's narrative of the original asylum (i. 8) throws some light on A.'s words: *quo multitudinem . . . quorumlibet delictorum congregauit inpunitas.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

How far removed from boasting Christians ought to be, if they have done anything for love of their eternal country, in view of all that the Romans have achieved for human glory and an earthly city.

1. Brutus. See note on iii. 16 B and C, where A. quotes the same lines of Virgil as here. The action of Brutus is there called *detestanda iniquitas.*

2. illa—sc. *aeterna caelestisque patria.* So *ista* below.

occidit, infelicitatis perhibet testimonium etiam poeta laudator. Ait enim:

*Natosque pater noua bella mouentes
Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate uocabit
Infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores.

Sed uersu sequenti consolatus est infelicem:

Uincit amor patriae laudumque inmensa cupido.

(C) Haec sunt duo illa, libertas et cupiditas laudis humanae, quae ad facta conpulit miranda Romanos. Si ergo pro libertate morturorum et cupiditate laudum, quae a mortalibus expetuntur, occidi filii a patre potuerunt: quid magnum est, si pro uera libertate, quae nos ab iniquitatis et mortis et diaboli dominatu liberos facit, nec cupiditate humanarum laudum, sed caritate liberandorum hominum, non a Tarquinio rege, sed a daemonibus er daemonum principe, non filii occiduntur, sed [3]Christi pauperes inter filios conputantur ?

(D) Si alius etiam Romanus princeps, cognomine [4]Torquatus, filium, non quia contra patriam, sed etiam pro patria, tamen quia contra imperium suum, id est contra quod imperauerat pater imperator, ab hoste prouocatus iuuenali ardore pugnauerat, licet uicisset, occidit, ne plus mali esset in exemplo imperii contemti quam boni in gloria hostis occisi; ut quid se iactent, qui pro inmortalis patriae legibus omnia, quae multo minus quam filii diliguntur, bona terrena contemnunt ?

(E) Si [5]Furius Camillus etiam ingratam patriam, a cuius ceruicibus acerrimorum hostium Veientium iugum depulerat damnatusque ab aemulis fuerat, a Gallis iterum liberauit, quia non habebat potiorem, ubi posset uiuere gloriosius; quur extollatur, uelut grande aliquid fecerit, qui forte in ecclesia ab inimicis carnalibus grauissimam exhonorationis passus iniuriam non se [6]ad eius hostes haereticos transtulit aut aliquam contra illam ipse haeresem condidit, sed eam potius quantum ualuit ab haereticorum perniciosissima prauitate defendit, cum alia non sit, non ubi uiuatur in hominum gloria, sed ubi uita adquiratur aeterna ?

(F) Si [7]Mucius, ut cum Porsenna rege pax fieret, qui grauissimo bello Romanos premebat, quia Porsennam ipsum occidere non po-

3. Christi pauperes—one of such phrases as indicate the new humanity which lay in the religion of the Cross.

4. Torquatus. See note on i. 23 B.

5. Furius Camillus. See note on ii. 17 D.

6. ad eius hostes haereticos transtulit. Coques cites the names of Tertullian, Valentinus, Novatus, etc., as illustrating A.'s words.

7. Mucius. See note on iv. 20 C.

* Virg., "Aen.," vi. 820-3.

tuit et pro eo alterum deceptus occidit, in ardentem aram ante eius oculos dexteram extendit, dicens multos tales, qualem illum uideret, in eius exitium coniurasse; cuius ille fortitudinem et coniurationem talium perhorrescens sine ulla dubitatione se ab illo bello facta pace conpescuit: quis [8]regno caelorum inputaturus est merita sua, si pro illo non unam manum [9]neque hoc sibi ultro faciens, sed persequente aliquo patiens totum flammis corpus inpenderit ?

(G) Si [10]Curtius armatus equo concito in abruptum hiatum terrae se praecipitem dedit, deorum suorum oraculis seruiens, quoniam iusserant, ut illuc id quod Romani haberent optimum mitteretur, nec aliud intellegere potuerunt, quam uiris armisque se excellere, unde uidelicet oportebat, ut deorum iussis in illum interitum uir praecipitaretur armatus: quid se magnum pro aeterna patria fecisse dicturus est, qui aliquem fidei suae passus inimicum non se ultro in talem mortem mittens, sed ab illo missus obierit; quando quidem a Domino suo eodemque rege patriae suae certius oraculum accepit: **Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt, animam autem non possunt occidere ?*

(H) Si se occidendos certis uerbis quodam modo consecrantes [11]Decii deuouerunt, ut illis cadentibus et iram deorum sanguine suo placantibus Romanus liberaretur exercitus; nullo modo superbient sancti martyres, tamquam dignum aliquid pro illius patriae participatione fecerint, ubi aeterna est et uera felicitas, si usque ad sui sanguinis effusionem non solum suos fratres, pro quibus fundebatur, uerum et ipsos inimicos, a quibus fundebatur, †sicut eis praeceptum est, diligentes [12]caritatis fide et fidei caritate certarunt ?

(I) Si [13]Marcus Puluillus dedicans [14]aedem Iouis Iunonis Mineruae

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8. regno caelorum inputaturus est merita sua = "to reckon his merits as claims upon the kingdom of heaven." *Inputo* is a term of business: it denotes the entering of some item on the debit side of an account, and so the establishing of a demand which must be satisfied. *Pereunt horae et inputantur.*

9. neque hoc sibi ultro faciens = "and even this not by his own voluntary act."

10. Curtius. See note on iv. 20 c.

11. Decii. See note on iv. 20 c.

12. caritatis . . . caritate. In A. (as in Vulg.—*e.g.*, 1 Cor. xiii.) *caritas* is often the equivalent of *ἀγαπή*; but whatever may have been, in the first Christian century, the association of *amor*, there was no sufficient reason why the Translators of the Authorised Version should treat the English "love" as a word of debased or debasing connotation.

13. Marcus Puluillus. The story is told by Livy (ii. 8). For the deceit practised upon M. Horatius Puluillus the partisans of his colleague in the Consulship, P. Valerius Publicola, were responsible (Plutarch, "Publicola," 14). Plutarch gives the words of Puluillus as *ῥίψατε τοίνυν τὸν νεκρὸν ὅποι βούλησθε, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ προσίεμαι τὸ πένθος.*

14. aedem Iouis Iunonis Mineruae. Livy mentions only *in Capitolio Iouis aedes*; Plutarch, *τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διός.*

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* Matt. x. 28. † Matt. v. 44.

falso sibi ab inuidis morte filii nuntiata, ut illo nuntio perturbatus abscederet adque ita dedicationis gloriam collega eius consequeretur, ita contemsit, ut eum etiam proici insepultum iuberet (sic in eius corde orbitatis dolorem gloriae cupiditas uicerat): quid magnum se pro euangelii sancti praedicatione, qua ciues supernae patriae de diuersis liberantur et colliguntur erroribus, fecisse dicturus est, cui Dominus de sepultura patris sui sollicito ait: **Sequere me et sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos ?*

(K) Si [15]Marcus Regulus, ne crudelissimos hostes iurando falleret, ad eos ab ipsa Roma reuersus est, quoniam, sicut Romanis eum tenere uolentibus respondisse fertur, postea quam Afris seruierat, dignitatem illic honesti ciuis habere non posset, eumque Carthaginienses, quoniam contra eos in Romano senatu egerat, grauissimis suppliciis necauerunt: qui cruciatus non sunt pro fide illius patriae contemnendi, ad cuius beatitudinem fides ipsa perducit ? aut †[16]quid retribuetur Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit, si pro fide quae illi debetur talia fuerit homo passus, qualia pro fide quam perniciosissimis inimicis debebat passus est Regulus ?

(L) Quo modo se audebit extollere de uoluntaria paupertate Christianus, ut in huius uitae peregrinatione expeditior ambulet uiam, quae perducit ad patriam, ubi uerae diuitiae Deus ipse est, cum audiat uel legat [17]Lucium Valerium, qui in suo defunctus est consulatu, usque adeo fuisse pauperem, ut nummis a populo conlatis eius sepultura curaretur ? audiat uel legat [18]Quintium Cincinnatum, cum quattuor iugera possideret et ea suis manibus coleret, ab aratro esse adductum, ut dictator fieret, maior utique honore quam consul, uictisque hostibus ingentem gloriam consecutum in eadem paupertate mansisse ?

(M) Aut quid se magnum fecisse praedicabit, qui nullo praemio mundi huius fuerit ab aeternae illius patriae societate seductus, cum [19]Fabricium didicerit tantis muneribus Pyrrhi, regis Epirotarum,

15. Marcus Regulus. See note on i. 15 A. It is evident from *D.C.D.*, as elsewhere, that the heroism of Regulus had made a deep impression on A.'s mind.

16. quid retribuetur, etc. = *τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ ὧν ἀνταπέδωκεν μοί*; (LXX).

17 Lucium Valerium. He was really P. Valerius Publicola (Livy, ii. 16). The story of his poverty at the time of his death is told by Valerius Maximus ("Dict. Fact. Memorab.," iv. 4, 1).

18. Quintium Cincinnatum—the famous General L. Quintius Cincinnatus, who was called from the plough to be dictator B.C. 458 in the Aequian War, and, as soon as he had defeated the enemy and delivered his country, abdicated his dictatorship (Livy, iii. 26-29; Valerius Maximus, "Dict. Fact. Memorab.," iv. 4, 7) and, as the Roman tradition ran, went quietly back to his plough.

19. Fabricium—C. Fabricius Luscinus, like Cincinnatus, one of the typical figures of Roman simplicity and integrity, showed himself proof against the

* Matt. viii. 22. † Ps. cxvi. 12.

promissa etiam quarta parte regni, a Romana ciuitate non potuisse deuelli ibique in sua paupertate priuatum manere maluisse ?

(N) Nam [20]illud quod [21]rem publicam, id est rem populi, rem patriae, rem communem, cum haberent opulentissimam adque ditissimam, sic ipsi in suis domibus pauperes erant, ut [22]quidam eorum, qui iam bis consul fuisset, ex illo senatu hominum pauperum pelleretur notatione censoria, quod decem pondo argenti in uasis habere conpertus est; ita idem ipsi pauperes erant, quorum triumphis publicum ditabatur aerarium:

(O) Nonne omnes Christiani, qui excellentiore proposito diuitias suas communes faciunt secundum id quod scriptum est *in actibus apostolorum, ut distribuatur unicuique sicut cuique opus est, et nemo dicat aliquid proprium, sed sint illis omnia communia, intellegunt se nulla ob hoc uentilari oportere iactantia, id faciendo pro obtinenda societate angelorum, cum paene tale aliquid illi fecerint pro conseruanda gloria Romanorum ?

(P) Haec et alia, si qua huius modi reperiuntur in litteris eorum, quando sic innotescerent, quando tanta fama praedicarentur, nisi Romanum imperium longe lateque porrectum magnificis successibus augeretur ? Proinde per illud imperium tam latum tamque diuturnum uirorumque tantorum uirtutibus praeclarum adque gloriosum et illorum intentioni merces quam quaerebant est reddita, et nobis proposita necessariae commonitionis exempla, ut, si uirtutes, quarum istae utcumque sunt similes, quas isti pro ciuitatis terrenae gloria tenuerunt, pro Dei gloriosissima ciuitate non tenuerimus, pudore pungamur; si tenuerimus, superbia non extollamur; quoniam, sicut dicit apostolus, †*indignae sunt passiones huius temporis* [23]*ad futuram gloriam, quae reuelabitur in nobis.*

(Q) Ad humanam uero gloriam praesentisque temporis satis digna uita aestimabatur illorum. Unde etiam Iudaei, qui Christum occiderunt, [24]reuelante testamento nouo quod in uetere uela-

seduction of Pyrrhus B.C. 280, as is told by Plutarch ("Pyrrhus," 20). Cp. Livy (xii. "Epit.").

20. illud quod rem publicam, etc. The sentence is a little anacoluthic. If *illud quod* were *si*, it would be regular.

21. rem publicam, id est rem populi—a definition which A. borrowed from Cicero. Cp. ii. 21 F. Here he adds *rem patriae, rem communem.*

22. quidam eorum—*sc.* P. Cornelius Rufinus, whose name was struck off the roll of the Senate by C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Aemilius Pappus B.C. 275. Cp. Livy (xiv. "Epit."); Valerius Maximus (ii. 9, 4); Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Attic.," iv. 8).

23. ad futuram gloriam, etc. = *πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.*

24. reuelante testamento nouo, etc. See note on iv. 33 B.

* Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 32. † Rom. viii. 18.

tum fuit, ut non pro terrenis et temporalibus beneficiis, quae diuina prouidentia permixte bonis malisque concedit, sed pro aeterna uita muneribusque perpetuis et ipsius supernae ciuitatis societate colatur Deus unus et uerus, rectissime [25]istorum gloriae donati sunt, ut hi, qui qualibuscumque uirtutibus terrenam gloriam quaesiuerunt et adquisiuerunt, uincerent eos, qui magnis uitiis datorem uerae gloriae et ciuitatis aeternae occiderunt adque respuerunt.

CAPUT XIX.

QUO INTER SE DIFFERANT CUPIDITAS GLORIAE ET CUPIDITAS DOMINATIONIS.

(A) Interest sane inter cupiditatem humanae gloriae et cupiditatem dominationis. Nam licet procliue sit, ut, qui humana gloria nimium delectatur, etiam dominari ardenter adfectet, tamen qui ueram licet humanarum laudum gloriam concupiscunt, dant operam bene iudicantibus non displicere. Sunt enim multa in moribus bona, de quibus multi bene iudicant, quamuis ea multi non habeant; per ea bona morum nituntur ad gloriam et imperium uel dominationem, de quibus ait Sallustius: *[1] "Sed ille uera uia nititur."

(B) Quisquis autem sine cupiditate gloriae, qua ueretur homo bene iudicantibus displicere, dominari adque imperare desiderat, etiam per apertissima scelera quaerit plerumque obtinere quod diligit. Proinde qui gloriam concupiscit, aut uera uia nititur aut certe dolis adque fallaciis contendit, uolens bonus uideri esse, quod non est. Et ideo uirtutes habenti magna uirtus est contemnere gloriam, quia contemtus eius in conspectu Dei est, iudicio autem non aperitur humano.

(C) Quidquid enim fecerit ad oculos hominum, quo gloriae contemtor appareat, ad maiorem laudem, hoc est ad maiorem gloriam, facere si credatur, [2]non est unde se suspicantium sensibus aliter esse, quam suspicantur, ostendat. Sed qui contemnit iudicia laudantium, contemnit etiam suspicantium temeritatem, quorum tamen, si uere bonus est, non contemnit salutem, quoniam tantae

25. **istorum gloriae donati sunt.** A.'s theory is that the Jews were punished for their disloyalty to the Divine truth which had been revealed to them, and especially for their Crucifixion of the Messiah, by being made to swell the glory of the Romans who had not been untrue to the moral demands of their own pagan creed.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the difference between the lust of glory and the lust of domination.

1. **Sed ille.** *Ille*, as the context shows in Sallust, is the good man.
2. **non est unde . . . ostendat** = "he has no means of showing."

* "Catil.," 11.

ustitiae est qui de Spiritu Dei uirtutes habet, ut etiam ipsos diligat inimicos, et ita diligat, ut suos osores uel detractores uelit correctos habere consortes non in terrena patria, sed superna; in laudatoribus autem suis, quamuis paruipendat quod eum laudant, non tamen paruipendit quod amant, nec eos uult fallere laudantes, ne decipiat diligentes; ideoque instat ardenter, ut potius ille laudetur, a quo habet homo quidquid in eo iure laudatur.

(D) Qui autem gloriae contemtor dominationis est auidus, bestias superat siue crudelitatis uitiis siue luxuriae. Tales quidam Romani fuerunt. Non enim cura existimationis amissa dominationis cupiditate caruerunt. Multos tales fuisse prodit historia; sed huius uitii summitatem et quasi arcem quandam Nero Caesar primus obtinuit; cuius fuit tanta luxuries, ut nihil ab eo putaretur uirile metuendum; tanta crudelitas, [3]ut nihil molle habere crederetur, si nesciretur.

(E) Etiam talibus tamen dominandi potestas non datur nisi summi Dei prouidentia, quando res humanas iudicat talibus dominis dignas. Aperta de hac re uox diuina est loquente Dei sapientia: **Per me reges regnant [4]et tyranni per me tenent terram.* Sed ne tyranni non pessimi adque inprobi reges, sed uetere nomine fortes dicti existimentur (unde ait Vergilius:

†Pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni):

apertissime alio loco de Deo dictum est: ‡[5]*Quia regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter peruersitatem populi.*

(F) Quam ob rem, quamuis ut potui satis exposuerim qua causa Deus unus uerus et iustus Romanos secundum quandam formam terrenae ciuitatis bonos adiuuerit ad tanti imperii gloriam consequendam: potest tamen et alia causa esse latentior propter diuersa merita generis humani, Deo magis nota quam nobis, dum illud constet inter omnes ueraciter pios, neminem sine uera pietate, id est ueri Dei uero cultu, ueram posse habere uirtutem, nec

3. ut nihil . . . putaretur . . . ut nihil . . . crederetur = "that nothing would have been thought . . . nothing would have been believed." For the sense of the Conjunctive after *ut* see note on i. 1 A.

4 et tyranni per me, etc. It is Wisdom who speaks. A. cites the first clause of v. 15 and the second of v. 16 in Proverbs viii. The Greek *τύραννος* was primarily an irresponsible or arbitrary, and then (as was only natural) a despotic or oppressive, ruler.

5. Quia regnare. etc. The quotation differs from LXX (*βασιλεύων ἄνθρωπον ὑποκριτὴν ἀπὸ δυσκολίας λαοῦ*), which is itself not a little obscure. But A. agrees closely with Vulg. *Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter peccata populi.* The Hebrew seems to mean that God (whose moral operation is justified in the passage of Job) will or does so act as "to prevent the raising of an impious man and to prevent the ensnaring (or 'deceiving') of the people."

* Prov. viii. 15, 16. † "Aen.," vii. 266. ‡ Job xxxiv. 30.

eam ueram esse, quando gloriae seruit humanae; eos tamen, qui ciues non sint ciuitatis aeternae, quae in sacris litteris nostris *dicitur ciuitas Dei, utiliores esse terrenae ciuitati, [6]quando habent uirtutem uel ipsam, quam si nec ipsam.

(G) Illi autem, qui uera pietate praediti bene uiuunt, si habent scientiam regendi populos, nihil est felicius rebus humanis, quam si Deo miserante habeant potestatem. Tales autem homines uirtutes suas, quantascumque in hac uita possunt habere, non tribuunt nisi gratiae Dei, quod eas uolentibus, credentibus, petentibus dederit, simulque intellegunt, quantum sibi desit ad perfectionem iustitiae, qualis est in illorum sanctorum angelorum societate, cui se nituntur aptare. Quantumlibet autem laudetur adque praedicetur uirtus, quae sine uera pietate seruit hominum gloriae, nequaquam sanctorum exiguis initiis conparanda est, quorum spes posita est in gratia et in misericordia ueri Dei.

CAPUT XX.

TAM TURPITER SERVIRE VIRTUTES HUMANAE GLORIAE QUAM CORPORIS VOLUPTATI.

(A) Solent philosophi, [1]qui finem boni humani in ipsa uirtute constituunt, ad ingerendum pudorem quibusdam philosophis, qui uirtutes quidem probant, sed eas uoluptatis corporalis fine metiuntur et illam per se ipsam putant adpetendam, istas propter ipsam, [2]tabulam quandam uerbis pingere, ubi uoluptas in sella regali quasi delicata quaedam regina considat, eique uirtutes famulae subiciantur, obseruantes eius nutum, ut faciant quod illa imperauerit, quae prudentiae iubeat, ut uigilanter inquirat, quo modo uoluptas regnet et salua sit;

(B) Iustitiae iubeat, ut praestet beneficia quae potest ad conparandas amicitias corporalibus commodis necessarias, nulli faciat iniuriam, ne offensis legibus uoluptas uiuere secura non possit;

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6. quando habent uirtutem uel ipsam, etc. = " when they possess virtue all by itself "—*e.g.*, apart from its true object, the service of God—" than when they do not possess virtue at all." The virtue which A. has here in mind is such as *sine uera pietate seruit hominum gloriae.*

CHAPTER XX.

That it is no less shameful that the virtues shall be the slaves of human glory than that they should be the slaves of bodily pleasure.

1. qui finem boni humani, etc. A. refers in these words to the Stoics, as in the words which follow—*uoluptatis corporalis fine metiuntur*—to the Epicureans.

2. tabulam quandam uerbis pingere. This is the picture painted by the Stoic Cleanthes, as Cicero describes it (" De Fin.," ii. 21, 69); but A. enlarges and embellishes it.

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* Ps. xlvi. 4; xlviii. 1; lxxxvii. 3.

fortitudini iubeat, ut, si dolor corpori accesserit, qui non conpellat in mortem, teneat dominam suam, id est uoluptatem, fortiter in animi cogitatione, ut per pristinarum deliciarum suarum recordationem mitiget praesentis doloris aculeos; temperantiae iubeat, ut tantum capiat alimentorum, etsi qua delectant, ne per inmoderationem noxium aliquid ualetudinem turbet et uoluptas, quam etiam [3]in corporis sanitate Epicurei maximam ponunt, grauiter offendatur.

(C) Ita uirtutes cum tota suae gloria dignitatis tamquam imperiosae cuidam et inhonestae mulierculae seruient uoluptati. Nihil hac pictura dicunt esse ignominiosius et deformius et quod minus ferre bonorum possit aspectus; et uerum dicunt. Sed non existimo satis debiti decoris esse picturam, si etiam talis fingatur, ubi uirtutes humanae gloriae seruiunt. Licet enim ipsa gloria delicata mulier non sit, inflata [4][tamen] est et multum inanitatis habet. Unde non ei digne seruit soliditas quaedam firmitasque uirtutum, ut nihil prouideat prouidentia, nihil distribuat iustitia, nihil toleret fortitudo, nihil temperantia moderetur, nisi unde placeatur hominibus et uentosae gloriae seruiatur.

(D) Nec illi se ab ista foeditate defenderint, qui, cum aliena spernant iudicia uelut gloriae contemtores, sibi sapientes uidentur et sibi placent. Nam eorum uirtus, si tamen ulla est, alio modo quodam humanae subditur laudi; neque enim ipse, qui sibi placet, homo non est. Qui autem uera pietate in Deum, quem diligit, credit et sperat, [5]plus intendit [6]in ea, quibus sibi displicet, quam in ea, si qua in illo sunt, quae non tam ipsi quam ueritati placent: neque [7]id tribuit, unde iam potest placere, nisi eius misericordiae, cui metuit displicere; de his sanatis gratias agens, de illis sanandis preces fundens.

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3. in corporis sanitate. Epicurus himself set intellectual above physical pleasures; but his disciples gradually abandoned the habit of differentiating pleasures, and the less noble of them laid the chief stress upon the pleasures which were the most general and therefore the most commonplace, until *Epicuri de grege porcus* became a synonym for a sensualist, and an Epicurean degenerated into an epicure.

4. [tamen]—lacks authority in the best MSS.

5. plus intendit in ea="devotes more attention to those things."

6. in ea, quibus sibi displicet, etc. The sentence is a little obscure. The things *quibus sibi displicet* are a man's existing vices or faults which need curing (*sanandis*), as A. says immediately: the things *quae non tam ipsi quam ueritati placent* are his past vices or faults, which are now cured (*sanata*), and as being cured are pleasing to himself, or rather, as A. prefers saying, to Him Who is the Truth.

7. id . . . unde iam potest placere="his present capacity for pleasing."

CAPUT XXI.

ROMANUM REGNUM A DEO VERO ESSE DISPOSITUM, A QUO EST OMNIS POTESTAS ET CUIUS PROVIDENTIA REGUNTUR UNIVERSA.

(A) Quae cum ita sint, non tribuamus dandi regni adque imperii potestatem nisi Deo uero, qui dat felicitatem in regno caelorum solis piis; regnum uero terrenum et piis et inpiis, sicut ei placet, cui nihil iniuste placet. Quamuis enim aliquid dixerimus, quod apertum nobis esse uoluit: tamen [1]multum est ad nos et ualde superat uires nostras hominum occulta discutere et liquido examine merita diiudicare regnorum.

(B) Ille igitur unus uerus Deus, qui nec iudicio nec adiutorio deserit genus humanum, quando uoluit et quantum uoluit Romanis regnum dedit; qui dedit Assyriis, uel etiam Persis, a quibus [2]solos duos deos coli, unum bonum, alterum malum, continent [3]litterae istorum; ut taceam de populo Hebraeo, de quo *iam dixi quantum satis uisum est, [4]qui praeter unum Deum non coluit et quando regnauit. Qui ergo Persis dedit segetes sine cultu deae Segetiae, qui alia dona terrarum sine cultu tot deorum, quos isti rebus singulis singulos, uel etiam rebus singulis plures praeposuerunt: ipse etiam regnum dedit sine cultu eorum, per quorum cultum se isti regnasse crediderunt.

(C) Sic etiam hominibus: qui Mario, ipse Gaio Caesari; qui Augusto, ipse et Neroni; qui [5]Vespasianis, uel patri uel filio, suauissimis imperatoribus, ipse et Domitiano crudelissimo; et ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse [6]apostatae Iuliano, cuius egregiam indolem decepit amore dominandi sacrilega et detestanda [7]curiositas, cuius uanis deditus oraculis erat, quando fretus securitate uictoriae [8]naues, quibus

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CHAPTER XXI.

That the Roman Empire was ordained by the true God from whom all power proceeds and by whose providence the Universe is governed.

1. multum est ad nos="It is too much for me."

2. solos duos deos—*sc.* Ormuzd and Ahriman, the god of light and the god of darkness, according to the doctrine which lies at the heart of the Zoroastrian religion.

3. litterae istorum—*sc.* the Zend Avesta.

4. qui praeter unum Deum, etc.="who worshipped the one God alone and worshipped Him so long as they formed a kingdom."

5. Vespasianis—*sc.* the Emperor Vespasian and his son Titus. Domitian was his younger son.

6. apostatae Iuliano. A. shows all, and perhaps more than all, a Christian's righteous dislike for the Emperor Julian. Cp. xviii. 52 D and E.

7. curiositas—a word which A. often applies to pagan superstition—*e.g.*, iv. 26 B.

8. naues . . . incendit. See note on iv. 29 E.

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* iv. 34.

uictus necessarius portabatur, incendit; deinde feruide instans inmodicis ausibus et mox merito temeritatis occisus in locis hostilibus egenum reliquit exercitum, ut aliter inde non posset euadi, nisi contra illud [9]auspicium dei Termini, de quo *superiore libro diximus, Romani imperii termini moueŕentur. Cessit enim Terminus deus necessitati, qui non cesserat Ioui. Haec plane Deus unus et uerus regit et gubernat, ut placet: et si occultis causis, [10]numquid iniustis ?

CAPUT XXII.

TEMPORA EXITUSQUE BELLORUM EX DEI PENDERE IUDICIO.

(A) Sic etiam tempora ipsa bellorum, sicut in eius arbitrio est iustoque iudicio et misericordia uel adterere uel consolari genus humanum, ut alia citius, alia tardius finiantur. [1]Bellum piratarum a Pompeio, [2]bellum Punicum tertium ab Scipione incredibili celeritate et temporis breuitate confecta sunt.

(B) [3]Bellum quoque fugitiuorum gladiatorum, quamuis multis Romanis ducibus et [4]duobus consulibus uictis Italiaque horribiliter contrita adque uastata, tertio tamen anno [5]post multa consumta consumtum est. [6]Picentes, Marsi et Peligni, gentes non exterae, sed Italicae, post diuturnam et deuotissimam sub Romano iugo seruitutem in libertatem caput erigere tentauerunt, iam multis nationibus Romano imperio subiugatis deletaque Carthagine; in quo bello Italico Romanis saepissime uictis ubi et [7]duo consules

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9. auspicium dei Termini. See note on iv. 23 F. A. speaks of the incident as *pulcherrimum auspicium* (iv. 29 A).

10. numquid iniustis ? A. takes refuge here, as elsewhere, in the mystery of Providence which expresses the relation of an Infinite Being to finite human intelligence.

CHAPTER XXII.

That the periods and the issues of wars depend upon the judgment of God.

1. Bellum piratarum—was ended by Pompey in less than two months B.C. 66. See note on iii. 26 C.

2. bellum Punicum tertium. A. refers to Scipio's *unus inpetus* in the Third Punic War (iii. 21 D, where see note). The whole war lasted only B.C. 150-146—*intra quintum annum quam erat caeptum consummatum* (Livy, xlix. "Epit.").

3. bellum fugitiuorum gladiatorum. See note on iii. 26 B.

4. duobus consulibus uictis—Gn. Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius Publicola B.C. 72.

5. post multa consumta consumtum est="was exhausted but not until it had exhausted many other things besides itself."

6. Picentes, Marsi et Peligni. The Social War which broke out B.C. 90 was ended by Sylla B.C. 88. Cp. iii. 26 A and B. Velleius Paterculus ("Hist. Rom.," ii. 16) generally confirms A.'s estimate of the Social War.

7. duo consules perierunt—P. Rutilius Lupus, B.C. 90 and L. Porcius Cato, B.C. 89.

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* iv. 23 and 29.

perierunt et alii nobilissimi senatores, non diuturno tamen tempore tractum est hoc malum; nam [8]quintus annus ei finem dedit.

(c) Sed [9]bellum Punicum secundum cum maximis detrimentis et calamitate rei publicae per annos decem et octo Romanas uires extenuauit et paene consumsit; [10]duobus proeliis ferme septuaginta Romanorum milia ceciderunt. [11]Bellum Punicum primum per uiginti et tres annos peractum est; [12]bellum Mithridaticum quadraginta. Ac ne quisquam arbitretur rudimenta Romanorum fuisse fortiora ad bella citius peragenda, superioribus temporibus multum in omni uirtute laudatis [13]bellum Samniticum annis tractum est ferme quinquaginta; in quo bello ita Romani uicti sunt, ut [14]sub iugum etiam mitterentur.

(d) Sed quia non diligebant gloriam propter iustitiam, sed iustitiam propter gloriam diligere uidebantur, pacem factam foedusque ruperunt. Haec ideo commemoro, quoniam multi praeteritarum rerum ignari, quidam etiam [15]dissimulatores suae scientiae, si temporibus Christianis aliquod bellum paulo diutius trahi uident, ilico in nostram religionem proteruissime insiliunt, exclamantes, quod si ipsa non esset et uetere ritu numina colerentur, iam Romana illa uirtute, quae adiuuante Marte et Bellona tanta celeriter bella confecit, id quoque celerrime finiretur.

(e) Recolant igitur qui legerunt, quam diuturna bella, quam uariis euentis, quam luctuosis cladibus a ueteribus sint gesta Ro-

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8. quintus annus. The Social War did not actually exceed three years. See note on iii. 26 A.

9. bellum Punicum secundum. It lasted B.C. 218-202; eighteen years reckoned inclusively. *Finitum est septimo decimo anno* (Livy, xxx. 44).

10. duobus proeliis—at the Trasimene Lake and at Cannae. But A.'s estimate would seem to be exaggerated. Livy calculates the Roman losses in the first battle at 15,000 and in the second at 45,000 (xxii. 7 and 49).

11. bellum Punicum primum. B.C. 264-241.

12. bellum Mithridaticum. The various Mithridatic Wars, which were so many acts in the same great drama, may be said to have lasted (not without intervals) from B.C. 88 to the death of Mithridates B.C. 63. If so, A.'s figure is excessive; but it is the figure given also by Florus ("Epit. Rey. Rom.," iii. 5, 2). Orosius asserts that some authorities fixed the length of the wars at thirty, and others at forty, years ("Hist.," v. 19).

13. bellum Samniticum. The first Samnite War broke out B.C. 343; the last ended B.C. 272. Thus the whole period of the wars was more than seventy years. But it is possible that A. does not take account of the Fourth Samnite War, which was a small affair, separated by a considerable time from the Third, and, if so, the period from the beginning of the First War to the end of the Third would be B.C. 342-290, corresponding pretty closely with A.'s statement. With A. agree Eutropius ("Breu. Hist. Rom.," ii. 5) and Orosius ("Hist.," iii. 22), who assign forty-nine years, and Florus (i. 5, 8), who assigns fifty as the duration of the war.

14. sub iugum . . . mitterentur—*sc.* at the Caudine Forks B.C. 321 in the Second or Great Samnite War.

15. dissimulatores suae scientiae—a charge which A. often brings against the cultivated pagans of his time—*e.g.*, iv. 1 B, vi. "Praef." B.

manis, sicut solet orbis terrarum uelut procellosissimum pelagus uaria talium malorum tempestate iactari, et quod nolunt aliquando fateantur, nec insanis aduersus Deum linguis se interimant et decipiant inperitos.

CAPUT XXIII.

DE BELLO, IN QUO RADAGAISUS REX GOTHORUM, DAEMONUM CULTOR, UNO DIE CUM INGENTIBUS COPIIS SUIS VICTUS EST.

(A) Quod tamen nostra memoria recentissimo tempore Deus mirabiliter et misericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant, sed, quantum in ipsis est, omnium si fieri potest hominum obliuione sepelire conantur; quod a nobis si tacebitur, similiter erimus ingrati.

(B) Cum [1]Radagaisus, rex Gothorum, agmine ingenti et inmani iam in Urbis uicinia constitutus Romanis ceruicibus inmineret, uno die tanta celeritate sic uictus est, ut ne uno quidem non dicam extincto, sed uulnerato Romanorum multo amplius quam centum milium prosterneretur eius exercitus, adque ipse mox captus poena debita necaretur.

(C) Nam si [2]ille tam inpius cum tantis et tam inpiis copiis Romam fuisset ingressus, cui pepercisset? [3]quibus locis martyrum honorem detulisset? in qua persona Deum timeret? cuius non sanguinem fusum, cuius pudicitiam uellet intactam? Quas autem isti pro dis

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the war in which Radagaisius, king of the Goths, a worshipper of daemons, was conquered with his immense forces in one day.

1. Radagaisus. The invasion of Italy by Rhadagast or Radagaisius (whom A. here calls "king of the Goths"), 406 or 405 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Honorius; his siege of Florence; his advance upon Rome; the sudden appearance of Stilicho at the head of his army; the defeat of the barbarian host; and the execution of Radagaisius are related by Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. 30, pp. 263-265, Bury's edition). The host of Radagaisius is estimated by Orosius at more than 200,000 fighting men ("Hist.," vii. 37); and the danger and the deliverance of Rome were equally striking, although A.'s description of them both is too highly coloured. According to Gibbon: "The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisius that, by some historians, he has been styled the king of the Goths." The latest Editor of Gibbon's History, Prof. Bury (vol. iii. of his edition, Appendix 18), quotes Prosper ("Chronic.," part ii.) as an authority for the belief that Radagaisius was not, as Sir W. Smith, in commenting upon Gibbon's narrative, says, "the leader of a great Slavonian emigration," but that his soldiers were principally Goths. Anyhow, he was, in the judgment of Orosius (*l.c.*), *omnium antiquorum praesentiumque hostium longe inmanissimus.* It is worth while to compare A.'s words in "Serm.," cv. 13 (x.).

2. ille tam inpius. Radagaisius was a pagan; and the hope of a restoration of paganism in Rome depended upon him and his army.

3. quibus locis martyrum, etc. A. means to contrast the army of Radagaisius with the army of Alaric. See i. 1 B.

suis uoces haberent, quanta insultatione iactarent, quod ille ideo uicisset, ideo tanta potuisset, quia cottidianis sacrificiis placabat adque inuitabat deos, quod Romanos facere Christiana religio non sinebat ?

(D) Nam propinquante iam illo his locis, ubi nutu summae maiestatis obpressus est, cum eius fama ubique crebresceret, nobis aput Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, spargere, iactare paganos, quod ille dis amicis protegentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immolare cottidie ferebatur, uinci omnino non posset ab eis, qui talia dis Romanis sacra non facerent nec fieri a quoquam permitterent.

(E) Et non agunt miseri gratias tantae misericordiae Dei, qui cum statuisset inruptione barbarica grauiora [4]<pati> dignos mores hominum castigare, indignationem suam tanta mansuetudine temperauit, ut illum primo faceret mirabiliter uinci, ne ad infirmorum animos euertendos gloria daretur daemonibus, quibus eum supplicare constabat; deinde [5]ab his barbaris Roma caperetur, qui contra omnem consuetudinem gestorum ante bellorum ad loca sancta confugientes Christianae religionis reuerentia tuerentur ipsisque daemonibus adque inpiorum sacrificiorum ritibus, de quibus ille praesumserat, sic aduersarentur nomine Christiano, ut longe atrocius bellum cum eis quam cum hominibus gerere uiderentur; ita uerus dominus gubernatorque rerum et Romanos cum misericordia flagellauit, et tam incredibiliter uictis supplicatoribus daemonum nec saluti rerum praesentium necessaria esse sacrificia illa monstrauit, ut ab his qui non peruicaciter contendunt, sed prudenter adtendunt, nec propter praesentes necessitates uera religio deseratur, et magis aeternae uitae fidelissima expectatione teneatur.

CAPUT XXIV.

QUAE SIT CHRISTIANORUM IMPERATORUM ET QUAM VERA FELICITAS.

(A) Neque enim nos Christianos quosdam imperatores ideo felices dicimus, quia uel diutius imperarunt uel imperantes filios morte placida reliquerunt, uel hostes rei publicae domuerunt, uel inimicos ciues aduersus se insurgentes et cauere et obprimere potuerunt. Haec et alia uitae huius aerumnosae uel munera uel solacia quidam etiam cultores daemonum accipere meruerunt, qui non pertinent ad regnum Dei, quo pertinent isti; et hoc ipsius misericordia factum est, ne ab illo ista qui in eum crederent uelut summa bona desiderarent.

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4. **<pati>.** The word is necessary to the grammar and meaning of the sentence; and some MSS. support it.

5. **ab his barbaris**—*sc.* the Goths under Alaric.

(B) Sed felices eos dicimus, si iuste imperant, si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extolluntur, et se homines esse meminerunt; si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum maiestati eius famulam faciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus amant illud regnum, ubi non timent habere consortes; si tardius uindicant, facile ignoscunt; si eandem uindictam pro necessitate regendae tuendaeque rei publicae, non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exerunt; si eandem ueniam non ad inpunitatem iniquitatis, sed [1]ad spem correctionis indulgent; si, quod aspere coguntur plerumque decernere, misericordiae lenitate et beneficiorum largitate conpensant;

(C) Si luxuria tanto eis est castigatior, quanto posset esse liberior; si malunt cupiditatibus prauis quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare et si haec omnia faciunt non propter ardorem inanis gloriae, sed propter caritatem felicitatis aeternae; si pro suis peccatis humilitatis et miserationis et [2]orationis [3]sacrificium Deo suo uero immolare non neglegunt. Tales Christianos imperatores dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re ipsa futuros, cum id quod expectamus aduenerit.

CAPUT XXV.

DE PROSPERITATIBUS, QUAS CONSTANTINO IMPERATORI CHRISTIANO DEUS CONTULIT.

(A) Nam bonus Deus, ne homines, qui eum crederent propter aeternam uitam colendum, has sublimitates et regna terrena existimarent posse neminem consequi, nisi daemonibus supplicet, quod hi spiritus in talibus multum ualerent, Constantinum imperatorem non supplicantem daemonibus, sed ipsum uerum Deum colentem tantis terrenis inpleuit muneribus, quanta optare nullus auderet; cui etiam condere [1]ciuitatem Romano imperio sociam, uelut

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CHAPTER XXIV.

What is and how true is the felicity of Christian emperors.

1. ad spem correctionis—"to encourage the hope of reformation"—*i.e.*, the hope that the persons who are forgiven will amend their lives.

2. orationis—in ecclesiastical Latin gets the sense of *orare*, "to pray." There are many instances of it in A.—*e.g.*, xviii. 32 A, xix. 27 B, xxi. 22 B (*in oratione Dominica*), etc. Cp. *orantium* and *oratio* (xxi. 24 A).

3. sacrificium. A.'s use of *sacrificium* is as interesting as it is illuminating. He generally understands by it the sacrifice of the heart, whether, as here, the heart stricken by the consciousness of sin and turning to prayer (cp. Psalm li. 17) or moved to thankfulness and praise (cp. "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" in the Order of Holy Communion). See Appendix D.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the various prosperity which God bestowed upon Constantine the Christian Emperor.

1. ciuitatem—Constantinople, the new or second Rome, *Romano imperio sociam*, as A. here describes it. See Gibbon's brilliant account of Constantinople ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. ii., ch. 17, pp. 140-158, Bury's edition).

ipsius Romae filiam, sed sine aliquo daemonum templo simulacroque concessit.

(B) [2]Diu imperauit, uniuersum orbem Romanum [3]unus Augustus tenuit et defendit; in administrandis et gerendis bellis uictoriosissimus fuit, [4]in tyrannis obprimendis per omnia prosperatus est; [5]grandaeuus aegritudine et senectute defunctus est, [6]filios imperantes reliquit. Sed rursus ne imperator quisquam ideo Christianus esset, ut felicitatem Constantini mereretur, cum propter uitam aeternam quisque febeat esse Christianus, [7]Iouianum multo citius quam Iulianum abstulit; [8]Gratianum [9]ferro tyrannico permisit interimi, longe quidem mitius quam magnum [10]Pompeium [11]colentem uelut Romanos deos.

(C) Nam ille [12]uindicari a Catone non potuit, quem ciuilis belli quodam modo heredem reliquerat; [13]iste autem, quamuis piae animae solacia talia non requirant, [14]a Theodosio uindicatus est, quem regni participem fecerat, [15]cum paruulum haberet et fratrem, auidior fidae societatis quam nimiae potestatis.

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2. Diu imperauit—A.D. 306-337; thirty-one years, as Orosius says ("Hist.," vii. 26).

3. unus Augustus—*i.e.*, as Emperor without a colleague.

4. in tyrannis obprimendis—such as Maxentius and Licinius.

5. grandaeuus. Constantine died at the age of sixty-five. His death and his baptism which immediately preceded it are recounted with touching simplicity by Eusebius ("Vit. Constant.," iv. 61-64).

6. filios imperantes—*sc.* Constantine, Constantius and Constans.

7. Iouianum . . . Iulianum. Julian reigned A.D. 361-363; Jovian A.D. 363 (June) to 364 (February). But as they were both born in or about A.D. 331, there was little difference between them in length of life.

8. Gratianum—Emperor of the West; a Christian, and the friend of Ambrose. His troops deserted him at the approach of Maximus; he fled, and was treacherously murdered (Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. 27, pp. 133-137, Bury's edition). Gratian was associated as Augustus with his father Valentinus A.D. 367; and on his father's death became practically sole emperor A.D. 375.

9. ferro tyrannico. The murderer of Gratian was Andragathius, the commander of the cavalry of Maximus. Orosius ("Hist.," vii. 34), who relates the death of Gratian, does not name his murderer.

10. Pompeium. His death is graphically described by various authors—*e.g.*, by Plutarch ("Pompeius," 79) and Florus ("Epit." iv. 2, 52).

11. colentem uelut Romanos deos="who was a worshipper of the so-called Roman gods."

12. uindicari a Catone non potuit. For Cato himself committed suicide after the battle of Thapsus B.C. 46.

13. iste—*sc.* Gratian.

14. a Theodosio—Theodosius, known in history as the Great (although no title has been more arbitrarily conferred than "The Great"), was appointed Emperor of the East by Gratian A.D. 379. After Gratian's death, Theodosius avenged him by defeating Maximus and putting him to death (Gibbon, vol. iii., ch. 26, pp. 5-6).

15. cum paruulum haberet et fratrem—*sc.* Valentinianus the Second, whom Maximus expelled from the Empire of the West and Theodosius restored to it (Gibbon, vol. iii., ch. 27, p. 177). See Orosius ("Hist.," vii. 35).

CAPUT XXVI.

DE FIDE AC PIETATE THEODOSII AUGUSTI.

(A) Unde et ille non solum uiuo seruauit quam debebat fidem, uerum etiam post eius mortem pulsum ab eius interfectore Maximo Valentinianum eius paruulum fratrem in sui partes imperii tamquam Christianus excepit pupillum, paterno custodiuit adfectu, quem destitutum omnibus opibus nullo negotio posset auferre, si latius regnandi cupiditate magis quam benefaciendi caritate flagraret; unde potius eum seruata eius imperatoria dignitate susceptum ipsa humanitate et gratia consolatus est.

(B) Deinde cum Maximum terribilem faceret ille successus, hic in angustiis curarum suarum non est lapsus ad curiositates sacrilegas adque inlicitas, sed ad [1]Iohannem in Aegypti eremo constitutum, quem Dei seruum prophetandi spiritu praeditum fama crebrescente didicerat, misit adque ab eo nuntium uictoriae certissimum accepit.

(C) Mox [2]tyranni Maximi extinctor Valentinianum puerum imperii sui partibus, unde fugatus fuerat, cum misericordissima ueneratione restituit, eoque siue per insidias siue quo alio pacto uel casu proxime extincto alium tyrannum [3]Eugenium, qui in illius imperatoris locum non legitime fuerat subrogatus, accepto rursus prophetico responso fide certus obpressit, contra cuius robustissimum exercitum magis orando quam feriendo pugnauit.

(D) Milites nobis qui aderant rettulerunt extorta sibi esse de manibus quaecumque iaculabantur, cum a Theodosii partibus in aduersarios uehemens uentus iret et non solum quaecumque in eos iaciebantur concitatissime raperet, uerum etiam ipsorum tela in eorum corpora retorqueret. Unde et poeta [4]Claudianus,

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the faith and piety of Theodosius Augustus.

1. **Iohannem**—the celebrated eremite of Lycopolis in Egypt (Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. 27, p. 181, Bury's edition).

2. **tyranni Maximi extinctor**—at the capture of Aquileia A.D. 388.

3. **Eugenium.** For the story see Gibbon (*l.c.* pp. 180-184).

4. **Claudianus.** The passage of Claudian ("De Tert. Consul. Honor. Augustt.," 93-98) runs as follows:

> *Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis*
> *Obruit aduersas acies, reuolutaque tela*
> *Vertit in auctores et turbine reppulit hastas,*
> *O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab astris*
> *Aeolus armatos hiemes, cui militat aether*
> *Et coniurati ueniunt ad classica uenti!*

Claudian, who must have lived into the fifth century A.D., was a contemporary of the events, or some of the events, which his poem describes. Honorius, in

quamuis a Christi nomine alienus, in eius tamen laudibus dixit:

> O nimium dilecte Deo, cui — militat aether,
> Et coniurati ueniunt ad classica uenti.

(E) Victor autem, sicut crediderat et praedixerat, Iouis simulacra, quae aduersus eum fuerant nescio quibus ritibus uelut consecrata et [5]in Alpibus constituta, deposuit, eorumque fulmina, quod aurea fuissent, iocantibus (quod illa laetitia permittebat) cursoribus et se ab eis fulminari uelle dicentibus hilariter benigneque donauit. Inimicorum suorum filios, quos, non ipsius iussu, belli abstulerat impetus, etiam nondum Christianos ad ecclesiam confugientes, Christianos hac occasione fieri uoluit et Christiana caritate dilexit, nec priuauit rebus et auxit honoribus. [6]In neminem post uictoriam priuatas inimicitias ualere permisit.

(F) Bella ciuilia non sicut Cinna et Marius et Sylla et alii tales nec finita finire uoluerunt, sed magis doluit exorta quam cuiquam nocere uoluit terminata. Inter haec omnia ex ipso initio imperii sui non quieuit iustissimis et misericordissimis legibus aduersus inpios laboranti ecclesiae subuenire, quam [7]Valens haereticus fauens Arianis uehementer adflixerat; cuius ecclesiae se membrum esse magis quam in terris regnare gaudebat. Simulacra gentilium ubique euertenda praecepit, satis intellegens nec terrena munera in daemoniorum, sed in Dei ueri esse posita potestate.

(G) Quid autem fuit eius religiosa humilitate mirabilius, quando in [8]Thessalonicensium grauissimum scelus, cui iam episcopis intercedentibus promiserat indulgentiam, tumultu quorundam, qui ei

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whose interest he wrote the poem, was a younger son of Theodosius. It will be noticed (as Gibbon indeed has noticed) that A., in quoting Claudian's lines, mitigates by omission, according to the best MSS., the paganism implied in them.

5. in Alpibus constituta—because the battle was fought at or near Aquileia.

6. In neminem post uictoriam, etc. Claudian ("De Quart. Consul. Honor. August.," 111-119) eulogises the humanity of Theodosius. Cp. Libanius ("Orat.," i.); Chrysostom ("Hom.," xxi.); Zosimus ("Hist.," iv. 41). But his humanity was shown at Antioch rather than at Thessalonica.

7. Valens haereticus. Valens, Emperor of the East A.D. 364-378, had not long ascended the throne when he declared himself a partisan of Arianism. For his persecuting zeal see Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. iii., ch. 25, pp. 24-26, Bury's edition).

8. Thessalonicensium grauissimum scelus—*sc.* the sedition at Thessalonica A.D. 390. By the order of Theodosius the sedition was ruthlessly suppressed. Few events in Christian history are more creditable to Church or Emperor than the parts played by Ambrose and, in submission to his authority, by Theodosius after the Thessalonican massacre. See Gibbon (*l.c.*, ch. 27, pp. 172-176). The sin and the penance of Theodosius are related in graphic detail by Theodoret ("Hist. Eccles.," v. 17); also by Sozomen ("Hist. Eccles.," vii. 25, §§ 316-7) and, as is natural, by Paulinus ("Vit. Sanct. Ambros.," 24). Cp. Ambrose's expostulatory appeal to Theodosius ("Epist.," 51).

cohaerebant, uindicare conpulsus est et [9]ecclesiastica cohercitus disciplina sic egit paenitentiam, ut imperatoriam celsitudinem pro illo populus orans magis fieret uidendo prostratam, quam peccando timeret iratam ?

(H) Haec ille secum et si qua similia, quae commemorare longum est, bona opera tulit [10]ex isto temporali uapore cuiuslibet culminis et sublimitatis humanae; quorum operum merces est aeterna felicitas, cuius dator est Deus solis ueraciter piis. Cetera uero uitae huius uel fastigia uel subsidia, sicut ipsum mundum, lucem, auras, terras, aquas, fructus ipsiusque hominis animam, corpus, sensus, mentem, uitam, bonis malisque largitur; in quibus est etiam quaelibet imperii magnitudo, quam [11]pro temporum gubernatione dispensat.

(I) Proinde iam etiam illis respondendum esse uideo, qui manifestissimis documentis, quibus ostenditur, quod ad ista temporalia, quae sola stulti habere concupiscunt, nihil deorum falsorum numerositas prosit, confutati adque conuicti conantur adserere non propter uitae praesentis utilitatem, sed propter eam, quae post mortem futura est, colendos deos. Nam istis, qui propter amicitias mundi huius uolunt uana colere et [12]non se permitti puerilibus sensibus conqueruntur, his quinque libris satis arbitror esse responsum.

(K) Quorum tres priores cum edidissem et [13]in multorum manibus esse coepissent, audiui quosdam nescio quam aduersus eos responsionem scribendo praeparare. Deinde ad me perlatum est, quod iam scripserint, sed tempus quaerant, quo sine periculo possint edere. Quos admoneo, non optent quod eis non expedit. [14]Facile est enim cuiquam uideri respondisse, qui tacere noluerit.

(L) Aut quid est loquacius uanitate ? quae non ideo potest quod ueritas, quia, si uoluerit, etiam plus potest clamare quam ueritas. Sed considerent omnia diligenter, et si forte sine studio partium

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9. ecclesiastica cohercitus disciplina—*sc.* the public penance which Ambrose, as Archbishop of Milan, imposed upon Theodosius.

10. ex isto temporali uapore. There is no doubt a reference to James iv. 14 (*ποία ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν; ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστε*), but the idea of *uapor* (*ἀτμίς*) is extended from life itself to the highest temporal glory of life.

11. pro temporum gubernatione = "in accordance with the Providence which governs all history."

12. non se permitti, etc. = "complain with the feelings of children that they are not allowed," sc. *uana colere.*

13. in multorum manibus, etc. It is clear that the *D.C.D.* was published in parts. This is no doubt the ground of the repetitions which so frequently occur in it.

14. Facile est enim, etc. = "For a man who has not liked holding his tongue may easily flatter himself that he has replied to his opponent."

iudicantes talia esse perspexerint, quae potius exagitari quam conuelli possint garrulitate inpudentissima et quasi satyrica uel mimica leuitate, cohibeant suas nugas et potius a prudentibus emendari quam laudari ab inpudentibus eligant.

(M) Nam si non ad libertatem uera dicendi, sed ad licentiam maledicendi tempus expectant, absit ut eis eueniat *[15]quod ait Tullius de quodam, qui peccandi licentia felix appellabatur: O miserum, cui peccare licebat! Unde quisquis est, qui maledicendi licentia felicem se putat, multo erit felicior, si hoc illi omnino non liceat, cum possit deposita inanitate iactantiae etiam isto tempore tamquam studio consulendi quidquid uoluerit contradicere et, quantum possunt, ab eis quos consulit amica disputatione honeste, grauiter, libere quod oportet audire.

15. quod ait Tullius. If A. refers to "Tusc. Disp.," v. 19, 55, it is the general sense, and not the language, which he quotes.

* "Tusc. Disp.," v. 19, 55.

LIBER VI

PRAEFATIO.

(A) Quinque superioribus libris satis mihi aduersus eos uideor disputasse, qui multos deos et falsos, quos esse inutilia simulacra uel inmundos spiritus et perniciosa daemonia uel certe creaturas, non creatorem ueritas Christiana conuincit, propter uitae huius mortalis rerumque terrenarum utilitatem eo ritu ac seruitute, quae Graece [1]λατρεία dicitur et uni uero Deo debetur, uenerandos et colendos putant. Et nimiae quidem stultitiae uel pertinaciae nec istos quinque nec ullos alios quanticumque numeri libros satis esse posse quis nesciat? quando ea putatur gloria uanitatis, nullis cedere uiribus ueritatis, in perniciem utique eius, cui uitium tam inmane dominatur. Nam et contra omnem curantis industriam non malo medici, sed aegroti insanabilis morbus inuictus est.

(B) Hi uero, qui ea quae legunt uel sine ulla uel non cum magna ac nimia ueteris erroris obstinatione intellecta et considerata perpendunt, facilius nos isto numero terminatorum quinque uoluminum plus, quam quaestionis ipsius necessitas postulabat, quam minus disseruisse iudicabunt, totamque inuidiam, quam Christianae religioni de huius uitae cladibus terrenarumque contritione ac mutatione rerum inperiti facere conantur, [2]non solum dissimulantibus, sed contra suam conscientiam etiam fauentibus doctis, quos inpietas uesana possedit, omnino esse inanem rectae cogitationis adque rationis plenamque leuissimae temeritatis et perniciosissimae animositatis dubitare non poterunt.

CAPUT I.

DE HIS, QUI DICUNT DEOS A SE NON PROPTER PRAESENTEM VITAM COLI, SED PROPTER AETERNAM.

(A) Nunc ergo quoniam deinceps, ut promissus ordo expetit, etiam hi refellendi et docendi sunt, qui non propter istam uitam, sed propter illam, quae post mortem futura est, deos gentium, quos Christiana religio destruit, colendos esse contendunt: placet

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PREFACE.

1. λατρεία. See note on v. 15 A.

2. **non solum dissimulantibus,** etc.—a charge which A. frequently brings. See iv. 1 B. *dissimulantibus*="pretending not to know better."

a ueridico oraculo sancti psalmi sumere exordium disputationis meae: *[1] *Beatus, cuius est Dominus Deus spes ipsius et non respexit in uanitates et insanias mendaces.*

(B) Verum tamen in omnibus uanitatibus insaniisque mendacibus longe tolerabilius philosophi audiendi sunt, quibus displicuerunt istae opiniones erroresque populorum, qui populi constituerunt simulacra numinibus multaque de his, quos deos inmortales uocant, falsa adque indigna siue finxerunt siue ficta crediderunt et credita eorum cultui sacrorumque ritibus miscuerunt.

(C) Cum his hominibus, qui, etsi non libere praedicando, saltem utcumque in disputationibus mussitando, talia se inprobare testati sunt, non usque adeo inconuenienter quaestio ista tractatur: utrum non unum Deum, qui fecit omnem spiritalem corporalemque creaturam, propter uitam, quae post mortem futura est, coli oporteat, sed multos deos, quos ab illo uno factos et sublimiter conlocatos [2]quidam eorundem philosophorum ceteris excellentiores nobilioresque senserunt.

(D) Ceterum quis ferat dici adque contendi deos illos, quorum †in quarto libro quosdam commemoraui, quibus singulis singula rerum exiguarum distribuuntur officia, uitam aeternam cuique praestare? An uero [3]peritissimi illi et acutissimi uiri, qui se pro magno beneficio conscripta docuisse gloriantur, ut sciretur quare cuique deo supplicandum esset, quid a quoque esset petendum, ne [4]absurditate turpissima, qualis ioculariter in mimo fieri solet, peteretur a Libero aqua, a Lymphis uinum, auctores erunt cuipiam hominum dis inmortalibus supplicanti, ut, cum a Lymphis petierit uinum eique responderint: Nos aquam habemus, hoc a Libero pete, possit recte dicere: Si uinum non habetis, saltem date mihi uitam aeternam?

(E) Quid hac absurditate monstrosius? Nonne illae cachinnantes (solent enim esse [5]ad risum faciles), si non adfectent fallere ut daemones, supplici respondebunt: O homo, putasne in potestate

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CHAPTER I.

Of those who allege that they worship the gods with a view not to the present, but to eternal life.

1. Beatus, etc.—*μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐλπὶς αὐτοῦ* (LXX).

2. quidam eorundem philosophorum. A. may be thinking of Plato ("Tim," pp. 39 E—41 A).

3. peritissimi illi et acutissimi uiri—Varro especially.

4. absurditate turpissima. Cp. iv. 22 B.

5. ad risum faciles. An allusion to Virgil ("Eclog.," iii. *sed faciles Nymphae risere*).

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* Ps. xl. 4. † Chapters 8, 11, and 21.

nos habere [6]uitam, quas audis non habere uel uitem ? Inpudentissimae igitur stultitiae est uitam aeternam a talibus dis petere uel sperare, qui uitae huius aerumnosissimae adque breuissimae et si qua ad eam pertinent adminiculandam adque fulciendam ta singulas particulas tueri adseruntur, ut, si id, quod sub alterius tutela ac potestate est, petatur ab altero, tam sit inconueniens et absurdum, ut mimicae scurrilitati uideatur esse simillimum.

(F) Quod cum fit a scientibus mimis, digne ridentur in theatro; cum uero a nescientibus stultis, dignius inridentur in mundo. Cui ergo deo uel deae propter quid supplicaretur, quantum ad illos deos adtinet quos instituerunt ciuitates, a doctis sollerter inuentum memoriaeque mandatum est: quid a Libero, uerbi gratia, quid a Lymphis, quid a Vulcano ac sic a ceteris, quos partim commemoraui in quarto libro, partim praetereundos putaui. Porro si a Cerere uinum, a Libero panem, a Vulcano aquam, a Lymphis ignem petere erroris est: quanto maioris deliramenti esse intellegi debet, si cuiquam istorum pro uita supplicetur aeterna !

(G) Quam ob rem si, cum de regno terreno quaereremus, quosnam illud deos uel deas hominibus credendum esset posse conferre, discussis omnibus longe alienum a ueritate monstratum est a quoquam istorum multorum numinum adque falsorum saltem regna terrena existimare constitui: nonne insanissimae inpietatis est, si aeterna uita, quae terrenis omnibus regnis sine ulla dubitatione uel conparatione praeferenda est, ab istorum quoquam dari cuiquam posse credatur ?

(H) Neque enim propterea di tales uel terrenum regnum dare non posse uisi sunt, quia illi magni et excelsi sunt, hoc quiddam paruum et abiectum, quod non dignarentur in tanta sublimitate curare; sed quantumlibet consideratione fragilitatis humanae caducos apices terreni regni merito quisque contemnat, illi di tales apparuerunt, ut indignissimi uiderentur, quibus danda adque seruanda deberent uel ista committi. Ac per hoc, si (ut superiora proximis duobus libris pertractata docuerunt) nullus deus ex illa turba uel [7]quasi plebeiorum uel quasi procerum deorum idoneus est regna mortalia mortalibus dare, quanto minus potest inmortales ex mortalibus facere !

(I) Huc accedit, quia, si iam cum illis agimus, qui non propter istam, sed propter uitam quae post mortem futura est existi-

6. **uitam . . . uitem**—One of those assonances or plays upon words which A. so often employs. See Appendix B.

7. **quasi plebeiorum**. See note on iv. 11 B.

mant colendos deos, [8]iam nec propter illa saltem, quae deorum talium potestati tamquam dispertita et propria non ratione ueritatis, sed uanitatis opinione tribuuntur, omnino colendi sunt, sicut credunt hi, qui cultum eorum uitae huius mortalis utilitatibus necessarium esse contendunt; contra quos iam quinque praecedentibus uoluminibus satis, quantum potui, disputaui.

(K) Quae cum ita sint, si eorum, qui colerent deam Iuuentatem, aetas ipsa floreret insignius, contemtores autem eius uel intra annos occumberent iuuentutis, uel in ea tamquam senili torpore frigescerent; si malas cultorum suorum speciosius et festiuius [9]Fortuna barbata uestiret, a quibus autem sperneretur, globros aut male barbatos uideremus: etiam sic rectissime diceremus huc usque istas deas singulas posse, suis officiis quodam modo limitatas, ac per hoc nec a Iuuentate oportere peti uitam aeternam, quae non daret barbam, nec a Fortuna barbata boni aliquid post hanc uitam esse sperandum, cuius in hac uita potestas nulla esset, ut eandem saltem aetatem, quae barba induitur, ipsa praestaret.

(L) Nunc uero cum earum cultus nec propter ista ipsa, quae putant eis subdita, sit necessarius, quia et multi colentes Iuuentatem deam minime in illa aetate uiguerunt, et multi non eam colentes gaudent robore iuuentutis, itemque multi Fortunae barbatae supplices ad nullam uel deformem barbam peruenire potuerunt, et si qui eam pro barba inpetranda uenerantur a barbatis eius contemtoribus inridentur: itane desipit [10]cor humanum, ut, quorum deorum cultum propter ista ipsa temporalia et cito praetereuntia munera, quibus singulis singuli praeesse perhibentur, inanem ludibriosumque cognoscit, propter uitam aeternam credat esse fructuosum ?

(M) Hanc dare illos posse nec hi dicere ausi sunt, qui eis, ut ab insipientibus populis colerentur, ista opera temporalia, quoniam nimis multos putarunt, ne quisquam eorum sederet otiosus, minutatim diuisa tribuerunt.

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8. **iam nec propter illa saltem,** etc. = " It follows that the gods ought not to be worshipped at any rate for the sake of those things."

9. **Fortuna barbata**—*quae adultos barba induat* (iv. 11 D).

10. **cor humanum** = " the mind of man."

CAPUT II.

QUID VARRONEM DE DIS GENTIUM SENSISSE CREDENDUM SIT, QUORUM TALIA ET GENERA ET SACRA DETEXIT, UT REVERENTIUS CUM EIS AGERET, SI DE ILLIS OMNINO RETICERET.

(A) Quis [1]Marco Varrone curiosius ista quaesiuit ? quis inuenit doctius ? quis considerauit adtentius ? quis distinxit acutius ? quis diligentius pleniusque conscripsit ? Qui tametsi minus est suauis eloquio, doctrina tamen adque sententiis ita refertus est, ut in omni eruditione, quam nos [2]saecularem, illi autem liberalem uocant, studiosum rerum tantum iste doceat, quantum studiosum uerborum Cicero delectat.

(B) Denique et ipse [3][Tullius] huic tale testimonium perhibet, ut in [4]libris Academicis dicat eam, quae ibi uersatur, disputationem se habuisse cum Marco Varrone, "homine, inquit, omnium facile acutissimo et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo." Non ait "eloquentissimo" uel "facundissimo," quoniam re uera in hac facultate multum inpar est; sed "omnium, inquit, facile acutissimo,

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CHAPTER II.

What should be believed to have been Varro's opinion about the gods of the nations whose kinds and whose rites, as revealed by him, are such that he would have treated the gods with greater reverence if he had not said a word about these things.

1. Marco Varrone. Of Varro, A.'s main authority for pagan theological belief and ritual, some account is given in the note on iii. 4 A.

2. saecularem. The word *saeculum* possesses an interesting history. It is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *αἰών* (see Vulg., Luke xvi. 8; Rom. xii. 2; 1 Cor. iii. 18, etc.). It denotes therefore or often denotes the present *αἰών*—the age in which men are now living—as contrasted with the *αἰών* or *αἰῶνες* of futurity. But while *αἰών* was in its usage more or less limited to the present, the derivative *αἰώνιος* takes a wider range of meaning; it answered to *αἰῶνες* or even to *αἰῶνες αἰώνων* rather than to *αἰών*; and its Latin representative was *aeternus*. *Saecularis* became the adjective relating to the present life or world (cp. xvi. 26 I). Accordingly, as Christian thought emphasised the distinction, hardly intelligible to paganism, between the sacred and the worldly aspects or interests of life, all that was characteristic of the world, and therefore alien from religion, came to be called "secular." Thus in 1 Cor. vi. 4 *saecularia iudicia* is in Vulg. the translation of *βιωτικὰ κριτήρια* = "judgments pertaining to the present life." A., who says expressly that *αἰών Graece saeculum nuncupatur* (xvi. 26 I) uses *saeculum* for "the present age" or "life"—*e.g.*, xvii. 2 D (*mortalis huius saeculi*). So, too, he uses *saeculum* for "history" (xi. 18 C) and *saeculi excursus* for "the course of history" (xv. 9 D). *Saecularis* is applied by A. not only to human nature—*e.g.*, *concupiscentiae saecularis* (x. 6 B), but to profane learning, as here, and especially to profane literature (*saecularium litterarum* xiv. 7 C).

3. [Tullius] is not well supported by the MSS.; it is probably a gloss.

4. in libris Academicis. The "Academica" of Cicero does not contain the actual tribute which was paid by him, as A. here says, to Varro, but he uses similar language about him in "Acad. Post.," i. 1. But there were once four books of the "Academica," not two only, which are all that now remain, being Book II. of the first, and part of Book I. of the second edition. See Cicero ("Ad Att.," xiii. 1). The second edition of the "Academica" was dedicated to Varro.

et in eis libris, id est Academicis, [5]ubi cuncta dubitanda esse contendit, addidit "sine ulla dubitatione doctissimo."

(C) Profecto de hac re sic erat certus, ut auferret dubitationem, quam solet in omnibus adhibere, tamquam de hoc uno etiam pro Academicorum dubitatione disputaturus se Academicum fuisset oblitus. In primo autem libro cum eiusdem Varronis litteraria opera praedicaret: *"Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu publicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum locorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti."

(D) Iste igitur uir tam insignis excellentisque peritiae et, quod de illo etiam [6]Terentianus elegantissimo uersiculo breuiter ait:

Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro,

qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere uacuisse miremur; tam multa scripsit, quam multa uix quemquam legere potuisse credamus: iste, inquam, uir tantus ingenio tantusque doctrina, si [7]rerum uelut diuinarum, de quibus scribit, obpugnator esset adque destructor easque non ad religionem, sed ad superstitionem diceret pertinere, nescio utrum tam multa in eis ridenda, contemnenda detestanda conscriberet.

(E) Cum uero deos eosdem ita coluerit colendosque censuerit, ut [8]in eo ipso opere litterarum suarum dicat se timere ne pereant, non incursu hostili, sed ciuium neglegentia, de qua illos uelut ruina liberari a se dicit et in memoria bonorum per eius modi libros recondi adque seruari utiliore cura, [9]quam [10]Metellus de incendio sacra Vestalia et [11]Aeneas de Troiano excidio penates liberasse praedicatur; [12]et tamen ea legenda saeculis prodit, qua a sapienti-

5. ubi cuncta dubitanda esse contendit—in accordance with the principle of the Academic philosophy.

6. Terentianus—*sc.* Maurus, or the Moor, who lived probably in the third century A.D., wrote a sort of metrical handbook, "De Litteris Syllabis, Pedibus et Metris." The line which A. quotes is 2846 in Book IV.—"De Metris."

7. rerum uelut diuinarum—"things divine so-called."

8. in eo ipso opere—no doubt the "Antiquitatum Libri," of which A. gives an account in the next chapter.

9. quam Metellus. There is no need to follow Hoffmann in inserting *qua* before Metellus.

10. Metellus. Cp. iii. 18 E.

11. Aeneas. Cp. Virg., "Aen.," ii. 717, 747-8.

12. et tamen ea quibus mouebatur, etc. A.'s suggestion apparently is that Varro, under show of commending the pagan religion, did, in fact, put forward

* "Acad. Post.," i. 3, 9.

bus et insipientibus merito abicienda et ueritati religionis inimicissima iudicentur: quid existimare debemus nisi hominem acerrimum ac peritissimum, non tamen sancto Spiritu liberum, obpressum fuisse suae ciuitatis consuetudine ac legibus, et tamen ea quibus mouebatur sub specie commendandae religionis tacere noluisse.

CAPUT III.

QUAE SIT PARTITIO VARRONIS LIBRORUM SUORUM, QUOS DE ANTIQUITATIBUS RERUM HUMANARUM DIVINARUMQUE CONPOSUIT.

(A) Quadraginta et unum libros scripsit antiquitatum; hos in res humanas diuinasque diuisit, rebus humanis uiginti quinque, diuinis sedecim tribuit, istam secutus in ea partitione rationem, ut [1]rerum humanarum libros senos quattuor partibus daret. [2]Intendit enim qui agant, ubi agant, quando agant, quid agant. In sex itaque primis de hominibus scripsit, in secundis sex de locis, sex tertios de temporibus, sex quartos eosdemque postremos de rebus absoluit. Quater autem seni uiginti et quattuor fiunt. Sed unum singularem, qui communiter prius de omnibus loqueretur, in capite posuit. In diuinis identidem rebus eadem ab illo diuisionis forma seruata est, quantum adtinet ad ea, quae dis exhibenda sunt.

(B) [3]Exhibentur enim ab hominibus in locis et temporibus sacra. Haec quattuor, quae dixi, libris conplexus est ternis: nam tres priores de hominibus scripsit, sequentes de locis, tertios de temporibus, quartos de sacris, etiam hic, qui exhibeant, ubi exhibeant, quando exhibeant, quid exhibeant, subtilissima distinctione [4]commendans. Sed quia oportebat dicere et maxime id expectabatur, quibus exhibeant, de ipsis quoque dis tres conscripsit extremos, ut quinquies terni quindecim fierent. Sunt autem omnes, ut

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veiled hints of scepticism regarding it. Cp. vi. 4 E; 9 A. *ea quibus mouebatur* = "his true motives" or "sentiments." Cp. Tertullian: *Romanus Cynicus Varro trecentos Ioues, siue Iuppiteres dicendum, sine capitibus introducit* ("Apol.," 14), whatever be the meaning of *sine capitibus*.

CHAPTER III.

What is Varro's division of his own books which he composed upon the antiquity of things human and divine.

1. Intendit = "he considers." *Intendere* and *intentio* are words that A. frequently uses to express regard or interest of any kind.

2. rerum humanarum libros. Nonius Marcellus ("De Compend. Doctr.," ii. 92, Mercer's edition) speaks of these books as divided, *in homines, in loca, in tempora, in res.*

3. Exhibentur enim ab hominibus, etc. = "For sacred rites are performed by human beings in certain places and at certain times."

4. commendans = "describing." See note on ix. 8 C.

diximus, sedecim, quia et istorum exordio unum singularem, qui prius de omnibus loqueretur, adposuit.

(c) Quo absoluto consequenter ex illa quinquepertita distributione tres praecedentes, qui ad homines pertinent, ita subdiuisit, ut primus sit de pontificibus, secundus de auguribus, tertius [5]de quindecimuiris sacrorum; secundos tres ad loca pertinentes, ita ut in uno eorum de sacellis, altero de sacris aedibus diceret, tertio de locis religiosis; tres porro, qui istos sequuntur et ad tempora pertinent, id est ad dies festos, ita ut unum eorum faceret de feriis, alterum de ludis circensibus, de scaenicis tertium; quartorum trium ad sacra pertinentium uni dedit consecrationes, alteri sacra priuata, ultimo publica.

(d) Hanc uelut [6]pompam obsequiorum in tribus, qui restant, di ipsi sequuntur extremi, quibus iste uniuersus cultus inpensus est: in primo [7]di certi, in secundo incerti, in tertio cunctorum nouissimo [8]di praecipui adque selecti.

CAPUT IV.

QUOD EX DISPUTATIONE VARRONIS APUT CULTORES DEORUM ANTIQUIORES RES HUMANAE QUAM DIVINAE REPERIANTUR.

(a) In hac tota serie pulcherrimae ac subtilissimae distributionis et distinctionis uitam aeternam frustra quaeri et sperari inpudentissime uel optari, ex his, quae iam diximus et quae deinceps dicenda sunt, cuiuis hominum, qui corde obstinato sibi non fuerit inimicus, facillime apparet. Vel hominum enim sunt ista instituta uel daemonum, non quales uocant illi daemones bonos, sed, ut loquar apertius, inmundorum spirituum et sine controuersia malignorum, qui noxias opiniones, quibus anima humana magis magisque uanescat et incommutabili aeternaeque

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5. de quindecimuiris sacrorum—*sc.* the custodians of the Sibylline books. They were a College instituted by Tarquinius Superbus; and the College, originally consisting of two men (Dion. Halicarn. "Antiqq. Rom.," iv. 62), was afterwards increased to ten, that the plebs might be represented on it (Livy, vi. 37), and ultimately by Sylla to fifteen. They were not only custodians but interpreters of the books.

6. pompam obsequiorum = "procession of religious duties."

7. di certi . . . incerti. Pagan theology or Polytheism, after enumerating all known gods as proper objects of worship, was haunted by the fear of omitting other gods whose existence was more or less probable but still problematical. It organised, therefore, the cult not only of the gods who were said to be uncertain (iii. 12 c; vii. 17 a), but of unknown gods (as Acts xvii. 23; cp. Pausanias "Attic.," i. 1, 4; and Philostratus, "Vit. Apollon. Tyan.," vi. 2, 3), except that St. Paul uses the Sing. *Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*, and they use the Plur. *βωμοὶ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων* (Paus.) and *οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται* (Philostr.).

8. di praecipui adque selecti—*sc.* the twenty *di selecti*—the aristocracy of heaven—as enumerated vii. 2 a. See note on iv. 11 b.

ueritati coaptari adque inhaerere non possit, inuidentia mirabili et occulte inserunt cogitationibus inpiorum et aperte aliquando ingerunt sensibus et qua possunt fallaci adtestatione confirmant.

(B) Iste ipse Varro propterea se prius de rebus humanis, de diuinis autem postea scripsisse testatur, quod prius extiterint ciuitates, deinde ab eis haec instituta sint. Vera autem religio non a terrena aliqua ciuitate instituta est, sed plane caelestem ipsa instituit ciuitatem. [1]Eam uero inspirat et docet uerus Deus, dator uitae aeternae, ueris cultoribus suis.

(C) Varronis igitur confitentis ideo se prius de rebus humanis scripsisse, postea de diuinis, quia diuinae istae ab hominibus institutae sunt, haec ratio est: "Sicut prior est," inquit, "pictor quam tabula picta, prior faber quam aedificium: ita priores sunt ciuitates quam ea, quae a ciuitatibus instituta sunt." Dicit autem prius se scripturum fuisse de dis, postea de hominibus, si de omni natura deorum scriberet, quasi hic de aliqua scribat et non de omni, aut uero etiam aliqua, licet non omnis, deorum natura non prior debeat esse quam hominum.

(D) Quid, quod in illis tribus nouissimis libris deos certos et incertos et selectos diligenter explicans nullam deorum naturam praetermittere uidetur? Quid est ergo, quod ait: "Si de omni natura deorum et hominum scriberemus, prius diuina absoluissemus, quam humana adtigissemus"? Aut enim de omni natura deorum scribit, aut de aliqua, aut omnino de nulla. Si de omni, praeponenda utique est rebus humanis; si de aliqua, quur non etiam ipsa res praecedat humanas? An indigna est praeferri etiam uniuersae naturae hominum pars aliqua deorum? Quod si multum est, ut aliqua pars diuina praeponatur uniuersis rebus humanis, [2]saltem digna est uel Romanis.

(E) Rerum quippe humanarum libros, non quantum ad orbem terrarum, sed quantum ad solam Romam pertinet, scripsit, quos tamen rerum diuinarum libris se dixit scribendi ordine merito praetulisse, sicut pictorem tabulae pictae, sicut fabrum aedificio, apertissime confitens, quod etiam istae res diuinae, sicut pictura, sicut structura, ab hominibus institutae sint. Restat ut de nulla

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CHAPTER IV.

That, according to the argument of Varro, human things are found in the judgment of the worshippers of the gods to be more ancient than divine things.

1. Eam uero inspirat, etc. True religion, as A. clearly sees, is, and must be, a revelation; it cannot, like some tower of Babel, mount upwards from the earth, but must, like the holy city, New Jerusalem, descend out of heaven from God.

2. saltem digna est uel Romanis = "At least it is worthy of being preferred to so much of them as are Roman."

deorum natura scripsisse intellegatur, neque hoc aperte dicere uoluisse, sed [3]intellegentibus reliquisse.

(F) Ubi enim dicitur "non omnis," uistate quidem intellegitur aliqua; sed potest intellegi et "nulla," quoniam quae nulla est nec omnis nec aliqua est. Nam, ut ipse dicit, si omnis esset natura deorum, de qua scriberet, scribendi ordine rebus humanis praeponenda esset; ut autem et ipso tacente ueritas clamat, praeponenda esset certe rebus Romanis, etiamsi non omnis, sed saltem aliqua esset: recte autem postponitur; ergo nulla est.

(G) Non itaque rebus diuinis anteferre uoluit res humanas, sed rebus ueris noluit anteferre res falsas. In his enim, quae scripsit de rebus humanis, secutus est historiam rerum gestarum; quae autem de his, quas diuinas uocat, quid nisi opiniones rerum uanarum? Hoc est nimirum, quod uoluit subtili significatione monstrare, non solum scribens de his posterius quam de illis, sed etiam rationem reddens quur id fecerit. Quam si tacuisset, aliter hoc factum eius ab aliis fortasse defenderetur.

(H) In ea uero ipsa ratione, quam reddidit, nec aliis quidquam reliquit pro arbitrio suspicari et satis probauit homines se praeposuisse institutis hominum, non naturam hominum naturae deorum. Ita se libros rerum diuinarum non de ueritate quae pertinet ad naturam, sed de falsitate quae pertinet ad errorem scripsisse confessus est. Quod apertius alibi posuit, sicut *in quarto libro commemoraui, ex naturae formula se scripturum fuisse, si nouam ipse conderet ciuitatem; quia uero iam ueterem inuenerat, non se potuisse nisi eius consuetudinem sequi.

CAPUT V.

DE TRIBUS GENERIBUS THEOLOGIAE SECUNDUM VARRONEM, ID EST UNO FABULOSO, ALTERO NATURALI TERTIOQUE CIVILI.

(A) Deinde illud quale est, quod [1]tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationis quae de dis explicatur, eorumque unum mythicon [2][appellari], alterum physicon, tertium ciuile? Latine si usus admitteret, genus, quod primum posuit, [3]fabulare appellaremus; sed fabulosum dicamus; a fabulis enim mythicon dictum est,

3. intellegentibus reliquisse. See note on vi. 2 E. Cp. G. below.

CHAPTER V.

Of the three kinds of theology according to Varro—viz., one mythical, the second physical, and the third political.

1. tria genera theologiae. Cp. Scaeuola's tripartition of theology (iv. 27 A).

2. [appellari]. There is no sufficient reason for omitting the word.

3. fabulare—as immediately derived from *fabula*.

* C. 31 A.

quoniam μῦθος Graece fabula dicitur. Secundum autem ut naturale dicatur, iam et consuetudo locutionis admittit. Tertium etiam ipse Latine enuntiauit, quod ciuile appellatur.

(B) Deinde ait: "Mythicon appellant, quo maxime utuntur poetae; physicon, quo philosophi; ciuile, quo populi. Primum," inquit, "quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam inmortalium ficta. In hoc enim est, ut deus [4]alius ex capite, [5]alius ex femore sit, [6]alius ex guttis sanguinis natus; in hoc, [7]ut di furati sint, [8]ut adulterarint, [9]ut seruierint homini; denique in hoc omnia dis adtribuuntur, quae non modo in hominem, sed etiam quae in contemtissimum hominem cadere possunt."

(C) Hic certe ubi potuit, ubi ausus est, ubi inpunitum putauit, quanta mendacissimis fabulis naturae deorum fieret iniuria, sine caligine ullius ambiguitatis expressit. Loquebatur enim non de naturali theologia, non de ciuili, sed de fabulosa, quam libere a se putauit esse culpandam.

(D) Videamus quid de altera dicat. "Secundum genus est," inquit, "quod demonstraui, de quo multos libros philosophi reliquerunt; in quibus est, di qui sint, ubi, [10]quod genus, [11]quale; a quodam tempore an a sempiterno fuerint di; ex igni sint, ut credit [12]Heraclius, an ex numeris, ut [13]Pythagoras, an ex atomis, ut ait [14]Epicurus. Sic alia, quae facilius intra parietes in schola quam extra in foro ferre possunt aures."

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4. alius ex capite—Minerva.

5. alius ex femore—Bacchus.

6. alius ex guttis sanguinis. Vives thinks the allusion is to the birth of the winged horse Pegasus from the blood of Medusa.

7. ut di furati sint—*e.g.*, Mercurius.

8. ut adulterarint—Jupiter himself among others.

9. ut seruierint homini—Apollo and Neptunus under Laomedon; Apollo again under Admetus.

10. quod genus = "of what kind."

11. quale = "of what character."

12. Heraclitus. In the philosophy of Heraclitus the primordial substance or the deity, as he conceived it, was identified with light or fire. So far it was a philosophy or a religion akin to Zoroastrianism.

13. Pythagoras—He or his disciples went so far as to hold that number was not only the principle but the reality of things. A. does the Pythagorean School, I think, an injustice when he says it held the gods to be *ex numeris*. The higher Pythagoreans identified the principle of unity—the Μονάς—with the one God. See the passages quoted in the *Historia Philosophiae Graecae at Romanae* by Ritter and Preller (cap. ii. A).

14. Epicurus. Something has been said about Epicurus in the note on v. 20 B. But, apart from his hedonism, he is one of the three great exponents of the atomic theory, the others being Democritus and Lucretius. He thought that the gods were formed of atoms infinitely subtle. *Nec tamen ea species corpus est, sed quasi corpus: nec habet sanguinem sed quasi sanguinem*, says Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 18, 48; cp. *ibid.*, i. 25, 70).

(E) Nihil in hoc genere culpauit, quod physicon uocant et ad philosophos pertinet, tantum quod eorum inter se controuersias commemorauit, per quos facta est dissidentium multitudo sectarum. Remouit tamen hoc genus a foro, id est a populis; scholis uero et parietibus clausit. Illud autem primum mendacissimum adque turpissimum a ciuitatibus non remouit.

(F) O religiosas aures populares adque in his etiam Romanas! Quod de dis inmortalibus philosophi disputant, ferre non possunt; quod uero poetae canunt et histriones agunt, quia contra dignitatem ac naturam inmortalium ficta sunt, quia non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemtissimum hominem cadere possunt, non solum ferunt, sed etiam libenter audiunt. Neque id tantum, sed dis quoque ipsis haec placere et per haec eos placandos esse decernunt.

(G) Dixerit aliquis: Haec duo genera mythicon et physicon, id est fabulosum adque naturale, discernamus ab hoc ciuili, de quo nunc agitur, unde illa et ipse discreuit, iamque ipsum ciuile uideamus qualiter explicet. Video quidem, quur debeat discerni fabulosum: quia falsum, quia turpe, quia indignum est. Naturale autem a ciuili uelle discernere quid est aliud quam etiam ipsum ciuile fateri esse mendosum? Si enim illud naturale est, quid habet reprehensionis, ut excludatur? Si autem hoc quod ciuile dicitur naturale non est, quid habet meriti, ut admittatur?

(H) Haec nempe illa causa est, quare prius scripserit de rebus humanis, posterius de diuinis, quoniam in diuinis rebus non naturam sed hominum instituta secutus est. Intueamur sane et ciuilem theologian. "Tertium genus est," inquit, "quod in urbibus ciues, maxime sacerdotes, nosse adque administrare debent. In quo est, quos deos publice, [15] <quae> sacra ac sacrificia colere et facere quemque par sit." Adhuc quod sequitur adtendamus.

(I) "Prima," inquit, "theologia maxime adcommodata est ad theatrum, secunda [16] ad mundum, tertia ad urbem." Quis non uideat, cui palmam dederit? Utique secundae, quam supra dixit esse philosophorum. Hanc enim pertinere testatur ad mundum, quo isti nihil esse excellentius opinantur in rebus. Duas uero illas theologias, primam et tertiam, theatri scilicet adque urbis, distinxit an iunxit?

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15. <quae>. Not in the MSS., and A.'s style of writing suggests that it may be supplied from the foregoing *quos*. There is a parallel in ii. 16 A; xvi. 10 E. Examples of A.'s breviloquence occur or may occur in xi. 10 C; xviii. 53 E. Cp. also xv. 12 E (note).

16. ad mundum, etc. Cp. vi. 6 B: *cum mundus opus sit diuinum*. This is the doctrine enunciated in Cicero's "De Nat. Deor.," ii. 14, 37-39. "The Stoics did not think of God and the world as different beings." (Zeller, "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," ch. vi., p. 149).

(K) Videmus enim non continuo, quod est urbis, pertinere posse et ad mundum, quamuis urbes esse uideamus in mundo; fieri enim potest, ut in urbe secundum falsas opiniones ea colantur et ea credantur, quorum in mundo uel extra mundum natura sit nusquam: theatrum uero ubi est nisi in urbe? Quis theatrum instituit nisi ciuitas? Propter quid instituit nisi propter ludos scaenicos? [17]Ubi sunt ludi scaenici nisi in rebus diuinis, de quibus [18]hi libri tanta sollertia conscribuntur?

CAPUT VI.

DE THEOLOGIA MYTHICA, ID EST FABULOSA, ET DE CIVILI CONTRA VARRONEM.

(A) O Marce Varro, [1]cum sis "homo omnium acutissimus et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimus," sed tamen homo, non Deus, nec spiritu Dei ad uidenda et adnuntianda diuina in ueritatem libertatemque subuectus, cernis quidem quam sint res diuinae ab humanis nugis adque mendaciis dirimendae; sed uitiosissimas populorum opiniones et consuetudines in superstitionibus publicis uereris offendere, quas ab deorum natura abhorrere uel talium, quales in huius mundi elementis humani animi suspicatur infirmitas, et sentis ipse, cum eas usquequaque consideras, et omnis [2]uestra litteratura circumsonat.

(B) Quid hic agit humanum quamuis excellentissimum ingenium? Quid tibi humana licet multiplex ingensque doctrina in his angustiis suffragatur? Naturales deos colere cupis, ciuiles cogeris. Inuenisti alios fabulosos, in quos liberius quod sentis euomas, unde et istos ciuiles uelis nolisue perfundas. Dicis quippe fabulosos adcommodatos esse ad theatrum, naturales ad mundum, ciuiles ad urbem, cum mundus opus sit diuinum, urbes uero et theatra opera sint hominum, nec alii derideantur in theatris, quam qui adorantur in templis, nec aliis ludos exhibeatis, quam quibus uictimas immolatis.

(C) Quanto liberius subtiliusque ista diuideres, dicens alios esse deos naturales, alios ab hominibus institutos, sed de institutis

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17. Ubi sunt ludi scaenici, etc. Cp. i. 32 A.

18. hi libri—Varro's.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the mythical, i.e., fabulous theology and of the political theology, in reply to Varro.

1. cum sis homo, etc. In this apostrophe A. falls back on the language of Cicero, which he has himself quoted (vi. 2 B).

2. uestra litteratura = "the literature of your school."

aliud habere litteras poetarum, aliud sacerdotum, utrasque tamen ita esse inter se amicas consortio falsitatis, ut gratae sint utraeque daemonibus, quibus doctrina inimica est ueritatis! Sequestrata igitur paululum theologia, quam naturalem uocant, de qua postea disserendum est, placetne tandem uitam aeternam peti aut sperari ab dis poeticis theatricis, ludicris scaenicis?

(D) Absit; immo auertat Deus uerus tam inmanem sacrilegamque dementiam. Quid? ab eis dis, quibus haec placent et quos haec placant, cum eorum illic crimina frequententur, uita aeterna poscenda est? Nemo, ut arbitror, usque ad tantum praecipitium furiosissimae inpietatis insanit. Nec fabulosa igitur nec ciuili theologia sempiternam quisquam adipiscitur uitam. Illa enim de dis turpia fingendo seminat, haec fauendo metit; illa mendacia spargit, haec colligit; illa res diuinas falsis criminibus insectatur, haec eorum criminum ludos in diuinis rebus amplectitur; illa de dis nefanda figmenta hominum carminibus personat, haec ea deorum ipsorum festiuitatibus consecrat; facinora et flagitia numinum illa cantat, haec amat; illa prodit aut fingit, haec autem aut adtestatur ueris aut oblectatur et falsis.

(E) Ambae turpes ambaeque damnabiles; sed illa, quae theatrica est, publicam turpitudinem profitetur; ista, quae urbana est, illius turpitudine ornatur. Hincine uita aeterna sperabitur, unde ista breuis temporalisque polluitur? [3]An uero uitam polluit consortium nefariorum hominum, si se inserant adfectionibus et adsensionibus nostris, et uitam non polluit societas daemonum, qui coluntur criminibus suis? Si ueris, quam mali! si falsis, quam male!

(F) Haec cum dicimus, uideri fortasse cuipiam nimis harum rerum ignaro potest ea sola de dis talibus [4]maiestati indigna diuinae et ridicula detestabilia celebrari, quae poeticis cantantur carminibus et ludis scaenicis actitantur; sacra uero illa, quae non histriones, sed sacerdotes agunt, ab omni esse dedecore purgata et aliena. Hoc si ita esset, numquam theatricas turpitudines in eorum honorem quisquam celebrandas esse censeret, numquam eas ipsi di praeciperent sibimet exhiberi.

(G) Sed ideo nihil pudet ad obsequium deorum talia gerere in theatris, quia similia geruntur in templis. Denique cum memoratus auctor ciuilem theologiam a fabulosa et naturali tertiam quandam sui generis distinguere conaretur, magis eam ex utraque

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3. An uero uitam polluit, etc. A. writes in the spirit of Menander's line which St. Paul quotes (1 Cor. xv. 33), Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆσθ', ὁμιλίαι κακαί.

4. maiestati indigna diuinae. The use of *indignus* with the Dat. is post-classical.

temperatam quam ab utraque separatam intellegi uoluit. Ait enim ea, quae scribunt poetae, minus esse quam ut populi sequi debeant; quae autem philosophi, plus quam ut ea uulgum scrutari expediat. [5]"Quae sic abhorrent," inquit, " ut tamen ex utroque genere ad ciuiles rationes adsumta sint non pauca.

(H) [6]Quare quae erunt communia, una cum propriis ciuilibus scribemus; e quibus maior societas debet esse nobis cum philosophis quam cum poetis." [7]Non ergo ulla cum poetis. Et tamen alio loco dicit de generationibus deorum magis ad poetas quam ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos. Hic enim dixit quid fieri debeat, ibi quid fiat. Physicos dixit utilitatis causa scripsisse, poetas delectationis. Ac per hoc ea, quae a poetis conscripta populi sequi non debent, crimina sunt deorum, quae tamen delectant et populos et deos. Delectationis enim causa, sicut dicit, scribunt poetae, non utilitatis; ea tamen scribunt, quae di expetant, populi exhibeant.

CAPUT VII.

DE FABULOSAE ET CIVILIS THEOLOGIAE SIMILITUDINE ADQUE CONCORDIA.

(A) [1]Reuocatur igitur ad theologian ciuilem theologia fabulosa theatrica, scaenica, indignitatis et turpitudinis plena, et haec tota, quae merito culpanda et respuenda iudicatur, pars huius est, quae colenda et obseruanda censetur; non sane pars incongrua, sicut ostendere institui, et quae ab uniuerso corpore aliena importune illi conexa adque suspensa sit, sed omnino consona et tamquam eiusdem corporis membrum conuenientissime copulata. Quid enim aliud ostendunt illa simulacra, formae, aetates, sexus, habitus deorum ?

(B) Numquid barbatum Iouem, inberbem Mercurium poetae habent, pontifices non habent ? Numquid [2]Priapo mimi, non

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5. Quae sic abhorrent, etc. " These are radically opposed; yet from both kinds not a few elements have been introduced into the theories of political theology."

6. Quare quae erunt communia, etc. The MSS. give *quae erunt communia, una cum propriis ciuilibus scribemus*, with ill-supported variants *communia cum poetis* (which the Benedictine editors adopt) or *communia cum populis*. But there can be no doubt that *communia* are the points or elements which political theology has in common with mythical or natural theology. Hoffmann is probably right, therefore, in following the MSS., with the insertion of *una* before *cum propriis* and the omission of *una cum* before *ciuilibus*.

7. Non ergo ulla cum poetis. The old reading was *nulla ;* but the sentence which follows supports *ulla*. I should be inclined to read the sentence *non ergo ulla cum poeta* interrogatively.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the similarity and harmony between the mythical and the political theologies.

1. Reuocatur . . . ad theologian ciuilem = " is merged in political theology."

2. Priapo. See note on ii. 14 L.

etiam sacerdotes enormia pudenda fecerunt? An aliter stat adorandus in locis sacris, quam procedit ridendus in theatris? Num Saturnus senex, Apollo ephebus ita personae sunt histrionum, ut non sint statuae delubrorum? Quur [3]Forculus, qui foribus praeest, et Limentinus, qui limini, di sunt masculi, adque inter hos Cardea femina est, quae cardinem seruat?

(C) Nonne ista in rerum diuinarum libris reperiuntur, quae graues poetae suis carminibus indigna duxerunt? Numquid Diana theatrica portat arma et urbana simpliciter uirgo est? Numquid scaenicus Apollo citharista est et ab hac arte Delphicus uacat? Sed haec honestiora sunt in conparatione turpiorum. Quid de ipso Ioue senserunt, qui [4]eius nutricem in Capitolio posuerunt?

(D) Nonne adtestati sunt [5]Euemero, qui omnes tales deos non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit? [6]Epulones etiam deos, parasitos Iouis, ad eius mensam qui constituerunt, quid aliud quam mimica sacra esse uoluerunt? Nam parasitos Iouis ad conuiuium eius adhibitos si mimus dixisset, utique risum quaesisse uideretur. Varro dixit; non cum inrideret deos, sed cum commendaret hoc dixit; diuinarum, non humanarum rerum libri hoc eum scripsisse testantur, nec ubi ludos scaenicos exponebat, sed ubi Capitolina iura pandebat. Denique talibus uincitur et fatetur, [7]sicut forma humana deos fecerunt, ita eos delectari humanis uoluptatibus credidisse.

(E) Non enim et maligni spiritus suo negotio defuerunt, ut has noxias opiniones humanarum mentium ludificatione firmarent. Unde etiam illud est, quod [8]Herculis aedituus otiosus adque feriatus lusit tesseris secum utraque manu alternante, in una constituens Herculem, in altera se ipsum, sub ea condicione, ut, si ipse uicisset, de stipe templi sibi cenam pararet amicamque conduceret; si autem uictoria Herculis fieret, hoc idem de pecunia sua uoluptati Herculis exhiberet; deinde cum a se ipso tamquam

3. Forculus. He is mentioned, with Limentinus and Cardea, in iv. 8 D.

4. eius nutricem—Amalthea. Her story is told by Ovid ("Fasti," v. 115-128).

5. Euemero. See note on iv. 27 B.

6. Epulones deos. Cicero ("De Orator.," iii. 19, 73) speaks of *ludorum epulare sacrificium*. The *Epulones* at Rome were a college of priests charged with the office of supervising the banquets offered to the gods. *Epulones deos*="gods as butlers."

7. sicut forma humana, etc.—For man has habitually made his gods in his own image.

8. Herculis aedituus. Plutarch is the principal authority for the curious story which A. here repeats ("Quaest. Rom.," 36, § 272). But Larentia's (or Larentina's) legacy to the Roman people and the divine honour paid to her memory in consequence of it, are related also by other writers—*e.g.*, Aulus Gellius ("Noct. Attic.," vi. 7).

ab Hercule uictus esset, debitam cenam et nobilissimam meretricem Larentinam deo Herculi dedit.

(F) At illa cum dormisset in templo, uidit in somnis Herculem sibi esse commixtum sibique dixisse, quod inde discedens, cui primum iuueni obuia fieret, aput illum esset inuentura mercedem, quam sibi credere deberet ab Hercule persolutam. Ac sic abeunti cum primus iuuenis ditissimus Tarutius occurrisset eamque dilectam secum diutius habuisset, illa herede defunctus est. Quae amplissmam adepta pecuniam ne diuinae mercedi uideretur ingrata, quod acceptissimum putauit esse numinibus, populum Romanum etiam ipsa scripsit heredem, adque illa non conparente inuentum est testamentum; quibus meritis eam ferunt etiam honores meruisse diuinos.

(G) Haec si poetae fingerent, si mimi agerent, ad fabulosam theologian dicerentur procul dubio pertinere et a ciuilis theologiae dignitate separanda iudicarentur. Cum uero haec dedecora non poetarum, sed populorum; non mimorum, sed sacrorum; non theatrorum, sed templorum; id est non fabulosae, sed ciuilis theologiae, a tanto auctore produntur; non frustra histriones ludicris artibus fingunt deorum quae tanta est turpitudinem, sed plane frustra sacerdotes uelut sacris ritibus conantur fingere deorum quae nulla est honestatem.

(H) Sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in [9]eius dilecta insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Ioui; sacra sunt Cereris, ubi a Plutone rapta Proserpina quaeritur; sacra sunt Veneris, ubi amatus eius [10]Adon aprino dente extinctus iuuenis formosissimus plangitur; sacra sunt [11]Matris deum, ubi [12]Attis pulcher adulescens ab ea dilectus et muliebri zelo abscisus etiam hominum abscisorum, quos [13]Gallos uocant, infelicitate deploratur.

(I) Haec cum deformiora sint omni scaenica foeditate, quid est quod fabulosa de dis figmenta poetarum ad theatrum uidelicet pertinentia uelut secernere nituntur a ciuili theologia, quam per-

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9. eius dilecta insula Samo. Cp. Virgil's

Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabita coluisse Samo

(" Aen.," i. 15, 16).

Lactantius speaks of Juno's *nobillissimum et antiquissimum templum* at Samos (" Divin. Instit.," i. 17). He quotes Varro as testifying that the marriage of Juno to Jupiter took place in Samos.

10. Adon—Adonis, as he is generally called.

11. Matris deum—Cybele.

12. Attis. Cp. Ovid (" Fast.," iv. 223-30). Attis was fain to marry an earthly maiden; and Cybele in her jealousy (*zelo*) wrought a dreadful punishment upon him.

13. Gallos.—Cp. ii. 7 C; vii. 25 A.

tinere ad urbem uolunt, quasi ab honestis et dignis indigna et turpia ? Itaque potius est unde gratiae debeantur histrionibus, qui oculis hominum pepercerunt nec omnia spectaculis nudauerunt, quae sacrarum aedium parietibus occuluntur.

(K) Quid de sacris eorum boni sentiendum est, quae tenebris operiuntur, cum tam sint detestabilia, quae proferuntur in lucem ? Et certe quid in occulto agant per abscisos et molles, ipsi uiderint; eosdem tamen homines infeliciter ac turpiter eneruatos adque corruptos occultare minime potuerunt. Persuadeant cui possunt se aliquid sanctum per tales agere homines, quos inter sua sancta numerarui adqe uersari negare non possunt. Nescimus quid agant, sed scimus per quales agant. Nouimus enim quae agantur in scaena, quo nuquam uel [14]in choro meretricum abscisus aut mollis intrauit; et tamen etiam ipsa turpes et infames agunt; neque enim ab honestis agi debuerunt. Quae sunt ergo illa sacra, quibus agendis tales elegit sanctitas, quales nec [15]thymelica in se admisit obscenitas ?

CAPUT VIII.

DE INTERPRETATIONIBUS NATURALIUM RATIONUM, QUAS DOCTORES PAGANI PRO DIS SUIS CONANTUR OSTENDERE.

(A) At enim habent [1]ista physiologicas quasdam, sicut aiunt, id est [2]naturalium rationum interpretationes. Quasi uero nos in hac disputatione physiologian quaerimus et non theologian, id est rationem non naturae, sed Dei. Quamuis enim qui uerus Deus est non opinione, sed natura Deus sit: non tamen omnis natura deus est, quia et hominis et pecoris, et arboris et lapidis utique natura est, quorum nihil est deus. Si autem interpretationis huius, quando agitur de sacris Matris deum, caput est certe quod Mater deum terra est, quid ultra quaerimus, quid cetera perscrutamur ?

(B) Quid euidentius suffragatur eis, qui dicunt omnes istos deos homines fuisse ? Sic enim sunt terrigenae, sic eis mater est terra. In uera autem theologia opus Dei est terra, non mater. Verum

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14. in choro meretricum—all the actors on the ancient stage being males.

15. thymelica . . . obscenitas = " the obscenity of the stage "—from the Greek *θυμέλη* or altar which stood in the centre of the *ὀρχήστρα*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the naturalistic interpretations which the pagan teachers try to adduce in behalf of their gods.

1. ista—*sc.* the *sacra* mentioned in the last chapter.

2. naturalium rationum. The Stoical argument contained in Cicero's " De Nat. Deor." (ii. 9-12) may throw some light upon A.'s language. *Naturalium rationum interpretationes* seems to mean " interpretations which take the forms of theories of Nature."

tamen quoquo modo sacra eius interpretentur et referant ad rerum naturam, uiros muliebria pati non est secundum naturam, sed contra naturam. Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem, quod in uitiosis hominum moribus uix habet inter tormenta confessionem.

(C) Deinde si ista sacra, quae scaenicis turpitudinibus conuincuntur esse foediora, hinc excusantur adque purgantur, quod habent interpretationes suas, quibus ostendantur rerum significare naturam; quur non etiam poetica similiter excusentur adque purgentur? Multi enim et ipsa ad eundem modum interpretati sunt, usque adeo ut, quod ab eis inmanissimum et infandissimum dicitur, Saturnum suos filios deuorasse, ita nonnulli interpretentur, quod [3]longinquitas temporis, quae Saturni nomine significatur, quidquid gignit ipsa consumat, uel, sicut idem opinatur Varro, quod pertineat [4]Saturnus ad semina, quae in terram, de qua oriuntur, iterum recidunt. Itemque alii alio modo et similiter cetera.

(D) Et tamen theologia fabulosa dicitur et cum omnibus huiusce modi interpretationibus suis reprehenditur, abicitur, inprobatur, nec solum a naturali, quae philosophorum est, uerum etiam ab ista ciuili, de qua agimus, quae ad urbes populosque adseritur pertinere, eo quod de dis indigna confinxerit, merito repudianda discernitur, eo nimirum consilio, ut, quoniam acutissimi homines adque doctissimi, a quibus ista conscripta sunt, ambas inprobandas intellegebant, et illam scilicet fabulosam et istam ciuilem, illam uero audebant inprobare, hanc non audebant; illam culpandam proposuerunt, hanc eius similem conparandam exposuerunt,—

(E) Non ut haec prae illa tenenda eligeretur, sed ut cum illa respuenda intellegeretur, adque ita sine periculo eorum, qui ciuilem theologian reprehendere metuebant, utraque contemta ea, quam naturalem uocant, aput meliores animos inueniret locum. Nam et ciuilis et fabulosa ambae fabulosae sunt ambaeque ciuiles; ambas inueniet fabulosas, qui uanitates et obscenitates ambarum prudenter inspexerit; ambas ciuiles, qui scaenicos ludos pertinentes ad fabulosam in deorum ciuilium festiuitatibus et in urbium diuinis rebus aduerterit.

(F) Quo modo igitur uitae aeternae dandae potestas cuiquam deorum istorum tribuitur, quos sua simulacra et sacra conuincunt dis fabulosis apertissime reprobatis esse simillimos formis, aetatibus, sexu, habitu, coniugiis, generationibus, ritibus, in quibus omnibus

3. **longinquitas temporis**—because Saturn was identified with *κρόνος* and *κρόνος* was confused with *χρόνος*. Cp. iv. 10 D (note).

4. **Saturnus.** Varro says *ab satu est dictus Saturnus* ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 64). Cp. vii. 2 C.

aut homines fuisse intelleguntur et pro uniuscuiusque uita uel morte sacra eis et sollemnia constituta, hunc errorem insinuantibus firmantibusque daemonibus, aut certe ex qualibet occasione inmundissimi spiritus fallendis humanis mentibus inrepsisse ?

CAPUT IX.

DE OFFICIIS SINGULORUM DEORUM.

(A) Quid ? ipsa numinum officia tam uiliter minutatimque concisa, propter quod eis dicunt pro uniuscuiusque proprio munere supplicari oportere, unde non quidem omnia, sed multa iam diximus, nonne scurrilitati mimicae[1] quam diuinae consonant dignitati ? Si duas quisquam nutrices adhiberet infanti, quarum una nihil nisi escam, altera nihil nisi potum daret, sicut isti ad hoc duas adhibuerunt deas, [2]Educam et Potinam, nempe desipere et aliquid mimo simile in sua domo agere uideretur.

(B) [3]Liberum a liberamento appellatum uolunt, quod mares in coeundo per eius beneficium emissis seminibus liberentur; hoc idem in feminis agere [4]Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant, quod et ipsam perhibeant semina emittere; et ob haec Libero eandem uirilem corporis partem in templo poni, femineam Liberae. Ad haec addunt [5]mulieres adtributas Libero et uinum propter libidinem concitandam. Sic Bacchanalia summa celebrabantur insania; ubi Varro ipse confitetur a Bacchantibus talia fieri non potuisse nisi mente commota.

(C) Haec tamen postea displicuerunt [6]senatui saniori, et ea iussit auferri. Saltem hic tandem forsitan senserunt quid inmundi spiritus, dum pro dis habentur, in hominum mentibus possint. Haec certe non fierent in theatris; ludunt quippe ibi, non furiunt; quamuis deos habere, qui etiam ludis talibus delectentur, simile sit furoris.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the offices of individual gods.

1. quam = *potius quam.*

2. Educam et Potinam. Cp. iv. 11 c.

3. Liberum a liberamento. Cp. vii. 2 c (note). But this derivation of *Liber*, like the word *liberamentum* itself, is elsewhere unknown. In the Lexicon of Facciolati and Forcellini several other derivations are suggested—from *liberi* "children" (as Cicero, "De Nat. Deor.," ii. 24, 62) or from *liber* "free," whether free of care (as Seneca, "De Tranquil.," 15) or free in speech (as Festus "de Verb. Signif.," 10).

4. Liberam, quam etiam Venerem putant. Cp. vii. 2 c.

5. mulieres adtributas Libero—*sc.* the Bacchantes or Βάκχαι, as in the play of Euripides. Cp. *Liber, cuius comites Bacchae* (Varro, "De Ling. Lat.," vii. 87).

6. senatui saniori. See Livy (xxxix. 18); also Cicero ("De Legg.," ii. 15, 37). Cp. xviii. 13 F.

(D) Quale autem illud est, quod, cum religiosum a superstitioso ea distinctione discernat, ut a superstitioso dicat timeri deos, a religioso autem tantum uereri ut parentes, non ut hostes timeri, adque omnes ita bonos dicat, ut facilius sit eos nocentibus parcere quam laedere quemquam innocentem, tamen mulieri fetae post partum tres deos custodes commemorat adhiberi, ne [7]Siluanus deus per noctem ingrediatur et uexet, eorumque custodum significandorum causa tres homines noctu circuire limina domus et primo limen securi ferire, postea [8]pilo, tertio deuerrere scopis, ut his datis culturae signis deus

(E) Silaunus prohibeatur intrare, quod neque arbores caeduntur ac putantur sine ferro, neque far conficitur sine pilo, neque fruges coaceruantur sine scopis; ab his autem tribus rebus tres nuncupatos deos, Intercidonam a securis intercisione, [9]Pilumnum a pilo, Deuerram a scopis, quibus dis custodibus contra uim dei Siluani feta conseruaretur. Ita contra dei nocentis saeuitiam non ualeret custodia bonorum, nisi plures essent aduersus unum eique aspero, horrendo, inculto, utpote siluestri, signis culturae tamquam contrariis repugnarent. Itane ista est innocentia deorum, ista concordia ? Haeccine sunt numina salubria urbium, magis ridenda quam ludibria theatrorum ?

(F) Cum mas et femina coniunguntur, adhibetur deus [10]Iugatinus; sit hoc ferendum. Sed domum est ducenda quae nubit; adhibetur et [11]deus Domiducus; ut in domo sit, adhibetur deus [12]Domitius; ut maneat cum uiro, additur dea Manturna. Quid ultra quaeritur ? Parcatur humanae uerecundiae; peragat cetera concupiscentia carnis et sanguinis [13]procurato secreto pudoris.

(G) Quid inpletur cubiculum turba numinum, quando et [14]para-

7. Siluanus. A. alludes to the same function of Silvanus (I. below); but it is not commonly attributed to Silvanus. Cp. xv. 23 B: *Siluanus et Panes, quos uulgo incubos uocant.*

8. pilo="a pestle" as well as "a spear."

9. Pilumnum. His name occurs in Virgil, "Aen.," x. 76; where Servius says: *Varro Pilumnum et Pitumnum infantium deos esse ait, eisque pro puerpera in atrio lectum sterni dum exploretur an uitalis sit qui natus est. Piso Pilumnum dictum quia pellat mala infantiae.* Cp. Nonius Marcellus ("De Compend. Doctr.," xii., p. 528, Mercer's edition). and Varro as there quoted. The names of Intercidona and Deuerra are not found elsewhere.

10. Iugatinus. Cp. iv. 11 D.

11. deus Domiducus. The god Domiducus is mentioned by Martianus Capella ("De Nupt. Philol. et Mercur.," ii., § 149). There was a corresponding goddess Domiduca, or rather one of the surnames or attributes of Iuno was Domiduca (vii. 3 F). Cp. Tertull. ("ad Nation.," ii. 11).

12. Domitius and **Manturna**—are not known except from this passage.

13. procurato secreto pudoris="so long as the secrecy of shame is respected."

14. paranymphi. Cp. xiv. 18 B. The *παράνυμφος* was properly "the friend of the bridegroom" (St. John iii. 29), or, in modern language, "the best man,"

nymphi inde discedunt ? Et ad hoc inpletur, non ut eorum praesentia cogitata maior sit cura pudicitiae, sed ut feminae sexu infirmae, nouitate pauidae illis cooperantibus sine ulla difficultate uirginitas auferatur. Adest enim [15]dea Virginiensis et deus pater [16]Subigus, et [17]dea mater Prema et [18]dea Pertunda, et [19]Venus et [20]Priapus. Quid est hoc ? Si omnino laborantem in illo opere uirum ab dis adiuuari oportebat, non sufficeret aliquis unus aut aliqua una ? Numquid Venus sola parum esset, quae ad hoc etiam dicitur nuncupata, quod sine ui femina uirgo esse non desinat ?

(H) Si est ulla frons in hominibus, quae non est in numinibus, nonne, cum credunt coniugati tot deos utriusque sexus esse praesentes et huic operi instantes, ita pudore adficiuntur, ut et ille minus moueatur et illa plus reluctetur ? Et certe si adest Virginiensis dea, ut uirgini zona soluatur; si adest deus Subigus, ut uiro subigatur, si adest dea Prema, ut subacta, ne se commoueat, conprimatur: dea Pertunda ibi quid facit ?

(I) Erubescat, eat foras; agat aliquid et maritus. Valde inhonestum est, ut, quod uocatur illa, quisquam inpleat nisi ille. Sed forte ideo toleratur, quia dea dicitur esse, non deus. Nam si masculus crederetur et Pertundus uocaretur, maius contra eum pro uxoris pudicitia posceret maritus auxilium quam feta contra Siluanum. Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus [21]nimius masculus, super cuius inmanissimum et turpissimum [22]fascinum sedere noua nupta iubebatur, more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum ?

(K) Eant adhuc et theologian ciuilem a theologia fabulosa, urbes a theatris, templa ab scaenis, sacra pontificum a carminibus poetarum, uelut res honestas a turpibus, ueraces a fallacibus, graues a leuibus, serias a ludicris, adpetendas a respuendis, qua

whose office it was to escort the bride, on the evening of her wedding-day, from her parents' house to her husband's. A.'s use of the plural suggests that in his day this office was performed not by one man but by several men, who might be compared to the modern groomsmen.

15. dea Virginensis. Cp. iv. 11 D.

16. Subigus—a deity known only from this passage.

17. dea . . . Prema—whose name occurs in Tertullian ("Ad Nation.," ii. 11).

18. dea Pertunda. Her function is described coarsely enough by Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 10; iv. 7, etc.).

19. Venus. Apparently A. connects Venus with *uis ;* and, if so, he follows Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," 62 and 63).

20. Priapus.—Cp. vii. 24 H.

21. nimius masculus = "a male with a vengeance."

22. fascinum—the φαλλός. It was the charm used as a safeguard against witchcraft: hence *fascinare*.

possunt quasi conentur subtilitate discernere. Intellegimus quid agant; illam theatricam et fabulosam theologian ab ista ciuili pendere nouerunt et ei de carminibus poetarum tamquam de speculo resultare, et ideo ista exposita, quam damnare non audent, illam eius imaginem liberius arguunt et reprehendunt, ut, qui agnoscunt quid uelint, et hanc ipsam faciem, cuius illa imago est, detestentur;

(L) Quam tamen di ipsi tamquam in eodem speculo se intuentes ita diligunt, ut qui qualesque sint in utraque melius uideantur. Unde etiam cultores suos terribilibus imperiis conpulerunt, ut inmunditiam theologiae fabulosae sibi dicarent, in suis sollemnitatibus ponerent, in rebus diuinis haberent, adque ita et se ipsos inmundissimos spiritus manifestius esse docuerunt, et huius urbanae theologiae uelut electae et probatae illam theatricam abiectam adque reprobatam membrum partemque fecerunt, ut, cum sit uniuersa turpis et fallax adque in se contineat commenticios deos, una pars eius sit in litteris sacerdotum, altera in carminibus poetarum.

(M) Utrum habeat et alias partes, alia quaestio est: nunc propter diuisionem Varronis et urbanam et theatricam theologian ad unam ciuilem pertinere satis, ut opinor, ostendi. Unde, quia sunt ambae similis turpitudinis, absurditatis, indignitatis, falsitatis, absit a ueris religiosis, ut siue ab hac siue ab illa uita speretur aeterna.

(N) Denique et ipse Varro commemorare et enumerare deos coepit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum est exorsus [23]a Iano, eamque seriem perduxit usque ad decrepiti hominis mortem, et deos ad ipsum hominem pertinentes clausit ad [24]Neniam deam, quae in funeribus senum cantatur; deinde coepit deos alios ostendere, qui pertinerent non ad ipsum hominem, sed [25]ad ea, quae sunt hominis, sicuti est uictus adque uestitus et quaecumque alia huic uitae sunt necessaria, ostendens in omnibus, quod sit cuiusque munus et propter quid cuique debeat supplicari; in qua uniuersa diligentia nullos demonstrauit uel nominauit deos, a quibus uita aeterna poscenda sit, [26]propter quam unam proprie nos Christiani sumus.

(O) Quis ergo usque adeo tardus sit, ut non intellegat istum hominem ciuilem theologian tam diligenter exponendo et aperiendo

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23. a Iano. Cp. vii. 2 B.

24. Neniam. Arnobius speaks of persons *quibus extrema sunt tempora* as being under the guardianship of Nenia ("Adu. Gent.," iv. 7).

25. ad ea, quae sunt hominis. Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 25) mentions such deities as Victua, Potua, Cynxia, Unxia.

26. propter quam unam. A.'s strong language affords support to Gibbon's insistence upon the doctrine of a future life as one of the five principal causes to which he attributes the diffusion of Christianity.

eamque illi fabulosae, indignae adque probrosae similem demonstrando adque ipsam fabulosam partem esse huius satis euidenter docendo non nisi illi naturali, quam dicit ad philosophos pertinere, in animis hominum moliri locum, ea subtilitate, ut fabulosam reprehendat, ciuilem uero reprehendere quidem non audeat, sed prodendo reprehensibilem ostendat, adque ita utraque iudicio recte intellegentium reprobata sola naturalis remaneat eligenda ? De qua suo loco in adiutorio Dei ueri diligentius disserendum est.

CAPUT X.

DE LIBERTATE SENECAE, QUI VEHEMENTIUS CIVILEM THEOLOGIAN REPREHENDIT QUAM VARRO FABULOSAM.

(A) Libertas sane, quae huic defuit, ne istam urbanam theologian [1][tam diligenter exponendo] theatricae simillimam aperte sicut illam reprehendere auderet, [2]Annaeo Senecae, quem nonnullis indiciis inuenimus apostolorum nostrorum claruisse temporibus, non quidem ex toto, uerum ex aliqua parte non defuit. Adfuit enim scribenti, uiuenti defuit. Nam [3]in eo libro, quem contra superstitiones condidit, multo copiosius adque uehementius reprehendit ipse ciuilem istam et urbanam theologian quam Varro theatricam adque fabulosam.

(B) Cum enim de simulacris ageret: "Sacros," inquit, "inmortales, inuiolabiles in materia uilissima adque inmobili dedicant, habitus illis hominum ferarumque et piscium, quidam uero mixto sexu diuersis corporibus induunt; numina uocant, quae si spritu accepto

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CHAPTER X.

Of Seneca's freedom of speech, who censured the political in more vehement language than Varro the fabulous theology.

1. **[tam diligenter exponendo].** The words should be omitted; it is probable (as Hoffmann suggests) that they were accidentally repeated from vi. 9 o.

2. **Annaeo Senecae**—already mentioned v. 8 B. He was the philosopher and man of letters, the tutor and victim of Nero. It is a little strange that A. should speak doubtfully of his date (*nonnullis indiciis inuenimus*). His lifetime was approximately B.C. 5-A.D. 65. There can be no doubt that he was a contemporary of the Apostles. The tradition of his being a correspondent of St. Paul is discussed and disproved by Bishop Lightfoot (Epistle to the Philippians, Dissertation ii.). A. seems to credit him with a kindly feeling for the Christians (cp. *contra propriam forsitan uoluntatem*, vi. 11 A). The Christian fathers, or some of them, recognised in his writings a certain affinity to Christianity. So Tertullian calls him *Seneca saepe noster* ("de Axiom.," 20, a treatise which he wrote when he was still a Montanist). A. seems to credit him with Christian sympathies (vi. 11 A). But no epitaph upon Seneca could be more truthful or more bitter than A.'s language when he says of him here that liberty *adfuit scribenti, uiuenti defuit*. Cp. L. below.

3. **in eo libro**—*sc.* the treatise "De Superstitione" (now lost), which was an attack upon the anthropomorphism of pagan theology. Tertullian refers to it ("Apol.," 12).

subito occurrerent, monstra haberentur." Deinde aliquanto post, cum theologian naturalem praedicans quorundam philosophorum sententias digessisset, obposuit sibi quaestionem et ait: "Hoc loco dicit aliquis: Credam ego caelum et terram deos esse et supra lunam alios, infra alios ?

(C) "Ego feram aut [4]Platonem aut Peripateticum [5]Stratonem, quorum alter fecit deum sine corpore, alter sine animo ?" Et ad hoc respondens: "Quid ergo tandem inquit, ueriora tibi uidentur Titi Tatii aut Romuli aut Tulli Hostilii somnia ? [6]Cloacinam Tatius dedicauit deam, [7]Picum Tiberinumque Romulus, Hostilius [8]Pauorem adque Pallorem, taeterrimos omnium adfectus, quorum alter mentis territae motus est, alter corporis ne morbus quidem, sed color. Haec numina potius credes et caelo recipies ?"

(D) De ipsis uero ritibus crudeliter turpibus quam libere scripsit ! "Ille, inquit, uiriles sibi partes amputat, ille [9]lacertos secat. Ubi iratos deos timent, qui sic propitios merentur ? Di autem nullo debent coli genere, [10]si hoc uolunt. Tantus est perturbatae mentis et sedibus suis pulsae furor, ut sic di placentur, quem ad modum ne quidem homines saeuiunt taeterrimi et in fabulas traditae crudelitatis. Tyranni lacerauerunt aliquorum membra, neminem sua lacerare iusserunt.

(E) In regiae libidinis uoluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne uir esset, iubente domino manus intulit. Se ipsi in templis contrucidant, uulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant. Si cui intueri uacet, quae faciunt quaeque patiuntur, inueniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent; nunc [11]sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba."

(F) Iam illa, quae in ipso Capitolio fieri solere commemorat

4. Platonem. The reference may be to "Phaedr.," p. 86 A.

5. Stratonem—He succeeded Theophrastus as head of the Peripatetic philosophical School B.C. 288. He was known as *Physicus* from his love of the Natural Sciences. See Diogenes Laertius ("De Vit. Dogm. et Apopth.," v. 58 E), also Cicero ("De Fin.," v. 5, 13; "Acad. Post.," i. 9, 34). But the most illustrative passage is Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 13, 35). *Nec audiendus eius* (sc. *Theophrasti*) *auditor Strato, is qui physicus adpellatus qui omnem uim diuinam in natura sitam esse censet, quae causas gignendi, augendi, minuendi habeat, sed careat omni sensu et figura.*

6. Cloacinam. See note on iv. 8 A. Cp. iv. 23 B.

7. Picum Tiberinumque. Cp. iv. 23 B.

8. Pauorem adque Pallorem. Cp. iv. 23 B. Livy (i. 27) records that *Tullus in re trepida duodecim salios uouit fanaque Pallori ac Pauori.*

9. lacertos secat—like the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 28). Cp. Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 21).

10. si hoc uolunt—sc. *coli genere.*

11. sanitatis patrocinium, etc. "It is the multitude of the insane which is the main argument for their sanity."

et intrepide omnino coarguit, quis credat nisi ab inridentibus aut furentibus fieri? Nam cum in sacris Aegyptiis [12]Osirim lugeri perditum, mox autem inuentum magno esse gaudio derisisset, cum perditio eius inuentioque fingatur, dolor tamen ille adque laetitia ab eis, qui nihil perdiderunt nihilque inuenerunt, ueraciter exprimatur: [13]"Huic tamen," inquit, "furori certum tempus est. Tolerabile est semel anno insanire. In Capitolium perueni: pudebit publicatae dementiae, quod sibi uanus furor adtribuit officii.

(G) [14]Alius nomina deo subicit, alius [15]horas Ioui nuntiat, alius [16]lictor est, alius unctor, qui uano motu bracchiorum imitatur unguentem. Sunt quae Iunoni ac Mineruae capillos disponant (longe a templo, non tantum a simulacro stantes digitos mouent ornantium modo), sunt quae speculum teneant; sunt qui [17]ad uadimonia sua deos aduocent, sunt qui [18]libellos offerant et illos causam suam doceant.

(H) Doctus archimimus, senex iam decrepitus, cottidie in Capitolio mimum agebat, quasi di libenter spectarent, quem illi homines desierant. Omne illic artificum genus [19]operatum dis inmortalibus desidet." Et paulo post: "Hi tamen," inquit, "etiamsi superuacuum usum, non turpem nec infamem deo promittunt. Sedent quaedam in Capitolio, quae se a Ioue amari putant: ne Iunonis quidem, si credere poetis uelis, iracundissimae respectu terrentur."

(I) Hanc libertatem Varro non habuit; tantum modo poeticam theologian reprehendere ausus est, ciuilem non ausus est, quam iste concidit. Sed si uerum adtendamus, deteriora sunt templa ubi haec aguntur, quam theatra ubi finguntur. Unde in his sacris ciuilis theologiae has partes potius [20]elegit Seneca sapienti, ut eas in

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12. Osirim. The murder of Osiris by his brother Typhon, the journeyings of Isis his wife in search of his remains and her return to life were conspicuous elements in the religion of ancient Egypt. Osiris typifies the principle of good, as Typhon of evil. Plutarch devotes a whole treatise ("De Iside et Osiride") to this subject.

13. Huic tamen, inquit, etc. This quotation too belongs almost certainly to the "De Superstitione."

14. Alius nomina deo subicit—like a *nomenclator* in Roman life. *Nomina* is a better and better supported reading than *numina*; but the meaning is the same, "introduces persons (or "deities") by name to the god."

15. horas Ioui nuntiat = "tells Iupiter the time of day."

16. lictor—which is the reading of the MSS.—is perhaps right. The god would be accompanied by a *lictor* as well as by a *nomenclator*; *lictor* is hardly intelligible; *liber*—which is only a conjectural reading—is highly improbable.

17. ad uadimonia sua, etc. = "summon the gods to stand bail for them."

18. libellos = "briefs."

19. operatum dis inmortalibus, etc. = "is idly occupied in working for the immortal gods."

20. elegit Seneca, etc. = "Seneca chooses that a wise man should not make them part of his religion at heart, but should pretend so to make them in his actions."

animi religione non habeat, sed in actibus fingat. Ait enim: "Quae omnia sapiens seruabit tamquam legibus iussa, non tamquam dis grata." Et paulo post: "Quid quod et matrimonia," inquit, "deorum iungimus, et ne pie quidem, fratrum ac sororum, Bellonam Marti conlocamus, Vulcano Venerem, Neptuno Salaciam.

(K) Quosdam tamen caelibes relinquimus, quasi condicio defecerit, praesertim cum quaedam uiduae sint, ut [21]Populonia uel [22]Fulgora et diua [23]Rumina; quibus non miror petitorem defuisse. Omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo aeuo longa superstitio congessit,[24]sic," inquit, "adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum eius magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere." Nec leges ergo illae nec mos in ciuili theologia id instituerunt, quod dis gratum esset uel ad rem pertineret.

(L) Sed [25]iste, quem philosophi quasi liberum fecerunt, tamen, quia inlustris populi Romani senator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat; quia uidelicet magnum aliquid eum philosophia docuerat, ne superstitiosus esset in mundo, sed propter leges ciuium moresque hominum non quidem ageret fingentem scaenicum in theatro, sed imitaretur in templo; eo damnabilius, quo illa, quae mendaciter agebat, sic ageret, ut eum populus ueraciter agere existimaret; [26]scaenicus autem ludendo potius delectaret, quam fallendo deciperet.

CAPUT XI.

QUID DE IUDAEIS SENECA SENSERIT.

(A) Hic inter alias ciuilis theologiae superstitiones reprehendit etiam [1]sacramenta Iudaeorum et maxime sabbata, inutiliter eos facere adfirmans, quod per illos singulos [2]septem interpositos dies septimam fere partem aetatis suae perdant uacando et multa

21. Populonia—sometimes a designation of Juno (as Macrob. "Saturn.," iii. 11; Arnob. "adu. Gent.," iii. 30); but here apparently a separate goddess, the protectress of property against devastating storms.

22. Fulgora—the goddess of the lightning, and so the protectress against the lightning; not known elsewhere.

23. Rumina. See note on iv. 11 c.

24. sic, adorabimus, etc.="While we pay them reverence, we will not forget that the worship of them is more a matter of formality than of reality."

25. iste—*sc.* Seneca.

26. scaenicus autem, etc.="whereas an actor would rather please an audience by playing a part than cheat them by playing a false part."

CHAPTER XI.

Seneca's opinion of the Jews.

1. sacramenta="sacred institutions." Cp. note on *sacramentum* (iv. 33 B).

2. septem interpositos dies. *Septem* must bear the meaning of *septimos*, unless indeed *septimos* is the true reading.

in tempore urgentia non agendo laedantur. Christianos tamen iam tunc Iudaeis inimicissimos in neutram partem commemorare ausus est, ne uel laudaret contra suae patriae ueterem consuetudinem, uel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan uoluntatem.

(B) De illis sane Iudaeis cum loqueretur, ait: "Cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo conualuit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit: [3]uicti uictoribus leges dederunt." Mirabatur haec dicens et quid diuinitus ageretur ignorans subiecit plane sententiam, qua significaret quid de illorum sacramentorum ratione sentiret. Ait enim: "Illi tamen causas ritus sui nouerunt; maior pars populi facit, quod quur faciat ignorat."

(C) Sed de sacramentis Iudaeorum, uel quur uel quatenus instituta sint auctoritate diuina, ac post modum a populo Dei, cui [4]uitae aeternae mysterium reuelatum est, tempore quo oportuit eadem auctoritate sublata sint, et alias diximus, maxime [5]cum aduersus Manichaeos ageremus, et in hoc opere loco opportuniore dicendum est.

CAPUT XII.

QUOD GENTILIUM DEORUM VANITATE DETECTA NEQUEAT DUBITARI AETERNAM EOS VITAM NEMINI POSSE PRAESTARE, QUI NEC IPSAM ADIUVENT TEMPORALEM.

(A) Nunc propter tres theologias, quas Graeci dicunt [1]mythicen, physicen, politicen, Latine autem dici possunt fabulosa, naturalis, ciuilis, quod neque de fabulosa, quam et ipsi deorum multorum falsorumque cultores liberrime reprehenderunt, neque de ciuili, cuius illa pars esse conuincitur eiusque et ista simillima uel etiam deterior inuenitur, speranda est aeterna uita, si cui satis non sunt quae in hoc uolumine dicta sunt, adiungat etiam illa, quae in superioribus libris et maxime *quarto de felicitatis datore Deo plurima disputata sunt.

3. **uicti uictoribus leges dederunt.** Josephus speaks of Jewish customs and institutions, and especially the Sabbath, as pervading all nations, Greek and barbarian ("Con. Apion.," ii. 39).

4. **uitae aeternae . . . reuelatum est**—in the later, if not in the earlier, books of the Old Testament.

5. **cum aduersus Manichaeos ageremus.** Books VI. and VII. of A.'s treatise, "Adu. Faustum Manichaeum," answer perhaps most closely to this reference.

CHAPTER XII.

That the exposure of the vanity of the gods of the nations leaves no doubt that, as they do not benefit even the temporal life itself, it is not in their power to bestow eternal life upon anybody.

1. **mythicen, physicen, politicen.** A. Latinises not only the Greek adjectives but the Greek declension of them.

* iv. 26.

(B) Nam cui nisi uni felicitati propter aeternam uitam consecrandi homines essent, si dea [2]Felicitas esset ? Quia uero non dea, sed munus est dei; cui deo nisi datori felicitatis consecrandi sumus, qui aeternam uitam, ubi uera est et plena felicitas, pia caritate diligimus ? Non autem esse datorem felicitatis quemquam istorum deorum, qui tanta turpitudine coluntur et, nisi ita colantur, multo turpius irascuntur adque ob hoc se spiritus inmundissimos confitentur, puto ex his, quae dicta sunt, neminem dubitare oportere.

(C) Porro qui non dat felicitatem, uitam quo modo dare posset aeternam ? Eam quippe uitam aeternam dicimus, ubi est sine fine felicitas. Nam si anima in poenis uiuit aeternis, quibus et ipsi spiritus cruciabuntur inmundi, mors est illa potius aeterna quam uita. Nulla quippe maior et peior est mors, quam ubi non moritur mors. Sed quod animae natura, per id quod inmortalis creata est, sine qualicumque uita esse non potest, [3]summa mors eius est alienatio a uita Dei in aeternitate supplicii.

(D) Vitam igitur aeternam, id est sine ullo fine felicem, solus ille dat, qui dat ueram felicitatem. Quam quoniam illi, quos colit theologia ista ciuilis, dare non posse conuicti sunt: non solum propter ista temporalia adque terrena, quod superioribus quinque libris ostendimus, sed multo magis propter uitam aeternam, quae post mortem futura est, quod isto uno [4]etiam illis cooperantibus egimus, colendi non sunt. Sed quoniam ueternosae consuetudinis uis nimis in alto radices habet, si cui de ista ciuili theologia respuenda adque uitanda parum uideor disputasse, in [5]aliud uolumen, quod huic opitulante Deo coniungendum est, animum intendat.

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2. Felicitas. Cp. iv. 18 A.

3. summa mors eius est, etc.—a definition true both philosophically and theologically, and the only possible definition of *aeternitate supplicii*. The words *alienatio a uita Dei* extenuate A.'s insistence upon the everlastingness of punishment.

4. etiam illis cooperantibus—*illis*, *sc.* the other books—Books I.-V.—which, as A. says, support the argument of the present book (*isto uno*).

5. aliud uolumen—Book VII.

LIBER VII

PRAEFATIO.

(A) Diligentius me prauas et ueteres opiniones ueritati pietatis inimicas, quas tenebrosis animis altius et tenacius diuturnus humani generis error infixit, euellere adque exstirpare conantem et illius gratiae, qui hoc ut uerus Deus potest, pro meo modulo in eius adiutorio cooperantem ingenia celeriora adque meliora, quibus ad hanc rem superiores libri satis superque sufficiunt, patienter et aequanimiter ferre debebunt et propter alios non putare superfluum, quod iam sibi sentiunt non necessarium.

(B) [1]Multum magna res agitur, cum uera et uere sancta diuinitas, quamuis ab ea nobis etiam huic, quam nunc gerimus, fragilitati necessaria subsidia praebeantur, non tamen propter mortalis uitae transitorium [2]uaporem, sed propter uitam beatam, quae non nisi aeterna est, quaerenda et colenda praedicatur.

CAPUT I.

AN CUM IN THEOLOGIA CIVILI DEITATEM NON ESSE CONSTITERIT, IN SELECTIS DIS EAM INVENIRI POSSE CREDENDUM SIT.

(A) Hanc [1]diuinitatem uel, ut sic dixerim, deitatem (nam et hoc uerbo uti iam nostros non piget, ut de Graeco expressius transferant quod illi θεότητα appellant)—hanc ergo diuinitatem siue deitatem non esse in ea theologia, quam cuilem uocant, quae a Marco Varrone sedecim uoluminibus explicata est, id est non peruenire ad aeternae uitae felicitatem talium deorum cultu, quales a

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PREFACE.

1. Multum magna. An adverbal use of *multum* not unknown in Classical Latinity (*e.g.*, Horace's *multum dissimiles*, "Epist." i. 10, 3), but frequent afterwards. A. uses in *D.C.D.* many such expressions as *multum longe* (xi. 23 F); *multum laudabilis* (xii. 1 G); *multum iustorum adque sanctorum* (xiv. 9 I).

2. uaporem. Cp. iv. 5 B.

CHAPTER I.

Whether, as it is admitted that there is no deity in political theology, it may be believed to be possibly found among the select gods.

1. diuinitatem uel . . . deitatem. It is interesting to watch the emergence of the Latin word *deitas* in ecclesiastical literature. In Greek neither θεότης nor θειότης possesses Classical authority. In Latin *diuinitas* is a Classical word, but not *deitas*. Christianity evoked both θεότης and *deitas* by the stress which it laid upon the absoluteness of the Divine Being. But it is strange that A. should draw no distinction between *deitas* = the nature of God, and *diuinitas* = the attributes of God. Cp. x. 1 D, where A. offers the same sort of apology as here for the novel word *deitas*.

ciuitatibus qualiterque colendi instituti sunt, cui nondum persuasit sextus liber, quem proxime absoluimus, cum istum forsitan legerit, quid de hac quaestione expedienda ulterius desideret, non habebit.

(B) Fieri enim potest, ut saltem [2]deos selectos adque praecipuos, quos Varro uolumine conplexus est ultimo, de quibus parum diximus, quisquam colendos propter uitam beatam, quae non nisi aeterna est, opinetur. Qua in re non dico quod facetius [3]ait Tertullianus fortasse quam uerius: *Si di eliguntur ut bulbi, utique ceteri reprobi iudicantur. Non hoc dico: uideo enim etiam ex selectis selegi aliquos ad aliquid maius adque praestantius, sicut in militia, cum tirones electi fuerint, ex his quoque eliguntur ad opus aliquod maius armorum; et cum eliguntur in ecclesia, qui fiant [4]praepositi, non utique ceteri reprobantur, cum omnes boni fideles electi merito nuncupentur.

(C) Eliguntur in aedificio lapides angulares, non reprobatis ceteris, qui structurae partibus aliis deputantur. Eliguntur uuae ad uescendum, nec reprobantur aliae, quas relinquimus ad bibendum. Non opus est multa percurrere, cum res in aperto sit. Quam ob rem non ex hoc, quod di ex multis quidam selecti sunt, uel is qui scripsit uel eorum cultores uel di ipsi uituperandi sunt, sed aduertendum potius quinam isti sint et ad quam rem selecti uideantur.

CAPUT II.

QUI SINT DI SELECTI, ET AN AB OFFICIIS VILIORUM DEORUM HABEANTUR EXCEPTI.

(A) Hos certe [1]deos selectos Varro [2]unius libri contextione commendat: Ianum, Iouem, Saturnum, [3]Genium, Mercurium, Apol-

2. deos selectos adque praecipuos—the same description as in vi. 3 D. See note on iv. 11 B.

3. ait Tertullianus. The reference is to "ad Nation.," ii: *Si enim di ut balbi seliguntur, qui non seliguntur inprobi pronuntiantur.*

4. praepositi="overseers," ἐπίσκοποι in a general rather than in its specialised sense. Cp. xx. 9 G. In Prosper Aquitanus ("Sentent. ex August. Delib.," xxxvi.) occur the words: *Tunc utilis praepositorum custodia est, cum Spiritus Dei populo praesidet et non solum greges sed etiam ipsos dignatur custodire pastores;* and they may be taken as referring presumably to the same persons.

CHAPTER II.

Who are the select gods and whether they are held to be exempt from the functions of the common gods.

1. deos selectos. This is the *locus classicus* which interprets A.'s numerous references to the *di selecti* of Varro's theological system. See iv. 11 B (note), vi. 2 H; vii. 27 A., etc.

2. unius libri contextione commendat="describes within the compass of a single book."

3. Genium. This is the god defined as *Deus qui praepositus est ac uim habet*

* "Ad Nation.," ii. 9.

linem, Martem, Valcanum, Neptunum, Solem, [4]Orcum, [5]Liberum patrem, Tellurem, Cererem, Iunonem, [6]Lunam, Dianam, Mineruam, Venerem, Vestam; in quibus omnibus ferme uiginti duodecim mares, octo sunt feminae.

(B) Haec numina utrum propter maiores in mundo administrationes selecta dicuntur, an quod populis magis innotuerunt maiorque est eis cultus exhibitus? Si propterea, quia opera maiora ab his administrantur in mundo, non eos inuenire debuimus inter illam [7]quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem minutis opusculis deputatam. Nam ipse primum Ianus, cum puerperium concipitur, unde illa cuncta opera sumunt exordium minutatim minutis distributa numinibus, aditum aperit recipiendo semini.

(C) Ibi est et Saturnus propter ipsum semen; ibi Liber, qui marem effuso semine liberat; ibi [8]Libera, quam et Venerem uolunt, quae hoc idem beneficium conferat feminae, ut etiam ipsa emisso semine liberetur. Omnes hi ex illis sunt, qui selecti appellantur. Sed ibi est et [9]dea Mena, quae menstruis fluoribus praeest, quamuis Iouis filia, tamen ignobilis. Et hanc prouinciam fluorum menstruorum in libro selectorum deorum ipsi Iunoni idem auctor adsignat, quae in dis selectis etiam regina est et hic tamquam [10]Iuno Lucina cum eadem Mena priuigna sua eidem cruori praesidet.

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omnium rerum gignendarum, and identified with *mundi animus* or even with Iupiter himself (vii. 13 C, where see note). Censorinus enters upon a long and full discussion of Genius ("De Die Natal.," 3). According to him, *Genius est deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est uiuit*. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 14) defines Genius as *is Deus qui est animus suus cuique*.

4. Orcum—the god of the lower world. He is called *mortium receptor* (vii. 3 G). He is identified with Dis (vii. 23 G). Elsewhere Orcus stands for the lower world itself, as Vulcanus for the fire and Neptunus for the water (vii. 16 A).

5. Liberum patrem. The epithet *pater* adheres to the god Liber in literature as in conversation. Cp. *e.g.*:

"*Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux*"

(Horace, "Epist.," ii. 1, 5). It seems clear that A. identifies Liber or Bacchus, for he calls him *Liber pater*, with the Liber who is said here (as in vi. 9 B) to be concerned with the relation of the sexes. Cicero distinguishes them ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 24, 62).

6. Lunam, Dianam—Here distinguished, but in Classical mythology generally identified, Diana, Hecate and Luna being the same goddess under different names. Cp. Virgil:

"*Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.*"
("Aen.," iv. 511.)

7. quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem. Cp. iv. 11 B.

8. Libera—identified with Venus and Ceres (vii. 3 A; cp. vi. 9 B).

9. dea Mena. Cp. iv. 11 B. Mythologically she was the daughter of Iupiter and Latona (hence *priuigna*); but she was, in fact, the personification of the month (Μήνη), as her function implies. *Iuno Lucina* occurs in Plautus ("Aulul," iv. 7, 11); Lucina (who is identified with the Greek Εἰλείθυια) as a separate goddess in Horace ("Carm. Saec.," 15).

10. Iuno Lucina. Iuno in the capacity here described was sometimes known as Fluonia. Cp. Festus ("De Verb. Signif.," vi).

(D) Ibi sunt et duo nescio qui obscurissimi, [11] Vitumnus et Sentinus, quorum alter uitam, alter sensus puerperio largiuntur. Et nimirum multo plus praestant, cum sint ignobilissimi, quam illi tot proceres et selecti. Nam profecto sine uita et sensu, quid est illud totum, quod muliebri utero geritur, nisi nescio quid abiectissimum limo ac pulueri conparandum ?

CAPUT III.

QUAM NULLA SIT RATIO, QUAE DE SELECTIONE QUORUNDAM DEORUM POSSIT OSTENDI, CUM MULTIS INFERIORIBUS EXCELLENTIOR ADMINISTRATIO DEPUTETUR.

(A) Quae igitur causa tot selectos deos ad haec opera minima conpulit, ubi a Vitumno et Sentino,

*quos fama obscura recondit,

in huius munificentiae partitione superentur ? Confert enim selectus Ianus aditum et quasi ianuam semini; confert selectus Saturnus semen ipsum; confert selectus Liber eiusdem seminis emissionem uiris; confert hoc idem Libera, quae Ceres seu Venus est, feminis; confert selecta Iuno, et hoc non sola, sed cum Mena, filia Iouis, fluores menstruos ad eius, quod conceptum est, incrementum; et confert Vitumnus obscurus et ignobilis uitam; confert Sentinus obscurus et ignobilis sensum; quae duo tanto illis rebus praestantiora sunt, quanto et ipsa intellectu ac ratione uincuntur.

(B) Sicut enim, quae ratiocinantur et intellegunt, profecto potiora sunt his, quae sine intellectu adque ratione ut pecora uiuunt et sentiunt; ita et illa, quae uita sensuque sunt praedita, his, quae nec uiuunt nec sentiunt, merito praeferuntur. Inter selectos itaque deos Vitumnus uiuificator et Sentinus sensificator magis haberi debuerunt quam Ianus seminis admissor et Saturnus seminis dator uel sator et Liber et Libera seminum commotores uel emissores; quae semina cogitare indignum est, nisi ad uitam sensumque peruenerint, quae munera selecta non dantur a dis selectis, sed a quibusdam incognitis et prae istorum dignitate neglectis.

(C) Quod si respondetur omnium initiorum potestatem habere Ianum et ideo illi etiam [1] quod aperitur conceptui non inmerito

11. Vitumnus et Sentinus. Cp. Tertull. ("Ad Nation.," ii. 15). *Vitumnus et Sentinus per quem uiuiscat corpus et sentiat.*

CHAPTER III.

How impossible it is to adduce any reason for the selection of certain gods, when a more excellent administrative function is assigned to many other gods of inferior rank.

1. quod aperitur conceptui = "the opening of the way to conception."

* Virg., "Aen.," v. 302.

adtribui, et omnium seminum Saturnum, et ideo seminationem quoque hominis non posse ab eius operatione seiungi, omnium seminum emittendorum Liberum, et Liberam, et ideo his etiam praeesse, quae [2]ad substituendos homines pertinent, omnium purgandorum et pariendorum Iunonem, et ideo eam non deesse purgationibus feminarum et partubus hominum: quaerant quid respondeant de Vitumno et Sentino, utrum et ipsos uelint habere omnium quae uiuunt et sentiunt potestatem.

(D) Quod si concedunt, adtendant quam eos sublimius locaturi sint. Nam seminibus nasci in terra et ex terra est; uiuere autem adque sentire etiam [3]deos sidereos opinantur. Si autem dicunt Vitumno adque Sentino haec sola adtributa, quae in carne uiuescunt et sensibus adminiculantur, quurnon deus ille, qui facit omnia uiuere adque sentire, etiam carni uitam praebet et sensum, uniuersali opere hoc munus etiam partubus tribuens? et quid opus est Vitumno adque Sentino?

(E) Quod si ab illo, qui uitae ac sensibus uniuersaliter praesidet, his quasi famulis ista carnalia uelut extrema et ima commissa sunt; itane sunt illi selecti destituti familia, ut non inuenirent quibus etiam ipsi ista committerent, sed cum tota sua nobilitate, qua uisi sunt seligendi, opus facere cum ignobilibus cogerentur? Iuno selecta et regina Iouisque *"et soror et coniunx"; haec tamen [4]Iterduca est pueris et opus facit cum deabus ignobilissimis [5]Abeona et Adeona.

(F) Ibi posuerunt et [6]Mentem deam, quae faciat pueris bonam mentem, et inter selectos ista non ponitur, quasi quidquam maius praestari homini potest; ponitur autem Iuno, quia Iterduca est et †[7]Domiduca, quasi quidquam prosit iter carpere et domum duci, si mens non est bona, cuius muneris deam selectores isti inter selecta numina minime posuerunt. Quae profecto et Mineruae fuerat praeferenda, cui per ista minuta opera puerorum memoriam tribuerunt.

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2. ad substituendos homines—"to the propagation of mankind." *Substituere* is frequently used by A. to denote the succession of the generations in human life. Cp. vii. 30 C. *Substitutio* (x. 31 B) is similar, although not identical, in meaning.

3. deos sidereos. Cp. vii. 6 C.

4. Iterduca—a goddess whose function is indicated by *iter carpere*. Martianus Capella says of Juno: "*Iterducam et Domiducam . . . puellae debent in nuptias conuocare, ut earum et itinera protegas et in optatus domos ducas*" (ii. § 149).

5. Abeona et Adeona. Cp. iv. 21 C.

6. Mentem deam. Cp. iv. 21 C: "*Deae Menti, ut bonam haberent mentem.*"

7. Domiduca. See note on vi. 9 F. The quotation from Martianus Capella above shows that *Iuno Domiduca* was a goddess of marriage; she escorted the bride to her new home.

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* Virg., "Aen.," i. 47. † c. 21 and 23.

(G) Quis enim dubitet multo esse melius habere bonam mentem quam memoriam quantumlibet ingentem? Nemo enim malus est, qui bonam habet mentem; quidam uero pessimi memoria sunt mirabili, tanto peiores quanto minus possunt quod male cogitant obliuisci. Et tamen [8]Minerua est inter selectos deos; Mentem autem deam turba uilis operuit. Quid de Virtute dicam? quid de Felicitate? de quibus *in quarto libro plura iam diximus; quas cum deas haberent, nullum eis locum inter selectos deos dare uoluerunt, ubi dederunt Marti et Orco, uni affectori mortium alteri receptori.

(H) Cum igitur in his minutis operibus, quae minutatim dis pluribus distributa sunt, etiam ipsos selectos uideamus tamquam senatum cum plebe pariter operari, et inueniamus a quibusdam dis, qui nequaquam seligendi putati sunt, multa maiora adque meliora administrari quam ab illis, qui selecti uocantur: restat arbitrari non propter praestantiores in mundo administrationes, sed quia prouenit eis, ut magis populis innotescerent, selectos eos et praecipuos nuncupatos. Unde dicit etiam ipse Varro, quod dis [9]quibusdam patribus et deabus matribus, sicut hominibus, ignobilitas accidisset.

(I) Si ergo Felicitas ideo fortasse inter selectos deos esse non debuit, quod ad istam nobilitatem non merito, sed fortuito peruenerunt: saltem inter illos uel potius prae illis Fortuna poneretur, quam dicunt deam non rationabili dispositione, sed ut temere acciderit, sua cuique dona conferre. Haec in dis selectis tenere apicem debuit, in quibus maxime quid posset ostendit; quando eos uidemus non praecipua uirtute, non rationabili felicitate, sed temeraria, sicut eorum cultores de illa sentiunt, Fortunae potestate selectos.

(K) Nam et uir disertissimus Sallustius etiam ipsos deos fortassis adtendit, cum diceret: "†Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex uero celebrat obscuratque." Non enim possunt inuenire causam, quur celebrata sit Venus et obscurata sit Virtus, cum ambarum ab istis consecrata sint numina nec conparanda sint merita.

(L) Aut si hoc nobilitari meruit, quod plures adpetunt, plures enim Venerem quam Virtutem; quur celebrata est dea Minerua

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8. Minerua. For the association or identification of Minerva with Memoria cp. Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 31) *Eandem hanc memoriam nonnulli (esse dixerunt), unde ipsum nomen Minerua quasi quaedam Meminerua formatum est.*

9. quibusdam patribus, etc. The commentators cite the superiority of Jupiter and Juno to Saturnus their father and Ops their mother.

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* c. 21 and 23. † "Catil.," 8.

et [10]obscurata est dea Pecunia ? cum in genere humano plures adliciat auaritia quam peritia, et in eis ipsis, qui sunt artificiosi, raro inuenias hominem, qui non habeat artem suam pecuniaria mercede uenalem, plurisque pendatur semper propter quod aliquid fit, quam id quod propter aliud fit. Si ergo insipientis iudicio multitudinis facta est deorum ista selectio, quur dea Pecunia Mineruae praelata non est, cum propter pecuniam sint artifices multi ? Si autem paucorum sapientium est ista distinctio, quur non praelata est Veneri Virtus, cum eam longe praeferat ratio ?

(M) Saltem certe, ut dixi, ipsa Fortuna, quae, sicut putant qui ei plurimum tribuunt, in omni re dominatur et res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex uero celebrat obscuratque, si tantum et in deos ualuit, ut temerario iudicio suo quos uellet celebraret obscuraretque quos uellet, praecipuum locum haberet in selectis, quae in ipsos quoque deos tam praecipuae est potestatis. An ut illic esse non posset, nihil aliud etiam ipsa Fortuna nisi aduersam putanda est habuisse fortunam ? Sibi ergo aduersata est, quae alios nobiles faciens nobilitata non est.

CAPUT IV.

MELIUS ACTUM CUM DIS INFERIORIBUS, QUI NULLIS INFAMENTUR OBPROBRIIS, QUAM CUM SELECTIS, QUORUM TANTAE TURPITUDINES CELEBRENTUR.

(A) Gratularetur autem dis istis selectis quisquam nobilitatis et claritudinis adpetitor et eos diceret fortunatos, si non eos magis ad iniurias quam ad honores selectos uideret. Nam illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit, ne obrueretur obprobriis. Ridemus quidem, cum eos uidemus figmentis humanarum opinionum partitis inter se operibus distributos, tamquam [1]minuscularios uectigalium conductores uel tamquam opifices [2]in uico argentario,

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10. obscurata est dea Pecunia—as having no temple, although so many worshippers (Juvenal, "Sat.," i. 112-14).

CHAPTER IV.

That the inferior gods, not being branded with infamies, have been far better treated than the select gods whose many shameful deeds are noised abroad.

1. minuscularios uectigalium conductores. The farming or the sub-farming of taxes was a regular established process among the Romans; it produced in Judaea the class of persons who are known, according to the Authorised Version of the New Testament, as "publicans."

2. in uico argentario. In the East it is, as it has been since time immemorial, the custom that tradesmen, carrying on the same business, should live side by side in the same street or bazaar or quarter of the city. So Aristophanes, *e.g.*, speaks of ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν="in the fish market" ("Vesp.," 789) or ἐν ταῖς μυρρίναις ="among the myrtle-shops" ("Thesmoph.," 448). But this is not a custom peculiar to the East; as Tottenham Court Road or Wardour Street in London may show. See Sir W. Besant's "London," ii., p. 36.

ubi unum uasculum, ut perfectum exeat, per multos artifices transit, cum ab uno perfecto perfici posset.

(B) Sed aliter non putatum est [3]operantium multitudini consulendum, nisi ut singulas artis partes cito ac facile discerent singuli, ne omnes in arte una tarde ac difficile cogerentur esse perfecti. Verum tamen uix quisquam reperitur deorum non selectorum, qui aliquo crimine [4]famam traxit infamem; uix autem selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliae insignis acceperit. Illi ad istorum humilia opera descenderunt, isti in illorum sublimia crimina non uenerunt.

(C) De Iano quidem non mihi facile quidquam occurrit, quod ad probrum pertineat. Et fortasse talis fuerit, innocentius uixerit et a facinoribus flagitiisque remotius. [5]Saturnum fugientem benignus excepit; cum hospite partitus est regnum, ut etiam ciuitates singulas conderent, iste Ianiculum, ille Saturniam. Sed isti in cultu deorum omnis dedecoris adpetitores, cuius uitam minus turpem inuenerunt, eum simulacri monstrosa deformitate turparunt, [6]nunc eum bifrontem, nunc etiam quadrifrontem, tamquam geminum, facientes. An forte uoluerunt, ut, quoniam plurimi di selecti erubescenda perpetrando [7]amiserant frontem, quanto iste innocentior esset, tanto frontosior appareret ?

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3. operantium multitudini. The minute division of labour is a feature both good and bad of modern industrial life—good, as it makes for efficiency, but bad as it tends to the monotony which robs production of its artistic interest and creates a desire for exciting dissipation in the hours of leisure. "The important business of making a pin"—such is Adam Smith's classical instance—"is . . . divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories are all performed by distinct hands" ("Wealth of Nations," i. 1).

4. famam traxit infamem = "has brought on himself the infamy of fame."

5. Saturnum fugientem benignus excepit. Janus was king of Italy, living in a city called Janiculum; then came Saturnus and built a city which was called Saturnia on the hill afterwards known as the Capitoline; and they reigned side by side in amity. For allusions to the story see Virgil ("Aen.," viii. 355-59); Ovid ("Fast.," i. 235-46). Varro describes the position of Saturnia ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 42). Cp. vii. 15 B.

6. nunc eum bifrontem, etc. According to Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 9), *Gavius Bassus Ianum bifrontem fingi ait quasi superiorem adque inferiorem ianitorem ; eum quadrifrontem quasi universa climata maiestate conplexum.* See A.'s explanation (vii. 8 B). *Ianus bifrons* is well known, *e.g.*, *Ianique bifrontis imago* (Virgil's "Aen.," vii. 180). Martial alludes to *Ianus quadrifrons* ("Epig.," x. 286). There was a statue of *Ianus quadrifrons*—the double *Ianus bifrons*, or *Ianus geminus*, as he was sometimes called—in the Forum Transitorium at Rome (Burn, "Rome and the Campagna," ii. pp. 137-38). Cp. vii. 8.

7. amiserant frontem. The play of words depends upon the use of *frons* for "shamefacedness" or "modesty." Cp.:

> "*exclamat Melicerta perisse*
> *Frontem de rebus.*"
>
> (Persius, "Sat.," iv. 103-4.)

It is possible to translate the sentence—"Since most of the select gods . . . had lost their shamefacedness, the less his shame, the more should be his faces."

CAPUT V.

DE PAGANORUM SECRETIORE DOCTRINA PHYSICISQUE RATIONIBUS.

(A) Sed ipsorum potius interpretationes physicas audiamus, quibus turpitudinem miserrimi erroris uelut altioris doctrinae specie colorare conantur. Primum eas interpretationes sic Varro commendat, ut dicat antiquos simulacra deorum et insignia ornatusque finxisse, quae cum oculis animaduertissent hi, qui adissent [1]doctrinae mysteria, possent animam mundi ac partes eius, [2]id est deos ueros, animo uidere; quorum qui simulacra specie hominis fecerunt, hoc uideri secutos, quod mortalium animus, qui est in corpore humano, [3]simillimus est inmortalis animi; tamquam si uasa ponerentur causa notandorum deorum et in Liberi aede oenophorum sisteretur, quod significaret uinum, per id quod continet id quod continetur;

(B) Ita per simulacrum, quod formam haberet humanam, significari animam rationalem, quod eo uelut uase natura ista soleat contineri, cuius naturae deum uolunt esse uel deos. Haec sunt mysteria doctrinae, quae iste uir doctissimus penetrauerat, unde in lucem ista proferret. Sed, o homo acutissime, num in istis doctrinae mysteriis illam prudentiam perdidisti, qua tibi sobrie [4]uisum est, quod hi, qui primi populis simulacra constituerunt, et "metum demserunt ciuibus suis et errorem addiderunt," castiusque deos sine simulacris ueteres obseruasse Romanos ?

(C) Hi enim tibi fuerunt auctores, ut haec contra posteriores Romanos dicere auderes. Nam si et illi antiquissimi simulacra coluissent, fortassis totum istum sensum de simulacris non constituendis, [5]interim uerum, timoris silentio premeres et in huiusce modi perniciosis uanisque figmentis mysteria ista doctrinae lo-

CHAPTER V.

Of the esoteric doctrine of the pagans and of their physical theories.

1. doctrinae mysteria. As *μύστης* is a person initiated into a secret, so *μυστήριον* is a secret not so much concealed from the many as revealed to the few. That is its ecclesiastical meaning, as when St. Paul speaks of *τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* = "the revelation of Christ." Cp. A.'s *reuelata mysteria* (viii. 5 D).

2. id est deos ueros. Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," xv. 15) says on the authority of Arius Didymus in reference to the Stoics or some of the Stoics: *ὅλον τὸν κόσμον σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι προσαγορεύουσι θεόν· τοῦτον δὲ ἕνα μόνον εἶναι φάσι καὶ πεπερασμένον καὶ ζῶον καὶ ἄϊδιον καὶ θεόν.*

3. simillimus est inmortalis animi. Cicero fully recognises the affinity or similarity of the human mind to God ("Tusc. Disp.," v. 13, 29).

4. uisum est, quod hi, etc. For Varro's opinions as here quoted see iv. 31 D. There is a double construction after *uisum est*—viz., *quod hi . . . demserunt . . . et . . . addiderunt* and *ueteres obseruasse Romanos.*

5. interim uerum = "although it was true all the same." A.'s rather peculiar use of *interim* may be illustrated by vii. 24 D; ix. 17 C.

quacius et elatius praedicares. Anima tua tamen tam docta et ingeniosa [6](ubi te multum dolemus) per haec mysteria doctrinae ad Deum suum, id est a quo facta est, non cum quo facta est; nec cuius portio, sed cuius [7]conditio est; nec qui est omnium anima, sed qui fecit omnem animam, quo solo inlustrante anima fit beata, si eius gratiae non sit ingrata, nullo modo potuit peruenire.

(D) Verum ista mysteria doctrinae qualia sint quantique pendenda, quae sequuntur ostendent. Fatetur interim uir iste doctissimus animam mundi ac partes eius [8]esse ueros deos; unde intellegitur totam eius theologian, eam ipsam scilicet naturalem, cui plurimum tribuit, usque ad animae rationalis naturam se extendere potuisse. De naturali enim paucissima praeloquitur in hoc libro, quem de dis selectis ultimum scripsit; in quo uidebimus utrum per interpretationes physiologicas possit ad hanc [9]naturalem referre ciuilem.

(E) Quod si potuerit, tota naturalis erit: et quid opus erat ab ea ciuilem tanta cura distinctionis abiungere ? Si autem recto discrimine separata est, quando nec ista uera est quae illi naturalis placet (peruenit enim usque ad animam, non usque ad uerum Deum qui fecit et animam), quanto est abiectior et falsior ista ciuilis, quae maxime circa corporum est occupata naturam, sicut ipsae interpretationes eius, ex quibus quaedam necessaria commemorare me oportet, tanta ab ipsis exquisitae et enucleatae diligentia demonstrabunt.

CAPUT VI.

DE OPINIONE VARRONIS, QUA ARBITRATUS EST DEU MANIMAM ESSE MUNDI, QUI TAMEN IN PARTIBUS SUIS HABEAT ANIMAS MULTAS, QUARUM DIVINA NATURA SIT.

(A) Dicit ergo idem Varro adhuc de naturali theologia praeloquens deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi, quem Graeci uocant [1] κόσμον, et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum; sed sicut hominem sa-

6. ubi te multum dolemus—because a soul so clever and so highly cultivated might well have been Christian.

7. conditio="a creature"—as often in ecclesiastical Latin, *e.g.* Tertullian ("De Spect.," 2).

8. esse ueros deos. Cp. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 57-9), although the parallel is not exact, for he says: *Haec duo, Caelum et Terra, quod anima et corpus.*

9. naturalem . . . ciuilem. The distinction between the two theological systems, as A. conceived it, is expounded in vi. 5 D-H.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Varro's opinion that God is the soul of the world, and that yet the world in its parts has many souls whose nature is divine.

1. κόσμον—originally a Pythagorean word. Philolaus the Pythagorean taught ἄφθαρτον τὸν κόσμον εἶναι (Stobaeus, "Ecl. Phys.," i., p. 418). But

pientem, cum sit ex corpore et animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem, ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore.

(B) Hic uidetur quoquo modo unum confiteri Deum; sed ut plures etiam introducat, adiungit mundum diuidi in duas partes, caelum et terram; et caelum bifariam, in aethera et aera; terram uero in aquam et humum; e quibus summum esse aethera, secundum aera, tertiam aquam, infimam terram; [2]quas omnes partes quattuor animarum esse plenas, in aethere et aere inmortalium, in aqua et terra mortalium.

(C) Ab summo autem circuitu caeli ad circulum lunae aetherias animas esse astra ac stellas; eos caelestes deos non modo intellegi esse, sed etiam uideri; inter lunae uero gyrum et nimborum ac uentorum cacumina aerias esse animas, sed eas animo, non oculis uideri et uocari heroas et lares et genios. Haec est uidelicet breuiter in ista praelocutione proposita theologia naturalis, quae non huic tantum, sed multis philosophis placuit; de qua tunc diligentius disserendum est, cum de ciuili, quantum ad deos selectos adtinet, opitulante Deo uero quod restat inpleuero.

CAPUT VII.

AN RATIONABILE FUERIT IANUM ET TERMINUM IN DUO NUMINA SEPARARI.

(A) [1]Ianus igitur, a quo sumsit exordium, quaero quisnam sit. Respondetur: Mundus est. Breuis haec plane est adque aperta responsio. Quur ergo ad eum dicuntur rerum initia pertinere, fines uero ad alterum, quem Terminum uocant? Nam propter initia et fines duobus istis dis duos menses perhibent dedicatos praeter illos decem, quibus usque ad Decembrem [2]caput est Martius,

Greek philosophy in general inherited the word κόσμος and the thought underlying it from Pythagoreanism. Plato's dialogues are full of it, especially the "Timaeus" and the "Philebus." See Stobaeus, *l.c.*, pp. 420 *sqq*.

2. quas omnes partes, etc. The quadripartite division of Nature, with its local distribution of the four elements, was originated by Aristotle; it was expanded by the Pythagoreans and Stoics. From A.'s language it would appear that Varro omitted fire—the element which Aristotle placed highest, above the air and the heaven. But Varro probably identified the aether with fire, as did Anaxagoras (Aristotle, "Meteor.," i. 3). Cp. iv. 10 A.

CHAPTER VII.

Whether it was reasonable to distinguish Ianus and Terminus as two divinities.

1. Ianus. Servius on Virgil's "Aen.," vii. 610, says: *Alii Ianum mundum accipiunt cuius caulae ideo in pace clausae sunt, quod mundus undique clausus est.* Cp. Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 9).

2. caput est Martius. There were only ten months in the primitive Roman year. Numa, it is said, added the months of January and February (Plutarch, "Numa," 19). See Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 33 and 34).

Ianuarium Iano, Februarium Termino. Ideo [3]Terminalia eodem mense Februario celebrari dicunt, cum fit sacrum purgatorium, quod uocant [4]Februm, unde mensis nomen accepit.

(B) Numquid ergo ad mundum, qui Ianus est, initia rerum pertinent et fines non pertinent, ut alter illis deus praeficeretur? Nonne omnia, quae in hoc mundo fieri dicunt, in hoc etiam mundo terminari fatentur? Quae est ista uanitas, in opere illi dare potestatem dimidiam, in simulacro faciem duplam? Nonne istum bifrontem multo elegantius interpretarentur, si eundem et Ianum et Terminum dicerent adque initiis unam faciem, finibus alteram darent? quoniam qui operatur [5]utrumque debet intendere; in omni enim motu actionis suae qui non respicit initium non prospicit finem. Unde necesse est a memoria respiciente prospiciens conectatur intentio; nam cui exciderit quod coeperit, quo modo finiat non inueniet.

(C) Quod si uitam beatam in hoc mundo inchoari putarent, extra mundum perfici, et ideo Iano, id est mundo, solam initiorum tribuerent potestatem; profecto ei praeponerent Terminum eumque ab dis selectis non alienarent. Quamquam etiam nunc cum in istis duobus dis initia rerum temporalium finesque tractantur, Termino dari debuit plus honoris. Maior enim laetitia est, cum res quaeque perficitur; sollicitudinis autem plena sunt coepta, donec perducantur ad finem, quem qui aliquid incipit maxime adpetit intendit, expectat, exoptat, nec de re inchoata, nisi terminetur, exultat.

CAPUT VIII.

OB QUAM CAUSAM CULTORES IANI BIFRONTEM IMAGINEM IPSIUS FINXERINT, QUAM TAMEN ETIAM QUADRIFRONTEM VIDERIVOLUNT.

(A) Sed iam bifrontis simulacri interpretatio proferatur. Duas eum facies ante et retro habere dicunt, quod hiatus noster, cum os aperimus, [1]mundo similis uideatur; unde et palatum Graeci

3. Terminalia. See Ovid ("Fast.," ii. 639-84). The date of the festival was February 23.

4. Februm. *Ego magis arbitror*, says Varro, *Februarium a die Februato, quod tum februatur populus, id est lupercis nudis lustratur antiquum oppidum Palatinum gregibus humanis cinctum* ("De Ling. Lat.," vi. 34; cp. *ibid.*, vi. 13). For February, or the month of the purification, see Plutarch ("Numa," 19) and Macrobius ("Saturn.," i. 13):

> "*Februa Romani dixere piamina patres.*"
> (Ovid, "Fast.," ii. 19.)

5. utrumque . . . intendere="to keep both in view."

CHAPTER VIII.

Why the worshippers of Ianus have represented his image as having two faces, yet would make it also appear as having four faces.

1. mundo similis—the world or universe (*mundus*) being regarded as circular.

[2] οὐρανὸν appellant, et nonnulli, inquit, [3] poetae Latini caelum uocauerunt palatum, a quo hiatu oris et foras esse aditum ad dentes uersus et introrsus ad fauces. Ecce quo perductus est mundus propter palati nostri uocabulum uel Graecum uel poeticum. Quid autem hoc ad animam, quid ad uitam aeternam ?

(B) Propter solas saliuas colatur hic deus, quibus partim glutiendis, partim spuendis sub caelo palati utraque panditur ianua. [4] Quid est porro absurdius, quam in ipso mundo non inuenire duas ianuas ex aduerso sitas, per quas uel admittat ad se aliquid intro uel emittat a se foras, et de nostro ore et gutture, quorum similitudinem mundus non habet, uelle mundi simulacrum conponere in Iano propter solum palatum, cuius similitudinem Ianus non habet ? Cum uero eum faciunt quadrifrontem et [5] Ianum geminum appellant, ad quattuor mundi partes hoc interpretantur, quasi aliquid spectet mundus foras sicut per omnes facies Ianus.

(C) Deinde si Ianus est mundus et mundus quattuor partibus constat, falsum est simulacrum Iani bifrontis; aut si propterea uerum est, quia etiam nomine Orientis et Occidentis totus solet mundus intellegi, numquid, cum duas partes alias nominamus Septentrionis et Austri, sicut illum quadrifrontem dicunt geminum Ianum, ita quisquam geminum dicturus est mundum ?

(D) Non habent omnino unde quattuor ianuas, quae intrantibus et exeuntibus pateant, interpretentur [6] ad mundi similitudinem, sicut de bifronti quod dicerent saltem in ore hominis inuenerunt, nisi Neptunus forte subueniat et porrigat piscem, cui praeter hiatum oris et gutturis etiam dextra et sinistra [7] fauces patent. Et tamen hanc uanitatem per tot ianuas nulla effugit anima, nisi quae audit ueritatem dicentem: **Ego sum ianua.*

2. *οὐρανὸν.* The use of *οὐρανός* for the "palate" or the "roof of the mouth" is frequent in Aristotle, *e.g.* "De Part. Anim.," i. 17.

3. **poetae Latini.** Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 18, 49) quotes from Ennius the expression *caeli palatum*—the converse of *οὐρανός* when it means the "palate."

4. **Quid est porro absurdius.** There was sometimes a tendency to regard the East and the West as portals of the world, corresponding to the apertures of the palate. Cp. c. below.

5. **Ianum geminum.** The explanation of this phrase may perhaps be found in Macrobius ("Saturn," i. 9): *Ianum quidam solem demonstrari uolunt (physici) et ideo geminum, quasi utriusque ianuae caelestis potentem, qui exoriens aperiat diem, occidens claudat.*

6. **ad mundi similitudinem** = "in such a way as to correspond with the world."

7. **fauces** = "gills."

* John x. 9.

CAPUT IX.

DE IOVIS POTESTATE ADQUE EIUSDEM CUM IANO CONPARATIONE.

(A) [1]Iouem autem, qui etiam Iuppiter dicitur, quem uelint intellegi, exponant. Deus est, inquiunt, habens potestatem causarum, quibus aliquid fit in mundo. Hoc quam magnum sit, nobilissimus [2]Vergilii uersus ille testatur:

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

Sed quur ei praeponitur Ianus? hoc nobis uir ille acutissimus doctissimusque respondeat. "Quoniam penes Ianum," inquit, "sunt prima, penes Iouem summa. Merito ergo rex omnium Iuppiter habetur. Prima enim uincuntur a summis, quia, licet prima praecedant tempore, summa superant dignitate."

(B) Sed recte hoc diceretur, si factorum prima discernerentur et [3]summa; sicut initium facti est proficisci, summum peruenire; initium facti inceptio discendi, summum perceptio doctrinae; ac sic in omnibus prima sunt initia summique sunt fines. Sed †iam hoc negotium inter Ianum Terminumque discussum est. Causae autem, quae dantur Ioui, efficientia sunt, non effecta; neque ullo modo fieri potest, ut uel tempore praeueniantur a factis initiisue factorum. Semper enim prior est res quae facit, quam illa quae fit. Quapropter si ad Ianum pertinent initia factorum, non ideo priora sunt efficientibus causis, quas Ioui tribuunt. Sicut enim nihil fit, ita nihil inchoatur ut fiat, quod non faciens causa praecesserit.

(C) Hunc sane deum, penes quem sunt omnes causae factarum omnium naturarum naturaliumque rerum, si Iouem populi appellant et tantis contumeliis tamque scelestis criminationibus colunt, taetriore sacrilegio sese obstringunt, quam si prorsus nullum putarent deum. Unde satius esset eis alium aliquem Iouis nomine nuncupare, dignum turpibus et flagitiosis honoribus, subposito uano figmento quod potius blasphemarent (sicut Saturno dicitur

CHAPTER IX.

Of the power of Jupiter, and the comparison of Jupiter, with Janus.

1. Iouem—seems to imply a Nom. Iouis which occurs vii. 14 B; 15 A and C; 16 B. Iupiter = Ioui (s) pater. Iouis as Nom. occurs in the lines of Ennius quoted by Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 2, § 122); also in Apuleius ("De Mundo," 37, § 370; and "Metamorph.," i. 33, § 311).

2. Vergili uersus. If Vergil had in mind Lucr. i. 78-9, as Munro thinks, the *nobilissimus uersus* of the "Georgics" may refer to Lucretius himself or, more probably, to Epicurus; but he may equally well, and perhaps better, be taken to describe the ideal philosopher.

3. summa—conveys the two meanings "highest" and "latest."

* "Georg.," ii. 490. † iii. 7.

[4]subpositus lapis, quem pro filio deuoraret), quam istum deum dicere et tonantem et adulterantem, et totum mundum regentem et per tot stupra [5]diffluentem, et naturarum omnium naturaliumque rerum causas summas habentem et suas causas bonas non habentem.

(D) Deinde quaero, quem iam locum inter deos huic Ioui tribuant, si Ianus est mundus. Deos enim ueros animam mundi ac partes eius iste definiuit; ac per hoc, quidquid hoc non est, non est utique secundum istos uerus deus. Num igitur ita dicturi sunt Iouem animam mundi, ut Ianus sit corpus eius, id est iste uisibilis mundus ?

(E) Hoc si dicunt, non erit quem ad modum Ianum deum dicant, quoniam mundi corpus non est deus uel secundum ipsos, sed anima mundi ac partes eius. Unde apertissime idem dicit deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum; sed sicut hominem sapientem, cum sit ex animo et corpore, tamen ex animo dici sapientem, ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore. Solum itaque mundi corpus non est deus, sed aut sola anima eius aut simul corpus et animus, ita tamen ut non sit a corpore, sed ab animo deus.

(F) Si ergo Ianus est mundus et deus est Ianus, numquid Iouem, ut deus esse possit, aliquam partem Iani esse dicturi sunt ? Magis enim Ioui uniuersum solent tribuere: unde est:

*[6]Iouis omnia plena.

Ergo et Iouem, ut deus sit et maxime rex deorum, non alium possunt existimare quam mundum, ut dis ceteris, secundum istos suis partibus, regnet. In hanc sententiam etiam quosdam uersus [7]Valerii Sorani exponit idem Varro [8]in eo libro, quem seorsum ab istis de cultu deorum scripsit; qui uersus hi sunt:

[9]Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
Progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes.

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4. subpositus lapis. It was a clod of earth according to A. elsewhere (vii. 19 A).

5. diffluentem = "living a dissolute life." See note on i. 30 A.

6. Iouis omnia plena. It is possible, as Conington suggests, that Virgil owed this verity or theory to Aratus (whom St. Paul quotes, Acts xvii. 28).

Μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ λιμένες, πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες

("Phaenom.," 2-4). But the Stoics, or many of them, would have used the same language.

7. Valerii Sorani. Q. Valerius, called Soranus after the Latin town Sora, which was his home, was a learned writer of the first century B.C. Cicero speaks of him as *litteratissimum togatorum omnium* ("De Orat.," iii. 11, 43).

8. in eo libro. Apart from the "Antiqq.," Varro wrote a special treatise entitled "Curio, De Deorum Cultu."

9. Iuppiter omnipotens, etc. The point of the lines is that Jupiter united in

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* Virg., "Eclog.," iii. 60.

(G) Exponuntur autem in eodem libro ita: cum marem existimarent qui semen emitteret, feminam quae acciperet, Iouemque esse mundum et eum omnia semina ex se emittere et in se recipere, "cum causa," inquit, "scripsit Soranus: Iuppiter progenitor genetrixque; nec minus cum causa unum et omnia idem esse; mundus enim unus, et in eo uno omnia sunt."

CAPUT X.

AN IANI ET IOVIS RECTA DISCRETIO SIT.

(A) Cum ergo et [1]Ianus mundus sit et [2]Iuppiter mundus sit unusque sit mundus, quare duo di sunt Ianus et Iuppiter? Quare seorsus habent templa, seorsus aras, diuersa sacra, dissimilia simulacra? Si propterea, quod alia uis est primordiorum, alia causarum, et illa Iani, illa Iouis nomen accepit; numquid si unus homo in diuersis rebus duas habeat potestates aut duas artes, quia singularum diuersa uis est, ideo duo iudices aut duo dicuntur artifices?

(B) Sic ergo et unus Deus cum ipse habeat potestatem primordiorum, ipse causarum, num propterea illum duos deos esse necesse est putari, quia primordia causaeque res duae sunt? Quod si hoc iustum putant, etiam ipsum Iouem tot deos esse dicant, quotquot ei cognomina propter multas potestates dederunt, quoniam res omnes, ex quibus illa cognomina sunt adhibita, multae adque diuersae sunt, ex quibus pauca commemoro.

CAPUT XI.

DE COGNOMINIBUS IOVIS, QUAE NON AD MULTOS DEOS, SED AD UNUM EUNDEMQUE REFERUNTUR.

(A) Dixerunt eum Victorem, Inuictum, [1]Opitulum, [2]Inpulsorem, [3]Statorem, [4]Centumpedam, [5]Supinalem, [6]Tigillum, Almum, [7]Rumi-

himself all the functions, both masculine and feminine, which pagan theology attributed to various gods and goddesses. The Benedictine editors compare the Orphic lines quoted by Aristotle ("De Mund.," 7); differently, but more fully, by Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," iii. 9); and satirised by Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," iv. 8).

CHAPTER X.

Whether the discrimination between Janus and Jupiter is correct.

1. Ianus mundus. Cp. vii. 7 A.

2. Iuppiter mundus. Cp. vii. 9 F.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the surnames of Jupiter which relate not to many gods but to one and the same god.

1. Opitulum. Cp. *Opitulus Iuppiter et opitulator dictus est quasi opis lator* (Paulus in Festus, "De Verb. Signif.," xiii.). So A. here *quod opem indigentibus ferret.*

2. Inpulsorem—a title only here conferred upon Jupiter.

3. Statorem. See note on iii. 13 E. A.'s derivation which he gives here of

num [8]et alia quae persequi longum est. Haec autem cognomina inposuerunt uni deo propter causas potestatesque diuersas, non tamen propter tot res etiam tot deos eum esse coegerunt: quod omnia uinceret, quod a nemine uinceretur, quod opem indigentibus ferret, quod haberet inpellendi, statuendi, stabiliendi, resupinandi potestatem, quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret, quod aleret omnia, quod ruma, id est mamma, aleret animalia.

(B) In his, ut aduertimus, quaedam magna sunt, quaedam exigua: et tamen unus utraque facere perhibetur. Puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum adque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos deos esse uoluerunt, Iouem adque Ianum, quam continere mundum et mammam dare animalibus; nec tamen propter haec opera duo tam longe inter se ui et dignitate diuersa duo di esse conpulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter propter illud Tigillus, propter illud Ruminus appellatus est.

(C) Nolo dicere, quod animalibus mammam praebere sugentibus magis Iunonem potuit decere quam Iouem, praesertim cum esset etiam diua Rumina, quae in hoc opus adiutorium illi famulatumue praeberet. Cogito enim posse responderi, et ipsam Iunonem nihil aliud esse quam Iouem, secundum illos [9]Valerii Sorani uersus ubi dictum est:

> Iuppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
> Progenitor genetrixque deum.

(D) Quare ergo dictus est et Ruminus, cum diligentius fortasse quaerentibus ipse inueniatur esse etiam illa diua Rumina? Si enim maiestate deorum recte uidebatur indignum, ut in una spica [10]alter ad curam geniculi, altera ad folliculi pertineret; quanto est indignius unam rem infimam, id est ut mammis alantur animalia, duorum deorum potestate curari, quorum sit unus Iuppiter, rex ipse cunctorum, et hoc agat non saltem cum coniuge sua, sed cum ignobili nescio qua Rumina, nisi quia ipse est etiam ipsa

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Stator corresponds, I think, with Cicero's *quem Statorem huius urbis adque inperii uere nominamus* ("in Catil.," i. 13, 33).

4. Centumpedam—an epithet which A. here interprets as denoting stability (*stabiliendo*).

5. Supinalem = "The Overthrower"—a title evidently derived from the wrestling-school.

6. Tigillum = "The Supporter," upholding the world like Atlas, as a beam (*tigillum*) upholds a roof. But the title is strangely inadequate to one whose office it is, as A. says, *continere mundum*.

7. Ruminum = "The Nourisher." Cp. the note on the goddess Rumina (iv. 11 C).

8. et alia. Many other titles of Jupiter are cited by Vives.

9. Valerii Sorani uersus. See note on vii. 9 F.

10. alter ad curam geniculi, etc. Cp. iv. 8 C.

Rumina; Ruminus fortasse pro sugentibus maribus, Rumina pro feminis.

(E) Dicerem quippe noluisse illos Ioui femininum nomen inponere, nisi et in illis uersibus "progenitor genetrixque" diceretur, et inter eius alia cognomina legerem, quod etiam [11] Pecunia uocaretur, quam deam inter illos minuscularios inuenimus et *in quarto libro commemorauimus. Sed cum et mares et feminae habeant pecuniam, quur non et Pecunia et Pecunius appellatus sit, sicut Rumina et Ruminus, ipsi uiderint.

CAPUT XII.

QUOD IUPPITER ETIAM PECUNIA NUNCUPETUR.

(A) Quam uero eleganter rationem huius nominis reddiderunt! Et Pecunia, inquiunt, uocatur, quod eius sunt omnia. O magnam rationem diuini nominis! Immo uero ille, cuius sunt omnia, uilissime et contumeliosissime Pecunia nuncupatur. Ad omnia enim, quae caelo et terra continentur, quid est pecunia in omnibus omnino rebus, quae ab hominibus nomine pecuniae possidentur? Sed nimirum hoc auaritia Ioui nomen inposuit, ut, quisquis amat pecuniam, non quemlibet deum, sed ipsum regem omnium sibi amare uideatur. Longe autem aliud esset, si diuitiae uocaretur.

(B) [1] Aliud namque sunt diuitiae, aliud pecunia. Nam dicimus diuites sapientes, iustos, bonos, quibus pecunia uel nulla uel parua est; magis enim sunt uirtutibus diuites, per quas eis etiam in ipsis corporalium rerum necessitatibus sat est quod adest: pauperes uero auaros, semper inhiantes et egentes; quamlibet enim magnas pecunias habere possunt, sed in earum quantacumque abundantia non egere non possunt. Et Deum ipsum uerum recte dicimus diuitem, non tamen pecunia, sed omnipotentia.

(C) Dicuntur itaque et diuites pecuniosi; sed interius egeni, si cupidi: item dicuntur pauperes pecunia carentes, sed interius

11. Pecunia—appears as a goddess (iv. 21 C; 24 B), but not as a title of Iuppiter.

CHAPTER XII.

That Juppiter is also called Pecunia.

1. Aliud namque sunt diuitiae, aliud pecunia. The difference between money and wealth is a commonplace of political economy. But by *pecunia* is meant *property*, originally property in cattle (*pecus*), then property of all kinds; so wealth. To *diuitiae* A. assigns a much wider and larger meaning; not "money" but "riches," moral and spiritual even more than material riches. A. himself says: *Totum quidquid homines possident in terra, omnia quorum domini sunt, pecunia uocatur* ("De Discipl. Christ.," 6).

* iv. 21 and 24.

[2]diuites, si sapientes. Qualis ergo ista theologia debet esse sapienti, ubi rex deorum eius rei nomen accepit, *"quam nemo sapiens concupiuit"? Quanto enim facilius, si aliquid hac doctrina quod ad uitam pertineret aeternam salubriter disceretur, deus mundi rector non ab eis Pecunia, sed Sapientia uocaretur, cuius amor purgat a sordibus auaritiae, hoc est ab amore pecuniae!

CAPUT XIII.

QUOD, DUM EXPONITUR QUID SATURNUS QUIDUE SIT GENIUS, UTERQUE UNUS IUPPITER ESSE DOCEATUR.

(A) Sed quid de hoc Ioue plura, ad quem fortasse ceteri referendi sunt, ut inanis remaneat deorum opinio plurimorum, cum hic ipse sint omnes, siue quando partes eius uel potestates existimantur, siue cum uis animae, quam putant per cuncta diffusam, ex partibus molis huius, [1]in quas uisibilis mundus iste consurgit, et multiplici administratione naturae quasi plurium deorum nomina accepit? Quid est enim et Saturnus? "Unus," inquit, "de principibus deus, penes quem sationum omnium dominatus est."

(B) Nonne expositio uersuum illorum [2]Valerii Sorani sic se habet, Iouem esse mundum et eum omnia semina ex se emittere et in se recipere? Ipse est igitur penes quem sationum omnium dominatus est. Quid est [3]Genius? "Deus," inquit, "qui praepositus est ac uim habet omnium rerum gignendarum." Quem alium hanc uim habere credunt quam mundum, cui dictum est: "Iuppiter progenitor genetrixque"?

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2. diuites, si sapientes. This is the Stoical doctrine of the wise man. Cp., *e.g.*, Horace, "Epist.," i. 1, 106-7:

"sapiens uno minor est Ioue, diues,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum."

The theme of Cicero's sixth Paradoxon is *Solum sapientem esse diuitem.*

CHAPTER XIII.

That, when the nature of Saturn or of Genius is expounded, both are shown to be Juppiter only.

1. in quas uisibilis mundus, etc. = "which make the sum of our visible universe."

2. Valerii Sorani. See note on vii. 9 F.

3. Genius—already mentioned (vii. 2 A). Genius is the spirit or deity who presides over birth, and so over the character and the life of the person born. Not only was he the guardian, he was also the companion through life,

"natale comes qui temperat astrum"
(Horace, "Epist.," ii. 2, 187),

like a guardian angel in Jewish or Christian theology. A. seems to identify a person's genius with his spirit, and to conceive the spirit as being to the person what God is to the world (vii. 23 D). He uses the phrase *bonum deum uel genium* (x. 21 D).

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* Sallust, "Catil.," 11.

(C) Et cum alio loco genium dicit esse uniuscuiusque animum rationalem et ideo esse singulos singulorum, talem autem mundi animum Deum esse; ad hoc idem utique reuocat, ut tamquam uniuersalis genius ipse mundi animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem appellant Iouem. Nam si omnis genius deus et omnis uiri animus genius, sequitur ut sit omnis uiri animus deus; quod si et ipsos abhorrere absurditas ipsa conpellit, restat ut eum singulariter et excellenter dicant deum Genium, quem dicunt mundi animum ac per hoc Iouem.

CAPUT XIV.

DE MERCURII ET MARTIS OFFICIIS.

(A) Mercurium uero et Martem quo modo referrent ad aliquas partes mundi et opera Dei, [1] quae sunt in elementis, non inuenerunt, et ideo eos [2] saltem operibus hominum praeposuerunt, sermocinandi et belligerandi administros. Quorum Mercurius si sermonis etiam deorum potestatem gerit, ipsi quoque regi deorum dominatur, si secundum eius arbitrium Iuppiter loquitur aut loquendi ab illo accepit facultatem; quod utique absurdum est.

(B) Si autem illi humani tantum sermonis potestas tributa perhibetur, non est credibile ad lactandos mamma non solum pueros, sed etiam pecora, unde Ruminus cognominatus est, Iouem descendere uoluisse, et curam nostri sermonis, quo pecoribus antecellimus, ad se pertinere noluisse; ac per hoc idem ipse est [3] Iouis adque [4] Mercurius.

(C) Quod si sermo ipse dicitur esse Mercurius, sicut ea, quae de illo interpretantur, ostendunt (nam ideo Mercurius quasi medius currens dicitur appellatus, quod sermo currat inter homines medius; ideo [5] Ἑρμῆς Graece, quod sermo uel interpretatio, quae ad sermonem utique pertinet, ἑρμηνεία dicitur; ideo et mercibus praeesse, quia inter uendentes et ementes sermo fit medius; alas

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CHAPTER XIV.

Of the functions of Mercury and Mars.

1. quae sunt in elementis—*sc.* the air, fire, earth and water.

2. saltem="in default of the elements."

3. Iouis—is here Nom. as in vii. 15 C. See note on vii. 9A. That it is so, is made plain by a comparison of *totus ipse mundus est Iouis* with *ad mundum, id est ad Iouem* (vii. 16 B).

4. Mercurius. A.'s strange etymology may be illustrated by Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 32). Isidorus repeats it verbally ("Etymolog.," vii. 45 § 384). With much more reason Festus says: *Mercurius a mercibus est dictus. Hunc et enim negotiorum omnium existimabant esse deum* ("De Verb. Signif.," xi.).

5. Ἑρμῆς. The origin of the name Ἑρμῆς is obscure; but ἑρμηνεία is clearly a derivation from it, as *enuntiare* from *nuntius*, not *uice uersa*. Plato's etymology of Ἑρμῆς ("Cratylus," p. 408 A) is as strange as A.'s of *Mercurius*.

eius in capite et pedibus significare uolucrem ferri per aera sermonem; nuntium dictum, quoniam per sermonem omnia cogitata enuntiantur)—si ergo Mercurius ipse sermo est, etiam ipsis confitentibus deus non est.

(D) Sed cum sibi deos faciunt eos, qui nec daemones sunt, inmundis supplicando spiritibus possidentur ab eis, qui non di, sed daemones sunt. Item quia nec Marti aliquod elementum uel partem mundi inuenire potuerunt, ubi ageret opera qualiacumque naturae, deum belli esse dixerunt, quod opus est hominum et optabilius non est. Si ergo pacem perpetuam Felicitas daret, Mars quid ageret non haberet. Si autem ipsum bellum est Mars, sicut sermo Mercurius: [6]utinam, quam manifestum est quod non sit deus, tam non sit et bellum, quod uel falso uocetur deus.

CAPUT XV.

DE STELLIS QUIBUSDAM, QUAS PAGANI DEORUM SUORUM NOMINIBUS NUNCUPARUNT.

(A) Nisi forte illae stellae sunt hi di, quas eorum appellauere nominibus. Nam stellam quandam uocant Mercurium, quandam itidem. Martem. Sed ibi est et illa quam uocant Iouem, et tamen eis mundus est Iouis; ibi quam uocant Saturnum, et tamen ei praeterea dant non paruam substantiam, omnium uidelicet seminum; ibi est et illa omnium clarissima, quae ab eis appellatur Venus, et tamen eandem [1]Venerem esse etiam Lunam uolunt; quamuis de illo fulgentissimo sidere aput eos tamquam de malo aureo Iuno Venusque contendant. [2]Luciferum enim quidam Veneris, quidam dicunt esse Iunonis; sed, [3]ut solet, Venus uincit.

(B) Nam multo plures eam stellam Veneri tribuunt, ita ut uix eorum quisquam reperiatur, qui aliud opinetur. Quis autem non rideat, cum regem omnium Iouem dicant, quod stella eius ab stella Veneris tanta uincitur claritate? Tanto enim esse debuit ceteris illa fulgentior, quanto est ipse potentior. Respondent ideo sic uideri, quia illa, quae putatur obscurior, superior est adque a terris longe remotior.

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6. utinam, quam manifestum est, etc. = "I wish it were as true that there is no such thing as war to be called, even falsely, a god, as it is clear that war is not a god."

CHAPTER XV.

Of certain stars which the pagans have called by the names of their gods.

1. Venerem esse etiam Lunam. Cp. Macrobius (*Venus*) *ita uti alma noctiluca est* ("Saturn.," iii. 8).

2. Luciferum. Cp. Hyginus *Quarta stella est Veneris, Lucifer nomine; quam nonnulli Iunonis esse dixerunt* ("Poet. Astron.," iii. 42).

3. ut solet—as in the judgment of Paris, and generally in life.

(C) Si ergo superiorem locum maior dignitas meruit, quare Saturnus ibi est Ioue superior ? An uanitas fabulae, quae regem Iouem facit, non potuit usque ad sidera peruenire, et quod non ualuit Saturnus [4]in regno suo neque [5]in Capitolio, saltem obtinere est permissus in caelo ? Quare autem Ianus non accepit aliquam stellam ? Si, quia mundus est et omnes in illo sunt, et Iouis mundus est et habet tamen. An iste causam suam conposuit ut potuit et pro una stella, quam non habet inter sidera, [6]tot facies accepit in terra ?

(D) Deinde si propter solas stellas Mercurium et Martem partes mundi putant, ut eos deos habere possint, quia utique sermo et bellum non sunt partes mundi, sed actus hominum: [7]quur Arieti et Tauro et Cancro et Scorpioni ceterisque huius modi, quae caelestia signa numerant, et stellis non singulis, sed singula pluribus constant, superiusque istis in summo caelo perhibent conlocata, ubi [8]constantior motus inerrabilem meatum sideribus praebet, nullas aras, nulla sacra, nulla templa fecerunt, nec deos, non dico inter hos selectos, sed ne inter illos quidem quasi plebeios habuerunt ?

CAPUT XVI.

DE APOLLINE ET DIANA CETERISQUE SELECTIS DIS, QUOS PARTES MUNDI ESSE VOLUERUNT.

(A) Apollinem quamuis diuinatorem et medicum uelint, tamen ut in aliqua parte mundi statuerent, ipsum etiam solem esse dixerunt, Dianamque germanam eius similiter lunam et [1]uiarum praesidem (unde et uirginem uolunt, [2]quod uia nihil pariat), et ideo ambos sagittas habere, quod ipsa duo sidera de caelo radios terras usque pertendant. Vulcanum uolunt ignem mundi, Nep-

4. in regno suo—because Saturn according to the legend was driven out of Crete by Iupiter.

5. in Capitolio—because the Capitoline Hill was once called Saturnia (vii. 4 C), until Jupiter took possession of it and made it the seat of his great temple.

6. tot facies—as being *bifrons* and even *quadrifrons*. Cp. vii. 8.

7. quur Arieti, etc. The argument of A. here is developed by Cicero in "De Nat. Deor.," especially iii. 17 *sqq.*

8. constantior motus. A. conceives the *summum caelum* or *summus circuitus caeli* (vii. 6 C) as revolving with a slower movement than the heaven beneath it.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Apollo, Diana, and the other select gods whom the pagans have represented as parts of the world.

1. uiarum praesidem—under the name *Triuia*. But Varro gives two derivations of Triuia, neither of them agreeing with A.'s ("De Ling. Lat.," vii. 16). Cp. *Diana uiarum putabatur dea* (Festus, "De Verb. Signif.," xix. 9, *s.v.* Iuuenalia). Isidore repeats A.'s expression *Dianam uiarum praesidem* ("Etymol.," viii. 56).

2. quod uia nihil pariat—A.'s derivation, or perhaps rather his explanation, of Virgo as applied to Diana is incredible.

tunum aquas mundi, [3]Ditem patrem, hoc est Orcum, terrenam et infimam partem mundi. [4]Liberum et Cererem praeponunt seminibus, uel illum masculinis, illam femininis; uel illum liquori, illam uero ariditati seminum.

(B) Et hoc utique totum refertur ad mundum, id est ad Iouem, qui propterea dictus est "progenitor genetrixque," quod omnia semina ex se emitteret et in se reciperet. Quando quidem etiam Matrem Magnam eandem Cererem uolunt, quam nihil aliud dicunt esse quam terram, eamque perhibent et [5]Iunonem, et ideo ei secundas causas rerum tribuunt, cum tamen Ioui sit dictum "progenitor genetrixque deum," quia secundum eos totus ipse mundus est Iouis.

(C) [6]Mineruam etiam, quia eam humanis artibus praeposuerunt nec inuenerunt uel stellam, ubi eam ponerent, eandem uel summum aethera uel etiam lunam esse dixerunt. [7]Vestam quoque ipsam propterea dearum maximam putauerunt, quod ipsa sit terra, quamuis ignem mundi leuiorem, qui pertinet ad usus hominum faciles, non uiolentiorem, qualis Vulcani est, ei deputandum esse crediderunt.

(D) Ac per hoc omnes istos selectos deos hunc esse mundum uolunt, in quibusdam uniuersum, in quibusdam partes eius; uniuersum sicut Iouem, partes eius, ut Genium, ut Matrem Magnam, ut Solem, ut Lunam, uel potius Apollinem et Dianam. Et aliquando unum deum res plures, aliquando unam rem deos plures faciunt. Nam unus deus res plures sunt, sicut ipse Iuppiter; et mundus enim totus Iuppiter, et solum caelum Iuppiter, et sola stella Iuppiter habetur et dicitur; itemque Iuno [8]secundarum causarum domina et [9]Iuno aer et Iuno terra et, si Venerem uinceret, [10]Iuno stella.

(E) Similiter Minerua summus aether et Minerua itidem luna, quam esse [11]in aetheris infimo limite existimant. Unam uero rem

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3. Ditem patrem, hoc est Orcum. Cp. Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 66).

4. Liberum et Cererem. Cp. iv. 11 B. *Liber in uineis, Ceres in frumentis.*

5. Iunonem. For the identification of Iuno with *terra* see Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 67). Cp. iv. 10 D; vii. 28 C.

6. Mineruam. For the identification of *Minerua* with *luna* or with *aether* cp. Arnobius ("Adu. Gent.," iii. 31); Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," iii. 11, 22).

7. Vestam. For the threefold identification of Ceres, Vesta and *terra* see note on iv. 10 E.

8. secundarum causarum domina. Cp. B. above: *ei secundas causas rerum tribuunt.*

9. Iuno aer—iv. 10 A.

10. Iuno stella—vii. 15 A.

11. in aetheris infimo limite—the opposite of the *summum caelum* (vii. 15 D). Cp. *Ab summo autem circuitu caeli ad circulum lunae* (vii. 6 C).

deos plures ita faciunt. Et Ianus est mundus et Iuppiter; sic et Iuno est terra et Mater Magna et Ceres.

CAPUT XVII.

QUOD ETIAM IPSE VARRO OPINIONES SUAS DE DIS PRONUNTIARIT AMBIGUAS.

(A) Et sicut haec, quae exempli gratia commemoraui, ita cetera [1]non explicant, sed potius inplicant; sicut impetus errabundae opinionis inpulerit, ita huc adque illuc, hinc adque illinc insiliunt et resiliunt, ut ipse Varro de omnibus dubitare quam aliquid adfirmare maluerit. Nam trium extremorum primum de [2]dis certis cum absoluisset librum, in altero de dis incertis dicere ingressus ait: "Cum in hoc libello dubias de dis opiniones posuero, reprehendi non debeo. Qui enim putabit iudicari oportere et posse, cum audierit, faciet ipse. Ego citius perduci possum, ut in primo libro quae dixi in dubitationem reuocem, quam in hoc quae perscribam omnia ut [3]ad aliquam dirigam summam."

(B) Ita non solum istum de dis incertis, sed etiam illum de certis fecit incertum. In tertio porro isto de [4]dis selectis, postea quam praelocutus est quod ex naturali theologia praeloquendum putauit, ingressurus huius ciuilis theologiae uanitates et insanias mendaces, ubi eum non solum non ducebat rerum ueritas, sed etiam maiorum premebat auctoritas: "De dis," inquit, "populi Romani publicis, quibus aedes dedicauerunt eosque pluribus signis ornatos notauerunt, in hoc libro scribam, sed ut [5]Xenophanes

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CHAPTER XVII.

That even Varro himself declared his opinions about the gods to be ambiguous.

1. non explicant, sed . . . inplicant="They do not expound but confound."

2. dis certis . . . dis incertis. A. has already indicated this Varronian distinction among the gods (iii. 12 c).

3. ad aliquam dirigam summam="try to harmonise in one complete system."

4. dis selectis—Cp. vii. 2 A.

5. Xenophanes—the founder of the Eleatic School of Philosophy. His antagonism to all anthropomorphic theories of the Divine Nature is expressed in the lines preserved by Clement of Alexandria ("Strom.," v., p. 256):

> Εἷς θεὸς ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος
> οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίιος οὔτε νόημα.

Aristotle quotes his doctrine τὸ ἓν εἶναι τὸν θεόν ("Metaphys.," i., p. 986 B). But A. has, no doubt, in mind the following lines which are quoted from Xenophanes by Sextus Empiricus ("Adu. Mathem.," vii. 49).

> καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται
> εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων·
> εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπών,
> αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε, δοκὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται.

Cp. Cicero ("Acad. Prior.," ii. 23, 74), where Xenophanes is associated with Parmenides as professing ignorance, and censuring the profession of knowledge, about divine things.

Colophonius scribit, quid putem, non quid contendam, ponam. Hominis est enim haec opinari, dei scire."

(c) Rerum igitur non conprehensarum nec firmissime creditarum, sed opinatarum et dubitandarum sermonem trepidus pollicetur, dicturus ea quae ab hominibus instituta sunt. Neque enim, sicut sciebat esse mundum, esse caelum et terram, caelum sideribus fulgidum, terram seminibus fertilem, adque huius modi cetera, sicut hanc totam molem adque naturam ui quadam inuisibili ac praepotenti regi adque administrari certa animi stabilitate credebat: ita poterat adfirmare de Iano, quod mundus ipse esset, aut de Saturno inuenire, quo modo et Iouis pater esset et Ioui regnanti subditus factus esset et cetera talia.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUAE CREDIBILIOR CAUSA SIT, QUA ERROR PAGANITATIS INOLEVERIT.

(a) De quibus credibilior redditur ratio, cum perhibentur [1]homines fuisse et unicuique eorum ab his, qui eos adulando deos esse uoluerunt, ex eius ingenio, moribus, actibus, casibus sacra et sollemnia constituta adque haec paulatim per animas hominum [2]daemonibus similes et ludicrarum rerum auidas inrependo longe lateque uulgata, ornantibus ea mendaciis poetarum et ad ea fallacibus spiritibus seducentibus.

(b) Facilius enim fieri potuit, ut iuuenis inpius uel ab inpio patre interfici metuens et auidus regni patrem pelleret regno, quam id, [3]quod iste interpretatur, ideo Saturnum patrem a Ioue filio superatum, quod ante est causa quae pertinet ad Iouem, quam semen quod pertinet ad Saturnum.

(c) Si enim hoc ita esset, numquam Saturnus prior fuisset nec pater Iouis esset. Semper enim semen causa praecedit nec umquam generatur ex semine. Sed cum conantur uanissimas fabulas siue hominum res gestas uelut naturalibus interpretationibus honorare, etiam homines acutissimi tantas patiuntur angustias, ut eorum quoque uanitatem dolere cogamur.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What is the more credible reason for the inveterate error of paganism.

1. homines fuisse—the doctrine of Euhemerus. See note on iv. 27 b.

2. daemonibus similes. A. generally speaks of human minds, in their relation to pagan theology, as influenced by the daemons; but here he assimilates human minds to daemoniac minds or to the daemons themselves.

3. quod iste interpretatur. *Iste* is Varro. Cp. vii. 9 b.

CAPUT XIX.

DE INTERPRETATIONIBUS, QUIBUS COLENDI SATURNI RATIO CONCINNATUR.

(A) "Saturnum," inquit, "dixerunt, quae nata ex eo essent, solitum deuorare, quod eo semina, unde nascerentur, redirent. Et quod illi pro Ioue [1]gleba obiecta est deuoranda, significat," inquit, "manibus humanis obrui coeptas serendo fruges, antequam utilitas arandi esset inuenta." Saturnus ergo dici debuit ipsa terra, non semina; ipsa enim quodam modo deuorat quae genuerit, cum ex ea nata semina in eam rursus recipienda redierint.

(B) Et quod pro Ioue accepisse dicitur glebam, quid hoc ad id ualet, quod manibus hominum semen gleba coopertum est? Numquid ideo non est, ut cetera, deuoratum, quod gleba coopertum est? Ita enim hoc dictum est, quasi qui glebam obposuit semen abstulerit, sicut Saturno perhibent oblata gleba ablatum Iouem, ac non potius gleba semen operiendo fecerit illud diligentius deuorari.

(C) Deinde isto modo semen est Iuppiter, non seminis causa, quod paulo ante dicebatur. Sed quid faciant homines, qui, cum res stultas interpretantur, non inueniunt quid sapienter dicatur? "Falcem habet," inquit, "propter agriculturam." Certe illo regnante [2]nondum erat agricultura, et ideo priora eius tempora perhibentur, sicut idem ipse fabellas interpretatur, quia primi homines ex his uiuebant seminibus, quae terra sponte gignebat. An falcem sceptro perdito accepit, ut, qui primis temporibus rex fuerat otiosus, filio regnante fieret operarius laboriosus?

(D) Deinde ideo dicit a quibusdam pueros ei solitos immolari, sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam maiores, [4]sicut a Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum. De hac crudelissima uanitate quid opus est plura dicere? Hoc potius aduertamus adque tencamus, has interpretationes non referri ad

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CHAPTER XIX

Of the interpretations by which the theory of the worship of Saturn is harmonised with facts.

1. gleba obiecta est. Cp. vii. 9 C.

2. nondum erat agricultura. Cp. Virgil ("Georg.," i. 125):

Ante Iouem nulli subigebant arua coloni.

3. sicut a Poenis. A. repeats the charge (vii. 26 C). Authority for it may be found in Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxxvi. 5, 39); except that he describes the annual sacrifice of human victims among the Carthaginians as being offered not to Saturn but to Hercules; in Dionysius of Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," i. 38), in Diodorus Siculus ("Bibliothec. Hist.," xx. 14) and in Orosius ("Hist.," iv. 6).

4. sicut a Gallis. Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the custom of human sacrifices as continuing to his own time: *παρὰ* Κελτοῖς . . . *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν* ("Antiqq. Rom.," i. 38).

Deum uerum, uiuam, incorpoream incommutabilemque naturam, a quo uita in aeternum beata poscenda est; sed earum esse fines in rebus corporalibus, temporalibus, mutabilibus adque mortalibus.

(E) "Quod Caelum," inquit, "patrem Saturnus castrasse in fabulis dicitur, hoc significat penes Saturnum, non penes Caelum, semen esse diuinum." Hoc propterea, quantum intellegi datur, quia nihil in caelo de seminibus nascitur. Sed ecce, Saturnus si Caeli est filius, Iouis est filius. Caelum enim esse Iouem innumerabiliter et diligenter adfirmant. Ita ista, quae a ueritate non ueniunt, plerumque et nullo inpellente se ipsa subuertunt. [5]Chronon appellatum dicit, quod Graeco uocabulo significat temporis spatium, sine quo semen, inquit, non potest esse fecundum.

(F) Haec et alia de Saturno multa dicuntur, et ad semen omnia referuntur. Sed saltem Saturnus seminibus cum tanta ista potestate sufficeret; quid ad haec di alii requiruntur, maxime Liber et, Libera, id est Ceres? De quibus rursus, quod ad semen adtinet tanta dicit, quasi de Saturno nihil dixerit.

CAPUT XX.

DE SACRIS CERERIS ELEUSINAE.

(A) In Cereris autem sacris praedicantur illa [1]Eleusinia, quae aput Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. De quibus iste nihil interpretatur, nisi quod adtinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres inuenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Orco perdidit; et hanc ipsam dicit significare fecunditatem seminum; quae cum defuisset quodam tempore eademque sterilitate terra maereret, exortam esse opinionem, quod filiam Cereris, id est ipsam fecunditatem, quae a proserpendo [2]Proserpina dicta esset, Orcus abstulerat et aput inferos detinuerat;

(B) Quae res cum fuisset luctu publico celebrata, quia rursus eadem fecunditas rediit, Proserpina reddita exortam esse laetitiam et ex hoc sollemnia constituta. Dicit deinde multa in mysteriis eius tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inuentionem non pertineant.

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5. Chronon. See iv. 10 D. The confusion of *κρόνος* and *χρόνος* is curiously illustrated by A. himself in another of his writings: *Vocabatur χρόνος, quod aspiratione addita etiam temporis nomen est; unde et Latine Saturnus adpellatur, quasi saturetur annis* ("De Consens. Euang.," i. 34). Cp. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ("Antiqq. Rom.," i. 38).

CHAPTER XX.

Of the sacred rites of the Eleusinian Ceres.

1. Eleusinia. For that great festival of the mysteries see "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," *s.v.* Eleusinia.

2. Proserpina. For the derivation cp. vii. 24 D. Varro says oddly: *Dicta Proserpina, quod haec ut serpens modo in dexteram, modo in sinistram partem late mouetur* ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 68).

CAPUT XXI.

DE TURPITUDINE SACRORUM, QUAE LIBERO CELEBRABANTUR.

(A) Iam uero Liberi sacra, quem liquidis seminibus ac per hoc non solum liquoribus fructuum, quorum quodam modo primatum uinum tenet, uerum etiam seminibus animalium praefecerunt, ad quantam turpitudinem peruenerint, piget quidem dicere propter sermonis longitudinem; sed propter istorum superbam hebetudinem non piget.

(B) Inter cetera, quae praetermittere, quoniam multa sunt, cogor, [1]in Italiae compitis quaedam dicit sacra Liberi celebrata cum tanta licentia turpitudinis, ut in eius honorem pudenda uirilia colerentur, non saltem aliquantum uerecundiore secreto, sed in propatulo exultante nequitia. Nam hoc turpe membrum per Liberi dies festos cum honore magno plostellis inpositum prius rure in compitis et usque in urbem postea uectabatur.

(C) In oppido autem [2]Lauinio unus Libero totus mensis tribuebatur, cuius diebus omnes uerbis flagitiosissimis uterentur, donec illud membrum per forum transuectum esset adque in loco suo quiesceret. Cui membro inhonesto matrem familias honestissimam palam coronam necesse erat inponere.

(D) Sic uidelicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro euentibus seminum, sic ab agris [3]fascinatio repellenda, ut matrona facere cogeretur in publico, quod nec meretrix, si matronae spectarent, permitti debuit in theatro. Propter haec Saturnus solus creditus non est sufficere posse seminibus, ut occasiones multiplicandorum deorum inmunda anima reperiret, et ab uno uero Deo merito

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CHAPTER XXI.

Of the abominable character of the sacred rites which are celebrated in honour of Liber.

1. **in Italiae compitis.** A. can hardly refer to the Compitalia; for although the celebration of that festival differed at different times in Roman history, there is, apart from A.'s statement, little or no evidence of *licentia turpitudinis* in connexion with it. He probably means some Bacchic festival or festivals at the crossroads (*compita*) in various parts of Italy.

2. **Lauinia**—an old Latin city, named (as tradition said) after Lauinia, the wife of Aeneas.

3. **fascinatio**=the malign influence of the evil eye. Cp. vii. 24 H; so Virgil:

"*Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos.*"

("Eclog.," iii. 103.)

No fact of human nature is more astonishing than that men should so freely ascribe to the deity or deities whom they worship actions and attributes which they would regard as immoral and actually unnatural in themselves. Hinduism, to-day, is a painful illustrative commentary upon paganism in the fifth century A.D. Even Christianity itself, in such an instance as the doctrine of everlasting punishment, has not always wholly escaped this reproach.

inmunditiae destituta ac per multos falsos auiditate maioris inmunditiae prostituta ista sacrilegia sacra nominaret seseque spurcorum daemonum turbis conuiolandam polluendamque praeberet.

CAPUT XXII.

DE NEPTUNO ET SALACIA AC VENILIA.

(A) Iam utique habebat [1]Salaciam Neptunus uxorem, quam inferiorem aquam maris esse dixerunt: ut quid illi adiuncta est et [2]Venilia, nisi ut sine ulla causa necessariorum sacrorum sola libidine animae prostitutae multiplicaretur [3]inuitatio daemoniorum? Sed proferatur interpretatio praeclarae theologiae, quae nos ab ista reprehensione reddita ratione conpescat. "Venilia," inquit, "unda est, quae ad litus uenit; Salacia, quae in salum redit." Quur ergo deae fiunt duae, cum sit una unda quae uenit et redit?

(B) Nempe ipsa est [4]exaestuans in multa numina libido uesana. Quamuis enim aqua non geminetur quae it et redit, huius tamen occasione uanitatis duobus daemoniis inuitatis amplius commaculatur anima, [5]quae it et non redit. Quaeso te, Varro, uel uos, qui tam doctorum hominum talia scripta legistis et aliquid magnum uos didicisse iactatis, interpretamini hoc, nolo dicere secundum illam aeternam incommutabilemque naturam, qui solus est Deus, sed saltem secundum animam mundi et partes eius, quos deos esse ueros existimatis. Partem animae mundi, quae mare permeat, deum uobis fecisse Neptunum utcumque tolerabilioris erroris est.

(C) Itane unda ad litus ueniens et in salum rediens duae sunt partes mundi aut duae partes animae mundi? Quis uestrum ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? Quur ergo uobis duas deas fecerunt, nisi quia prouisum est a sapientibus maioribus uestris, non ut di plures uos regerent, sed ut ea, quae istis uanitatibus et falsitatibus gaudent, plura uos daemonia possiderent? Quur autem illa

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CHAPTER XXII.

Of Neptune, Salacia and Venilia.

1. Salaciam. Cp. iv. 11 B.

2. Venilia. A different goddess apparently from the *Venilia* of iv. 11 C. There is a *Venilia* mentioned in Virg., "Aen.," x. 76. For the derivation of *Salacia* and *Venilia* (or *Venelia*) see Varro ("De Ling. Lat.," v. 72).

3. inuitatio daemoniorum="the solicitation of the daemons." Cp. *daemoniis inuitatis* (B. below), also vii. 23 H.

4. exaestuans—a word chosen as appropriate to the subject of the water or the tide. See note on i. 10 F.

5. quae it et non redit—*i.e.*, at death. A. is thinking of the

"bourne
From which no traveller returns."

Cp. Job x. 21.

Salacia per hanc interpretationem inferiorem maris partem, qua uiro erat subdita, perdidit ? Namque illam modo, cum refluentem fluctum esse perhibetis, in superficie posuistis. An quia Veniliam pellicem accepit, irata suum maritum de supernis maris exclusit ?

CAPUT XXIII.

DE TERRA, QUAM VARRO DEAM ESSE CONFIRMAT, EO QUOD ILLE ANIMUS MUNDI, QUEM OPINATUR DEUM, ETIAM HANC CORPORIS SUI INFIMAM PARTEM PERMEET EIQUE UIM DIVINAM INPERTIAT.

(A) Nempe una est terra, quam plenam quidem uidemus animalibus suis; uerum tamen ipsam [1]magnum corpus in elementis mundique infimam partem, quur eam uolunt deam ? An quia fecunda est ? Quur ergo non magis homines di sunt, qui eam fecundiorem faciunt excolendo; sed cum arant, non cum adorant ? Sed pars animae mundi, inquiunt, quae per illam permeat, deam facit.

(B) Quasi non euidentior sit in hominibus anima, quae utrum sit nulla fit quaestio; et tamen homines di non habentur et, quod est grauiter dolendum, his, qui di non sunt et quibus ipsi meliores sunt, colendis et adorandis mirabili et miserabili errore subduntur.

(C) Et certe idem Varro in eodem de dis selectis libro [2]tres esse adfirmat animae gradus in omni uniuersaque natura: unum, qui omnes partes corporis, quae uiuunt, transit et non habet sensum, sed tantum ad uiuendum ualetudinem; hanc uim in nostro corpore permanere dicit in ossa, ungues, capillos; sicut in mundo arbores sine sensu aluntur et crescunt et modo quodam suo uiuunt: secundum gradum animae, in quo sensus est; hanc uim peruenire in oculos, aures, nares, os, tactum: tertium gradum esse animae [3]summum, quod uocatur animus, in quo intellegentia praeminet; hoc praeter hominem omnes carere mortales.

(D) Hanc partem animaae mundi dicit Deum, in nobis autem

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Earth, which Varro proves to be a goddess, because that spirit of the world, which he thinks to be god, pervades this the lowest part of his body as well as the other parts and bestows upon it a divine force.

1. magnum corpus = "only a large body."

2. tres . . . animae gradus. Among philosophers it was Aristotle who in his treatise "De Anima" first defined and distinguished the successive ascending meanings of the word ψυχή (*anima*, soul); see Grote's "Aristotle," ch. xii., especially vol. ii. pp. 191 *sqq.* The nutritive, sentient and poetic souls of Aristotle (to adopt Grote's phraseology) are the originals of the three souls which A. here describes.

3. **Summum, quod uocatur animus.** Cp. vii. 30 A. A. elaborates his conception of the *anima rationalis* (x. 9 B).

[4]Genium uocari. Esse autem in mundo lapides ac terram, quam uidemus, quo non permanat sensus, ut ossa, ut ungues Dei; solem uero, lunam, stellas, quae sentimus quibusque ipse sentit, sensus esse eius; aethera porro animum eius; cuius uim, quae peruenit in astra, ea quoque facere deos, et per ea quod in terram permanat, deam Tellurem; quod autem inde permanat in mare adque oceanum, deum esse Neptunum.

(E) Redeat ergo ab hac, quam theologian naturalem putat, quo uelut requiescendi causa ab his ambagibus adque anfractibus fatigatus egressus est; redeat, inquam, redeat ad ciuilem; hic eum adhuc teneo, tantisper de hac ago. Nondum dico, si terra et lapides nostris sunt ossibus et unguibus similes, similiter eos intellegentiam non habere, sicut sensu carent; aut si idcirco habere dicuntur ossa et ungues nostri intellegentiam, quia in homine sunt qui habet intellegentiam, tam stultum esse qui hos in mundo deos dicit, quam stultus est qui in nobis ossa et ungues homines dicit. Sed haec cum philosophis fortassis agenda sunt; nunc autem [5]istum adhuc politicum uolo.

(F) Fieri enim potest, ut, licet in illam naturalis theologiae ueluti libertatem caput erigere paululum uoluisse uideatur, adhuc tamen [6]hunc librum uersans et se in illo uersari cogitans, eum etiam [7]inde respexerit et hoc propterea dixerit, ne maiores eius siue aliae ciuitates Tellurem adque Neptunum inaniter coluisse credantur.

(G) Sed hoc dico: pars animi mundani, quae per terram permeat, sicut una est terra, quur non etiam unam fecit deam, quam dicit esse Tellurem ? Quod si ita fecit, ubi erit Orcus, frater Iouis adque Neptuni, quem Ditem patrem uocant ? ubi eius coniunx Proserpina, quae secundum aliam in eisdem libris positam opinionem non terrae fecunditas, sed pars inferior perhibetur ?

(H) Quod si dicunt animi mundani partem, cum permeat terrae partem superiorem, Ditem patrem facere deum; cum uero inferiorem, Proserpinam deam: Tellus illa quid erit ? Ita enim totum, quod ipsa erat, in duas istas partes deosque diuisum est, ut ipsa tertia quae sit aut ubi sit inueniri non possit; nisi quis dicat simul istos deos Orcum adque Proserpinam unam deam esse Tellurem, et non esse iam tres, sed aut unam aut duos; et tamen tres dicuntur,

4. **Genium**—See note on vii. 13 B.

5. **istum adhuc politicum** = "Varro still as a politician"—*i.e.*, as an exponent of political theology.

6. **hunc librum uersans,** etc. = "concerning his book which was, as he thought, his chief concern."

7. **inde**—*sc.* from the political standpoint.

tres habentur, tres coluntur aris suis, delubris suis, sacris, simulacris, sacerdotibus suis, et per haec etiam fallacibus prostitutam animam constuprantibus daemonibus suis.

(I) Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terrae permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat [8]Tellumonem. "Non," inquit, "sed una eademque terra habet geminam uim, et masculinam, quod semina producat, et femininam, quod recipiat adque nutriat; inde a ui feminae dictam esse Tellurem, a masculi Tellumonem." Quur ergo pontifices, ut ipse indicat, additis quoque aliis duobus quattuor dis faciunt rem diuinam, Telluri, Tellumoni, [9]Altori, [10]Rusori? De Tellure et Tellumone *iam dictum est. Altori quare? Quod ex terra, inquit, aluntur omnia quae nata sunt. Rusori quare? Quod rursus, inquit, cuncta eodem reuoluuntur.

CAPUT XXIV.

DE TELLURIS COGNOMINIBUS EORUMQUE SIGNIFICATIONIBUS, QUAE ETIAMSI ERANT MULTARUM RERUM INDICES, NON DEBUERUNT MULTORUM DEORUM FIRMARE OPINIONES.

(A) Debuit ergo una terra propter istam quatergeminam uim quattuor habere cognomina, non quattuor facere deos; sicut tot cognominibus unus Iuppiter et tot cognominibus una Iuno, in quibus omnibus uis multiplex esse dicitur ad unum deum uel unam deam pertinens, non multitudo cognominum deorum etiam multitudinem faciens. Sed profecto sicut aliquando etiam ipsas uilissimas feminas earum, quas libidine quaesierunt, taedet paenitetque turbarum; sic animam uilem factam et inmundis spiritibus prostitutam deos sibi multiplicare, quibus contaminanda prosterneretur, sicut plurimum libuit, sic aliquando et piguit.

(B) Nam et ipse Varro quasi de ipsa turba uerecundatus unam deam uult esse Tellurem. "Eandem," inquit, "dicunt Matrem Magnam, quod tympanum habeat, significari esse orbem terrae; quod turres in capite, oppida; quod sedens fingatur, circa eam cum omnia moueantur, ipsam non moueri. Quod Gallos huic deae ut seruirent fecerunt, significat, qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere; in ea quippe omnia reperiri.

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8. Tellumonem. Cp. iv. 10 E.

9. Altori="The Nourisher." Cp. Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," ii. 34, 86), although *Altor* is there a title descriptive of the world (*mundus*).

10. Rusori—"The Returner," *rusus* being a variant form of *rursus*.

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* iv. 10 E.

(c) Quod [1]se aput eam iactant, praecipitur," inquit, " qui terram colunt, ne sedeant; semper enim esse quod agant. Cymbalorum sonitus ferramentorum iactandorum ac manuum et eius rei crepitum in colendo agro qui fit significant; [2]ideo aere, quod eam antiqui colebant aere, antequam ferrum esset inuentum. Leonem, inquit, adiungunt solutum ac mansuetum, ut ostendant nullum genus esse terrae tam remotum ac uehementer ferum, quod non subigi colique conueniat."

(d) Deinde adiungit et dicit, Tellurem matrem et nominibus pluribus et cognominibus quod nominarunt, deos existimatos esse conplures. " Tellurem," inquit, " putant esse [3]Opem, quod opere fiat melior; Matrem, quod plurima pariat; [4]Magnam, quod cibum pariat; [5]Proserpinam, quod ex ea proserpant fruges; [6]Vestam, quod uestiatur herbis. Sic alias deas," inquit, " non absurde [7]ad hanc reuocant." Si ergo una dea est, quae quidem consulta ueritate nec ipsa est, [8]interim quid itur in multas ? Unius sint ista multa nomina, non tam deae multae quam nomina.

(e) Sed erantium maiorum auctoritas deprimit et eundem Varronem post hanc sententiam trepidare conpellit. Adiungit enim et dicit: " Cum quibus opinio maiorum de his deabus, quod plures eas putarunt esse, non pugnat." Quo modo non pugnat, cum ualde aliud sit unam deam nomina habere multa, aliud esse deas multas ? " Sed potest," inquit, " fieri ut eadem res et una sit, et in ea quaedam res sint plures." Concedo in uno homine esse res plures, numquid ideo et homines plures ? Sic in una dea esse res plures, numquid ideo et deas plures ? Verum sicut uolunt, diuidant, conflent, [9]multiplicent, replicent, inplicent.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the surnames of Tellus (Earth) and their significations, which although they were evidences of many things, ought not to have established men's opinions of the existence of many gods.

1. se aput eam iactant—with reference to the *iactatio insana membrorum* (f. below).

2. ideo aere=" The reason why the cymbals are made of brass is."

3. Opem, quod opere fiat melior. Similarly Varro says: *Terra Ops, quod hic omne opus ;* but he adds *et hac opus ad uiuendum* (" De Ling. Lat.," v. 64). But etymology was the weakest point in ancient literary or linguistic culture.

4. Magnam, quod cibum pariat—because of the importance of food to human nature.

5. Proserpinam. Cp. vii. 20 a.

6. Vestam, quod uestiatur herbis. Vesta is philologically the same as 'Εστία (Cp. Cicero " De Nat. Deor.," ii. 27, 67), both names being derivatives of a root VAS=" burn."

7. ad hanc reuocant=" identify with her."

8. interim=" provisionally " or here " all the same ;" Cp. *in hac interim uita*= " in this transitory life " (" De Oct. Dulcit Quaest.," 12; " Enchir.," 18 [lxviii]).

9. multiplicent, replicent, inplicent. For the triple assonance see note on i.

(F) Haec sunt Telluris et Matris Magnae praeclara mysteria, unde omnia referuntur ad mortalia semina et exercendam agriculturam. Itane ad haec relata et hunc finem habentia tympanum, turres, Galli, iactatio insana membrorum, crepitus cymbalorum, confictio leonum uitam cuiquam pollicentur aeternam? Itane propterea Galli abscisi huic Magnae deae seruiunt, ut significent, qui semine indigeant, terram sequi oportere; quasi non eos ipsa potius seruitus semine faciat indigere? Utrum enim sequendo hanc deam, cum indigeant, semen adquirunt, an potius sequendo hanc deam, cum habeant, semen amittunt? Hoc interpretari est an detestari?

(G) Nec adtenditur, quantum maligni daemones praeualuerint, qui nec aliqua magna his sacris polliceri ausi sunt, et tam crudelia exigere potuerunt. Si dea terra non esset, manus ei homines operando inferrent, ut semina consequerentur per illam, non et sibi saeuiendo, ut semina perderent propter illam; si dea non esset, ita fecunda fieret manibus alienis, ut non cogeret hominem sterilem fieri manibus suis.

(H) Iam quod in Liberi sacris honesta matrona pudenda uirilia coronabat spectante multitudine, ubi rubens et sudans, si est ulla frons in hominibus, adstabat forsitan et maritus; et quod in celebratione nuptiarum super Priapi scapum noua nupta sedere iubebatur: longe contemtibiliora adque leuiora sunt prae ista turpitudine crudelissima uel crudelitate turpissima, ubi daemonicis ritibus sic uterque sexus inluditur, ut neuter suo uulnere perimatur. Ibi fascinatio timetur agrorum, hic membrorum amputatio non timetur. Ibi sic dehonestatur nouae nuptae uerecundia, ut non solum fecunditas, sed nec uirginitas adimatur; hic ita amputatur uirilitas, ut nec conuertatur in feminam nec uir relinquatur.

CAPUT XXV.

QUAM INTERPRETATIONEM DE ABSCISIONE ATTIDIS GRAECORUM SAPIENTIUM DOCTRINA REPPERERIT.

(A) Et [1]Attis ille non est commemoratus nec eius ab [2]isto interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus absci-

Praef. B. I suggest as a translation, "by multiplication, duplication, and complication." *replicent* more probably means "duplication" than "division." Cp. vii. 26 A. *interpretatio . . . ratio . . . oratio.* See Appendix D.

CHAPTER XXV.

What interpretation of the mutilation of Attis has been devised by the doctrine of the wise men of Greece.

1. Attis—or Atys, who, in the madness sent upon him as a punishment for rejecting the love of Cybele, mutilated himself. See the sixty-third poem of Catullus and Prof. Robinson Ellis's commentary upon it.

2. Isto—*sc.* Varro.

ditur. Sed docti Graeci adque sapientes nequaquam rationem tam sanctam praeclaramque tacuerunt. Propter uernalem quippe faciem terrae, quae ceteris est temporibus pulchrior, [3]Porphyrius, philosophus nobilis, Attin flores significare perhibuit, et ideo abscisum, quia flos decidit ante fructum. Non ergo ipsum hominem, uel quasi hominem qui est uocatus Attis, sed uirilia eius flori conparauerunt.

(B) Ipsa quippe illo uiuente deciderunt; immo uero non deciderunt neque decerpta, sed plane discerpta sunt; nec illo flore amisso quisquam postea fructus, sed potius sterilitas consecuta est. Quid ergo ipse reliquus, et quidquid remansit absciso ? quid eo significari dicitur ? quo refertur ? quae interpretatio inde profertur ? An haec frustra moliendo nihilque inueniendo persuadent illud potius esse credendum, quod de homine castrato fama iactauit litterisque mandatum est ? Merito hinc auersatus est Varro noster, neque hoc dicere uoluit; non enim hominem doctissimum latuit.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE TURPITUDINE SACRORUM MATRIS MAGNAE.

(A) Itemque de [1]mollibus eidem Matri Magnae contra omnem uirorum mulierumque uerecundiam consecratis, qui [2]usque in hesternum diem madidis capillis, facie dealbata, fluentibus membris, incessu femineo per plateas uiscosque Carthaginis etiam a [3]propolis

3. Porphyrius—the Neo-Platonic philosopher who was so well known as an opponent of Christianity in the third century A.D. According to Nicephorus Callistus ("Eccl. Hist." x. 36) he abjured the Christian faith, which at one time he had professed. He held that Plotinus, whose pupil he was, was the true successor of Plato. A. calls him *nobilissimus philosophus paganorum* (xxii. 3 C). He speaks of him as *Siculum illum cuius celeberrima est fama* ("Retract.," ii. 31). He mentions his epistle to the Egyptian priest Anebo on divination (x. 11 K); and his ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας (xix. 23 A). The attack of Porphyrius upon Christianity—κατὰ Χριστιανῶν—in fifteen books is frequently cited by the Fathers of the Church, *e.g.* by Eusebius both in his "Ecclesiastical History" and in the "Præparatio Euangelica." The work of Porphyrius to which A. here refers is, no doubt, the lost treatise περὶ τῆς ἀλληγορουμένης Ἑλλήνων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίας For his use of other works of Porphyrius see note on x. 9 B. The relation of Porphyrius to Christianity is discussed by Harnack ("Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries," Book iii., ch. 5, vol. ii., pp. 134-40).

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the abominable character of the sacred rites of the Great Mother.

1. mollibus="eunuchs."

2. usque in hesternum diem—*i.e.*, until the time of Constantine and official Christianity.

3. propolis—Undoubtedly the true reading; not *populis*, which (apart from its lack of authority in the MSS.) would not well suit the single city of Carthage. That the Galli were licensed mendicants appears from Cicero ("De Legg.," ii. 10, 21; ii. 16, 40); Ovid ("Fast.," iv. 351-52). Tertullian ("Apolog.," 13) says broadly *Circuit cauponas religio mendicans.* *propolis*="shopkeepers."

unde turpiter uiuerent exigebant, nihil Varro dicere uoluit nec uspiam me legisse commemini.

(B) Defecit [4]interpretatio, erubuit ratio, conticuit oratio. Vicit Matris Magnae omnes deos filios non numinis magnitudo, sed criminis. Huic monstro nec Iani monstrositas conparatur. Ille in simulacris [5]habebat solam deformitatem, ista in sacris deformem crudelitatem; ille membra in lapidibus addita, haec in hominibus perdita. Hoc dedecus tot Iouis ipsius et tanta stupra non uincunt. Ille inter femineas corruptelas uno Ganymede caelum infamauit; ista tot mollibus professis et publicis et inquinauit terram et caelo fecit iniuriam.

(C) Saturnum fortasse possemus huic in isto genere turpissimae crudelitatis siue conferre siue praeferre, qui patrem castrasse perhibetur; sed [6]in Saturni sacris homines alienis manibus potius occidi quam suis abscidi potuerunt. Deuorauit ille filios, ut poetae ferunt, et physici ex hoc interpretantur quod uolunt; ut autem historia prodit, necauit; sed quod ei Poeni suos filios sacrificati sunt, non recepere Romani.

(D) At uero ista Magna deorum Mater etiam Romanis templis castratos intulit adque istam saeuitiam moremque seruauit, credita uires adiuuare Romanorum exsecando uirilia uirorum. Quid sunt ad hoc malum furta Mercurii, Veneris lasciuia, stupra ac turpitudines ceterorum, quae proferremus de libris, nisi cottidie cantarentur et saltarentur in theatris? Sed haec quid sunt ad tantum malum, cuius magnitudo Magnae Matri tantummodo conpetebat?

(E) Praesertim quod illa dicuntur a poetis esse conficta, quasi poetae id etiam finxerint, quod ea sint dis grata et accepta. Ut ergo canerentur uel scriberentur, sit audacia uel petulantia poetarum; ut uero diuinis rebus et honoribus eisdem imperantibus et extorquentibus numinibus adderentur, quid est nisi crimen deorum, immo uero [7]confessio daemoniorum et deceptio miserorum? Verum illud, quod de abscisorum consecratione Mater deum coli meruit, non poetae confinxerunt, sed horrere magis quam canere maluerunt.

(F) Hisne dis selectis quisquam consecrandus est, ut post mortem

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4. interpretatio . . . ratio . . . oratio. Cp. vii. 24 E. "Interpretation . . . argumentation . . . demonstration."

5. habebat . . . deformitatem—as being *bifrons* and *quadrifrons*.

6. in Saturni sacris. The reference is to the Carthaginian sacrifices described in vii. 19 D; where see note.

7. confessio daemoniorum, etc.="the confession that the gods are daemons and the evidence of the fraud which they practise on unhappy mortals."

uiuat beate, quibus consecratus ante mortem honeste non potest uiuere, tam foedis superstitionibus subditus et inmundis daemonibus obligatus ? Sed haec omnia, inquit, [8]referuntur ad [9]mundum. Videat ne potius ad inmundum. Quid autem non potest referri ad mundum, quod esse demonstratur in mundo ? Nos autem animum quaerimus, qui uera religione confisus non tamquam deum suum adoret mundum, sed tamquam opus Dei propter Deum laudet mundum, et mundanis sordibus expiatus mundus perueniat ad Deum, qui condidit mundum.

CAPUT XXVII.

DE FIGMENTIS PHYSIOLOGORUM, QUI NEC VERAM DIVINITATEM COLUNT, NEC EO CULTU QUO COLENDA EST VERA DIVINITAS.

(A) Istos uero deos selectos uidemus quidem clarius innotuisse quam ceteros, non tamen ut eorum inlustrarentur merita, sed ne occultarentur obprobria; unde magis eos homines fuisse credibile est, sicut non solum poeticae litterae, uerum etiam historicae tradiderunt. Nam [1]quod Vergilius ait:

*Primus ab aetherio uenit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Iouis fugiens et regnis exul ademtis,

et quae ad hanc rem pertinentia consequuntur, totam de hoc [2]Euhemerus pandit historiam, quam [3]Ennius in Latinum uertit [4]eloquium: [5]unde quia plurima posuerunt, qui contra huius modi errores ante nos uel Graeco sermone uel Latino scripserunt, non in eo mihi placuit inmorari.

8. referuntur ad mundum—*i.e.*, are susceptible of a physical interpretation.

9. mundum . . . inmundum. Not a mere assurance or play upon words, but (what is rare in Latin literature generally) an actual pun. Cp. *mundum . . . mundanis . . . mundus . . . mundum* below. I do not know how it is possible to preserve the pun, unless by translating " to nature as a whole " " to a nature which is unholy." Cp. xi. 9 G. where *mundus* appears similarly in its two meanings. There is a similar pun *foedus . . . fodeum* (iii. 17 H).

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the figments of the physiologists who neither worship the true Divinity nor worship in the way in which the true Divinity ought to be worshipped.

1. quod Vergilius ait. Saturnus was a legendary Italian king—*i.e.*, upon the Euhemeran hypothesis, a deified king whom the Romans, when they came to know the theology of the Greeks, identified more or less exactly with Cronos.

2. Euhemerus. See note on iv. 27 B.

3. Ennius—He is said to have composed a trochaic version of the Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή of Euhemerus; but it was probably something more than a mere version, as Cicero says: *ab Euhemero quem noster et interpretatus et secutus est praeter ceteros Ennius* (" De Nat. Deor.," i. 42, 119).

4. eloquium—here = " language." For the various shades of meaning which *eloquium* bears in the *D.C.D.* see note on ii. 18 F.

5. unde quia plurima posuerunt = " because they have discussed this subject at very great length." **unde** = *de quo* " on which subject."

* " Aen.," viii. 319-20.

(B) Ipsas [6]physiologias cum considero, quibus docti et acuti homines has res humanas conantur uertere in res diuinas, nihil uideo nisi ad temporalia terrenaque opera naturamque corpoream uel etiamsi inuisibilem, tamen mutabilem potuisse reuocari; quod nullo modo est uerus Deus. [7]Hoc autem si saltem religiositati congruis significationibus ageretur, esset quidem dolendum non his uerum Deum adnuntiari adque praedicari, tamen aliquo modo ferendum tam foeda et turpia non fieri nec iuberi; at nunc cum pro Deo uero, quo solo anima se inhabitante fit felix, nefas sit colere aut corpus aut animam, quanto magis nefarium est ista sic colere, ut nec salutem nec decus humanum corpus aut anima colentis obtineat!

(C) Quam ob rem si templo, sacerdote, sacrificio, quod uero Deo debetur, colatur aliquod elementum mundi uel creatus aliquis spiritus, etiamsi non inmundus et malus; non ideo malum est, quia illa mala sunt, quibus colitur, sed quia illa talia sunt, quibus ille solus colendus sit, cui talis cultus seruitusque debetur. Si autem stoliditate uel monstrositate simulacrorum, sacrificiis homicidiorum, coronatione uirilium pudendorum, mercede stuprorum, sectione membrorum, abscisione genitalium, consecratione mollium, festis inpurorum obscenorumque ludorum unum uerum Deum, id est omnis animae corporisque creatorem, colere se quisque contendat: non ideo peccat, quia non est colendus quem colit, sed quia colendum non ut colendus est colit.

(D) Qui uero et rebus talibus, id est turpibus et scelestis, et non Deum uerum, id est animae corporisque factorem, sed creaturam quamuis non uitiosam colit, siue illa sit anima siue corpus siue anima simul et corpus, bis peccat in Deum, quod et pro ipso colit, quod non est ipse, et talibus rebus colit, qualibus [8]nec ipse colendus est nec non ipse.

(E) Sed hi quonam modo, id est quam turpiter nefarieque coluerint, in promtu est; quid autem uel quos coluerint, esset obscurum, nisi eorum testaretur historia ea ipsa, quae foeda et turpia confitentur, numinibus terribiliter exigentibus reddita; unde remotis constat ambagibus nefarios daemones adque inmundissimos spiritus hac omni ciuili theologia inuisendis stolidis imaginibus, et per eas possidendis etiam stultis cordibus, inuitatos.

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6. physiologias = "physiological" (or "physical") theories. Cp. *physicis rationibus* (vii. 29 A).

7. Hoc . . . si . . . ageretur = "if this work were undertaken in such a manner that the symbolism, if it were nothing more, were agreeable to a religious spirit."

8. nec ipse colendus est, etc. = "Neither God Himself nor that which is not God Himself ought to be worshipped."

CAPUT XXVIII.

QUOD DOCTRINA VARRONIS DE THEOLOGIA IN NULLA SIBI PARTE CONCORDET.

(A) Quid igitur ualet, quod uir doctissimus et acutissimus Varro uelut subtili disputatione hos omnes deos in caelum et in terram redigere ac referre conatur? Non potest; fluunt de manibus, resiliunt, labuntur et decidunt. Dicturus enim de feminis, hoc est deabus: "Quoniam," inquit, "ut primo libro dixi de locis, [1]duo sunt principia deorum animaduersa de caelo et terra, a quo di partim dicuntur caelestes, partim terrestres: ut in superioribus initium fecimus a caelo, cum diximus de [2]Iano, quem alii caelum, alii dixerunt esse mundum, sic de feminis scribendi facimus initium a Tellure."

(B) Sentio quantam molestiam tale ac tantum partiatur ingenium. Ducitur enim quadam ratione uerisimili, caelum esse quod faciat, terram quae patiatur, et ideo illi masculinam uim tribuit, huic femininam, et non adtendit eum potius esse [3]qui haec facit, [4]qui utrumque fecit. Hinc etiam [5]Samothracum nobilia mysteria in superiore libro sic interpretatur eaque se, quae nec suis nota sunt, scribendo expositurum eisque missurum quasi religiosissime pollicetur.

(C) Dicit enim se ibi multis indiciis collegisse in simulacris aliud significare caelum, aliud terram, aliud exempla rerum, [6]quas Plato appellat ideas; caelum Iouem, terram Iunonem, ideas Mineruam uult intellegi; caelum a quo fiat aliquid, terram de qua fiat, exemplum

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

That the doctrine of Varro upon theology is nowhere consistent with itself.

1. duo sunt principia, etc.="There are two acknowledged regions from which the gods take their beginnings, viz., heaven and earth."

2. Iano. For Janus as=*mundus*, cp. vii. 7 A. The identification of Janus with *caelum* (vii. 10 A) probably depends upon the identification of Janus with Juppiter as the god of the sky or the sky itself.

3. qui haec facit—*haec* sc. the active or masculine and the passive or feminine principles.

4. qui utrumque fecit—*utrumque*=heaven and earth.

5. Samothracum nobilia mysteria—the mysteries of the Cabeiri in Samothracia. See "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiqq.," *s.v.* Cabeiria. If Cicero's language ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 42, 119) may be taken as applying to them—*quibus explicatis ad rationemquer euocatis rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum*—it may be inferred that they bore reference to the character or order of the world of Nature. Varro throws some light upon them ("De Ling. Lat." v. 58) especially in the words: *Terra . . . et Caelum, ut Samothracum initia docent, sunt Dei Magni.* Herodotus relates the origin of the Cabeiric mysteries (ii. 51).

6. quas Plato appellat ideas—the Platonic *ἰδέαι*. Perhaps "Republic," vi., pp. 507-11, will, as fully as any single passage in Plato's writings, elucidate A.'s conception of the *ἰδέαι*. But in the words, *quod Plato illas ideas tantam uim habere dicit*, etc., A. refers to "Tim.," pp. 29-31. For A.'s general view of the *ἰδέαι* see "De Doctr. Christian," 46.

secundum quod fiat. Qua in re omitto dicere, quod Plato illas ideas tantam uim habere dicit, ut secundum eas non caelum aliquid fecerit, sed etiam caelum factum sit.

(D) Hoc dico, istum in hoc libro selectorum deorum rationem illam trium deorum, quibus quasi cuncta conplexus est, perdidisse. Caelo enim tribuit masculos deos, feminas terrae; inter quas posuit Mineruam, quam supra ipsum caelum ante posuerat. Deinde masculus deus Neptunus in mari est, quod ad terram potius quam ad caelum pertinet. Dis pater postremo, qui Graece Πλούτων dicitur, etiam ipse masculus [7]frater amborum terrenus deus esse perhibetur, superiorem terram tenens, in inferiore habens Proserpinam coniugem.

(E) Quo modo ergo deos ad caelum, deas ad terram referre conantur? Quid solidum, quid constans, quid sobrium, quid definitum habet haec disputatio? Illa est autem Tellus initium dearum, Mater scilicet Magna, aput quam mollium et abscisorum seseque secantium [8]adque iactantium insana perstrepit turpitudo. Quid est ergo quod dicitur caput deorum Ianus, caput dearum Tellus? Nec ibi facit [9]unum caput error, nec hic sanum [10]furor. Quur haec frustra referre nituntur ad mundum? Quod etsi possent, pro Deo uero mundum nemo pius colit; et tamen eos nec hoc posse ueritas aperta conuincit. Referant haec potius ad homines mortuos et ad daemones pessimos, et nulla quaestio remanebit.

CAPUT XXIX.

QUOD OMNIA, QUAE PHYSIOLOGI AD MUNDUM PARTESQUE IPSIUS RETTULERUNT, AD UNUM VERUM DEUM REFERRE DEBUERINT.

(A) Namque omnia, quae ab eis ex istorum deorum theologia uelut physicis rationibus referuntur ad mundum, quam sine ullo scrupulo sacrilegae opinionis Deo potius uero, qui fecit mundum, omnis animae et omnis corporis conditori, tribuantur, aduertamus hoc modo:

(B) Nos Deum colimus, non caelum et terram, quibus duabus partibus mundus hic constat; nec animam uel animas per uiuentia quaecumque diffusas, sed Deum, qui fecit caelum et terram et omnia, quae in eis sunt; qui fecit [1]omnem animam, siue

7. frater amborum—*sc.* of Juppiter and Neptune.

8. adque iactantium—in reference (as vii. 24 F) to the wild gestures and postures of the *Galli*.

9. unum caput—because Janus was *bifrons* or *quadrifrons*.

10. furor—because the Galli were frenzied.

CHAPTER XXIX.

That all things which the physiologists have referred to the world and its parts they ought to have referred to the one true God.

1. omnem animam. A. refers here to the gradation of souls, as he has already defined it (vii. 23 C).

quocumque modo uiuentem et sensus ac rationis expertem, siue etiam sentientem, siue etiam intellegentem.

CAPUT XXX.

QUA PIETATE DISCERNATUR A CREATURIS CREATOR, NE PRO UNO TOT DI COLANTUR, QUOT SUNT OPERA UNIUS AUCTORIS.

(A) Et ut iam incipiam illa unius et ueri Dei opera percurrere, propter quae isti sibi, dum quasi honeste conantur [1]sacramenta turpissima et scelestissima interpretari, deos multos falsosque fecerunt: illum Deum colimus, qui naturis a se creatis et subsistendi et mouendi initia finesque constituit; qui rerum causas habet, nouit adque disponit; qui uim seminum condidit; qui rationalem animam, quod dicitur animus, quibus uoluit uiuentibus indidit; qui sermonis facultatem usumque donauit;

(B) Qui [2]munus futura discendi quibus placuit spiritibus inpertiuit et per quos placet ipse futura praedicit et per quos placet [3]malas ualetudines pellit; qui bellorum quoque ipsorum, cum sic emendandum et castigandum est genus humanum, exordiis, progressibus finibusque moderatur; qui [4]mundi huius ignem uehementissimum et uiolentissimum [5]pro inmensae naturae temperamento et creauit et regit; qui uniuersarum aquarum creator et gubernator est; qui solem fecit corporalium clarissimum luminum eique uim congruam et motum dedit;

(C) Qui ipsis etiam inferis dominationem suam potestatemque non subtrahit; qui semina et alimenta mortalium, siue arida siue liquida, [6]naturis conpetentibus adtributa [7]substituit; qui terram fundat adque fecundat; qui fructus eius animalibus hominibus que largitur; qui causas non solum principales, sed etiam subsequentes

CHAPTER XXX.

What is the piety by which the Creator is distinguished from the creatures and so there are not worshipped, instead of the one God, as many gods as there are works of the one Author.

1. **sacramenta**="sacred mysteries." Cp. vii. 32 A. See note on iv. 33 B.

2. **munus futura discendi.** It seems clear that A. believed in the prophetic power as being exercised by his own contemporaries.

3. **malas ualetudines pellit.** The gift of healing, as the New Testament calls it, is as yet an unsolved mystery; but of the effect of personality upon the cure of disease it is impossible to feel a doubt.

4. **mundi huius ignem.** A. may be thinking of Job xxviii. 5. But he was conversant with the phenomena of volcanic eruptions.

5. **pro inmensae naturae temperamento**="in such a way as to maintain the equilibrium of the Universe."

6. **naturis conpetentibus adtributa**="designed for the appropriate natures."

7. **substituit**="propagates" or "produces." See note on vii. 3 C.

nouit adque ordinat; qui lunae statuit [8]modum suum; [9]qui uias caelestes adque terrestres locorum mutationibus praebet;

(D) Qui humanis ingeniis, quae creauit, etiam scientias artium uariarum ad adiuuandam uitam naturamque concessit; qui coniunctionem maris et feminae ad adiutorium propagandae prolis instituit; qui hominum coetibus, quem focis et luminibus adhiberent, ad facillimos usus munus terreni ignis indulsit.

(E) Ista sunt certe, quae dis selectis per nescio quas physicas interpretationes uir acutissimus adque doctissimus Varro, siue quae aliunde accepit, siue quae ipse coniecit, distribuere laborauit. Haec autem facit adque agit [10]unus uerus Deus, sed sicut Deus, id est ubique totus, nullis inclusus locis, nullis uinculis adligatus, in nullas partes sectilis, ex nulla parte mutabilis, inplens caelum et terram praesente potentia, non indigente natura.

(F) Sic itaque administrat omnia, quae creauit, ut etiam ipsa proprios exercere et agere motus sinat. Quamuis enim nihil esse possint sine ipso, non sunt quod ipse. Agit autem multa etiam [11]per angelos; sed non nisi ex se ipso beatificat angelos. Ita quamuis propter aliquas causas hominibus angelos mittat, non tamen ex angelis homines, sed ex se ipso, sicut angelos, beatificat. Ab hoc uno et uero Deo uitam speramus aeternam.

CAPUT XXXI.

QUIBUS PROPRIE BENEFICIIS DEI EXCEPTA GENERALI LARGITATE SECTATORES VERITATIS UTANTUR.

(A) Habemus enim ab illo praeter huiusce modi beneficia, quae ex hac, de qua nonnulla diximus, administratione naturae [1]bonis malisque largitur, magnum et bonorum proprium magnae dilectionis indicium. Quamquam enim, quod sumus, quod uiuimus, quod caelum terramque conspicimus, quod habemus mentem adque

8. modum suum. *Modum* (not *motum*) is the reading of the MSS.; it must mean "phases."

9. qui uias caelestes, etc. = "Who in heaven and upon earth provides ways by which living beings pass from one region to another."

10. unus uerus Deus. It is necessary to contrast this sublime passage with the pagan conceptions of the deity or deities.

11. per angelos. A.'s belief in the ministry of angels is justified by Scriptural passages, such as Psalm civ. 4; Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Hebr. 1. 7; not to speak of the Theophanies in the Old Testament. But what may be the nature or the limit of such ministry it is impossible to define. Cp. vii. 32 A. There is an interesting passage in which A. discusses the ministry of angels—"De Gen. ad Litt.," ix. 35 (xviii.).

CHAPTER XXXI.

What are the benefits which God gives specially to the votaries of truth to enjoy, apart from His general bounty.

1. bonis malisque largitur. Cp. Matt. v. 45.

rationem, qua eum ipsum, qui haec omnia condidit, inquiramus, nequaquam ualeamus actioni sufficere gratiarum:

(B) Tamen quod nos oneratos obrutosque peccatis et a contemplatione suae lucis auersos ac tenebrarum, id est iniquitatis, dilectione caecatos non omnino deseruit misitque nobis Verbum suum, qui est eius unicus filius, quo pro nobis adsumta carne nato adque passo, quanti Deus hominem penderet, nosceremus, adque illo sacrificio singulari a peccatis omnibus mundaremur, eiusque spiritu in cordibus nostris dilectione diffusa omnibus difficultatibus superatis in aeternam requiem et contemplationis eius ineffabilem dulcedinem ueniremus, quae corda, quot linguae ad agendas ei gratias satis esse contenderint ?

CAPUT XXXII.

QUOD SACRAMENTUM REDEMTIONIS CHRISTI NULLIS RETRO TEMPORIBUS DEFUERIT SEMPERQUE SIT DIVERSIS SIGNIFICATIONIBUS PRAEDICATUM.

(A) Hoc mysterium uitae aeternae iam inde ab exordio generis humani per quaedam signa et [1]sacramenta temporibus congrua, quibus oportuit, [2]per angelos praedicatum est. Deinde populus Hebraeus in unam quandam rem publicam, quae [3]hoc sacramentum ageret, congregatus est, ubi per quosdam scientes, per quosdam nescientes id, quod ex aduentu Christi usque nunc et deinceps agitur, praenuntiaretur esse uenturum; sparsa etiam postea eadem gente per gentes [4]propter testimonium scripturarum, quibus aeterna salus in Christo futura praedicta est.

(B) Omnes enim non solum prophetiae, quae in uerbis sunt, nec tantum praecepta uitae, quae mores pietatemque conformant adque illis litteris continentur, uerum etiam sacra, sacerdotia, tabernaculum siue templum, altaria, sacrificia, ceremoniae, dies festi et quidquid aliud ad eam seruitutem pertinet, quae Deo debetur et Graece proprie [5]λατρεία dicitur, ea significata et praenuntiata sunt, quae propter aeternam uitam fidelium in Christo et [6]inpleta credimus et inpleri cernimus et inplenda confidimus.

CHAPTER XXXII.

That the Sacred Mystery of Christ's Redemption has never been lacking at any time in the past and that it has always been declared by divers symbols.

1. sacramenta="sacred rites."

2. per angelos. Cp. vii. 30 F, and note there.

3. hoc sacramentum ageret="to perform this sacred mystery." *Sacramentum* here is the sum of the *sacramenta* mentioned above.

4. propter testimonium scripturarum="that they might carry abroad the testimony of the Scriptures."

5. λατρεία. See note on V. 15 A.

6. inpleta . . . inpleri . . . inplenda—one of A.'s characteristic idioms.

CAPUT XXXIII.

QUOD PER SOLAM CHRISTIANAM RELIGIONEM MANIFESTARI POTUERIT FALLACIA SPIRITUUM MALIGNORUM DE HOMINUM ERRORE GAUDENTIUM.

(A) Per hanc ergo religionem unam et ueram potuit aperiri deos gentium esse inmundissimos daemones, sub [1]defunctarum occasionibus animarum uel creaturarum specie mundanarum deos se putari cupientes et quasi diuinis honoribus eisdemque scelestis ac turpibus rebus superba inpuritate laetantes adque ad uerum Deum conuersionem humanis animis inuidentes. Ex quorum inmanissimo et inpiissimo dominatu homo liberatur, cum credit in eum, [2]qui praebuit ad exsurgendum tantae humilitatis exemplum, quanta illi superbia ceciderunt.

(B) Hinc sunt non solum illi, de quibus multa iam diximus, et alii adque alii similes ceterarum gentium adque terrarum, sed etiam hi, de quibus nunc agimus, [3]tamquam in senatum deorum selecti; sed plane selecti nobilitate criminum, non dignitate uirtutum. Quorum sacra Varro dum quasi ad naturales rationes referre conatur, quaerens honestare res turpes, quo modo his quadret et consonet non potest inuenire, quoniam non sunt ipsae illorum sacrorum causae quas putat uel potius uult putari.

(C) Nam si non solum ipsae, uerum etiam quaelibet aliae huius generis essent, quamuis nihil ad Deum uerum uitamque aeternam, quae in religione quaerenda est, pertinerent, tamen qualicumque de rerum natura reddita ratione aliquantulum mitigarent offensionem, quam non intellecta in sacris [4]aliqua uelut turpitudo aut absurditas fecerat; sicut in quibusdam theatrorum fabulis uel delubrorum mysteriis facere conatus est, ubi non theatra delubrorum similitudine absoluit, sed theatrorum potius similitudine delubra damnauit; tamen utcumque conatus est, ut sensum horribilibus rebus offensum uelut naturalium causarum ratio reddita deleniret.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

That it is through the Christian religion alone that the deceitfulness of the malign spirits who rejoice in human error could have been exposed.

1. **defunctarum occasionibus animarum,** etc.—a passage not irrelevant to modern alleged spiritualistic phenomena. But A. does not consider the evidences of Spiritualism.

2. **qui praebuit ad exsurgendum,** etc.="Who has afforded a means of rising by an example of humility no less great than the pride by which the daemons fell."

3. **tamquam in senatum deorum.** See note on iv. 11 B.

4. **aliqua uelut turpitudo**="some apparent obscenity."

CAPUT XXXIV.

DE LIBRIS NUMAE POMPILII, QUOS SENATUS, NE SACRORUM CAUSAE, QUALES IN EIS HABEBANTUR, INNOTESCERENT, IUSSIT INCENDI.

(A) Sed contra inuenimus, sicut ipse uir doctissimus prodidit, de Numae Pompilii libris redditas sacrorum causas nullo modo potuisse tolerari nec dignas habitas, quae non solum lectae innotescerent religiosis, sed saltem scriptae reconderentur in tenebris. Iam enim dicam, quod *in tertio huius operis libro me suo loco dicturum esse promiseram. Nam, sicut aput eundem Varronem legitur in libro de cultu deorum, [1]Terentius quidam cum haberet ad Ianiculum fundum et bubulcus eius iuxta sepulcrum Numae Pompilii traiciens aratrum eruisset ex terra libros eius, ubi sacrorum institutorum scriptae erant causae, in Urbem pertulit ad praetorem.

(B) At ille cum inspexisset principia, rem tantam detulit ad senatum. Ubi cum primores quasdam causas legissent, quur quidque in sacris fuerit institutum Numae mortuo senatus adsensus est, eosque libros tamquam religiosi patres conscripti, praetor ut combureret, censuerunt." Credat quisque quod putat; immo uero dicat, quod dicendum suggesserit uesana contentio, quilibet tantae inpietatis defensor egregius.

(C) Me admonere sufficiat sacrorum causas a rege Pompilio Romanorum sacrorum institutore conscriptas nec populo nec senatui nec saltem ipsis sacerdotibus innotescere debuisse ipsumque Numam Pompilium curiositate inlicita ad ea daemonum peruenisse secreta, quae ipse quidem scriberet, ut haberet unde legendo commoneretur; sed ea tamen, cum rex esset, qui minime quemquam metueret, nec docere aliquem nec delendo uel quoquo modo consumendo perdere auderet. Ita quod scire neminem voluit, ne homines nefaria doceret, uiolare autem timuit, ne daemones iratos haberet, obruit, ubi tutum putauit, sepulcro suo propinquare aratrum posse non credens.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the books of Numa Pompilius, which the Senate ordered to be burned, that the reasons for the sacred rites, as contained in them, might not be publicly known.

1. Terentius quidam. Livy gives an account of Numa's religious institutions (i. 19, 20). He relates the discovery of Numa's religious books (xl. 29). Cp. Plutarch ("Numa," 22). Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xiii. 13, 84-87) tells the story, not without some special features, as exemplifying the preservation of parchments (*chartae*). He quotes various traditional opinions as to the actual character of the books. According to Pliny the interval of time between the reign of Numa and the discovery of his books was 535 years; according to Plutarch it was about 400 years. Livy assigns the discovery of the books to the year B.C. 181: A.U.C. 573. Pliny refers to Varro *humanarum antiquitatum septimo* (*libro*) as his authority for giving twelve as the number of the books.

* c. 9.

(D) Senatus autem cum religiones formidaret damnare maiorum et ideo Numae adsentiri cogeretur, illos tamen libros tam perniciosos esse iudicauit, ut nec obrui rursus iuberet, ne humana curiositas multo uehementius rem iam proditam quaereret, sed flammis aboleri nefanda monumenta, ut, quia iam necesse esse existimabant sacra illa facere, tolerabilius erraretur causis eorum ignoratis, quam cognitis ciuitas turbaretur.

CAPUT XXXV.

DE HYDROMANTIA, PER QUAM NUMA VISIS QUIBUSDAM DAEMONUM IMAGINIBUS LUDIFICABATUR.

(A) Nam et ipse Numa, ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus sanctus angelus mittebatur, hydromantian facere conpulsus est, ut in aqua uideret imagines deorum uel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret, quid in sacris constituere adque obseruare deberet. Quod genus diuinationis idem Varro [1]a Persis dicit adlatum, quo et ipsum Numam et postea Pythagoram philosophum usum fuisse commemorat; ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibet sciscitari et [2]νεκυομαντείαν Graece dicit uocari, quae [3][siue hydromantia] siue necromantia dicatur, id ipsum est, ubi uidentur mortui diuinare. Quibus haec artibus fiant, ipsi uiderint.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Of hydromancy through which Numa was befooled by the appearance of certain images of demons.

1. a Persis. Pliny refers to *hydromantia* in words which illustrate A.'s statement *Anancitide in hydromantia dicunt euocari imagines deorum* ("Nat. Hist.," xxxvii. 11, 192). It is probable that A. regarded *hydromantia* or divination by water as belonging to the sacred rites of the Persian *magi*. If so, it may have become familiar to the Greeks, and afterwards to the Romans, through Pythagoras: for he is believed to have visited and consulted the *magi* (Cicero "De Fin.," v. 29, 87). Cp. Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxx. 1, 8 and 9). *In Persis augurantur et diuinant magi* says Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 41, 90). Strabo testifies to ὑδρομαντεία no less than to νεκυομαντεία as a form of Persian magic ("Geograph.," xvi. 2, 39). Apulcius speaks of ὑδρομαντεία, but not as a specially Persian practice ("De Mag.," 42, p. 497).

2. νεκυομαντεία . νεκυομαντεία was the name commonly given to the eleventh book of Homer's "Odyssey," where Odysseus recounts the story of his visit to the spirits of the mighty dead. But the consultation of the dead is a practice reaching through the ages of history, at least from Saul's interview with the Witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii.) to modern Spiritualism. If A. wrote *hydromantian* as a Latin, but νεκυομαντεία as a Greek, word (although the form of the acc., *hydromantian* like *theologian* vii. 1 C is Greek), the reason must have been that the one word, and perhaps the one practice, was, but the other was not, naturalised in Rome. A. transliterates it immediately afterwards as *necromantia*. He was a little uncertain, however, in his treatment of Greek words, *e.g.*, λατρείαν (v. 15 A; vii. 32 B), but *latria* elsewhere (x. 16 B). In viii. 8 A. he uses the form *ethicam*; cp. *physicam . . . logicam . . . ethicam* (viii. 10 E); but *magian . . . goetian . . . theurgian* (x. 9 A); *Areon pagon* (xviii. 10 A). Other Latinised Greek words in *D.C.D.* are *teletas* (x. 9 C); *centron* (xiii. 17 F); *holocaustosim* (xvii. 7 I).

3. [siue hydromantia]. The words are necessary to the sense; and A. can hardly have left them to be mentally supplied. But see note on iii. 3 C.

(B) Nolo enim dicere has artes etiam ante nostri Saluatoris aduentum in ipsis ciuitatibus gentium legibus solere prohiberi et poena seuerissima uindicari. Nolo, inquam, hoc dicere; fortassis enim talia tunc licebant. His tamen artibus didicit sacra illa Pompilius, quorum sacrorum facta prodidit, causas obruit (ita timuit et ipse quod didicit), quarum causarum proditos libros senatus incendit.

(C) Quid mihi ergo Varro illorum sacrorum alias nescio quas causas uelut physicas interpretatur ? quales si libri illi habuissent, non utique arsissent, aut et[4] istos Varronis ad Caesarem pontificem scriptos adque editos patres conscripti similiter incendissent. Quod ergo [5]aquam egesserit, id est exportauerit, Numa Pompilius, unde hydromantian faceret, ideo nympham Egeriam coniugem dicitur habuisse, quem ad modum in supradicto libro Varronis exponitur. Ita enim solent res gestae aspersione mendaciorum in fabulas uerti.

(D) In illa igitur hydromantia curiosissimus res ille Romanus et sacra didicit, quae in libris suis pontifices haberent, et eorum causas, quas praeter se neminem scire uoluit. Itaque eas seorsum scriptas secum quodam modo mori fecit, quando ita subtrahendas hominum notitiae sepeliendasque curauit.

(E) Aut ergo daemonum illic tam sordidae et noxiae cupiditates erant conscriptae, ut ex his tota illa theologia ciuilis etiam aput tales homines execrabilis appareret, qui tam multa in ipsis sacris erubescenda susceperant; aut illi omnes nihil aliud quam homines mortui prodebantur, quos tam prolixa temporis uetustate fere omnes populi gentium deos inmortales esse crediderant, cum et talibus sacris idem illi daemones oblectarentur, qui se colendos pro ipsis mortuis, quos deos putari fecerant, quibusdam fallacium miraculorum adtestationibus subponebant.

(F) Sed occulta Dei ueri prouidentia factum est, ut et Pompilio amico suo illis conciliati artibus, quibus hydromantia fieri potuit, cuncta illa confiteri permitterentur, et tamen, ut moriturus incenderet ea potius quam obrueret, admonere non permitterentur; qui

4. **istos Varronis.** Varro's whole treatise "Antiquitatum Libri XLI." may have been addressed to Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus; but if not the whole, yet the part which dealt with *res diuinae*—fifteen books—was certainly so addressed (Lactantius, "Diuin. Instit.," i. 6).

5. **aquam egesserit.** Ovid, like A., apparently connects *Egeria* with *egero*.

> "*Egeria est quae praebet aquas dea grata Camenis ;*
> *Illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.*"
>
> ("Fast.," iii. 264-65.)

Festus, too, derives Egeria from *egero*, but in reference to delivery in childbirth ("De Verb. Signif.," v., *s.v.* Egeria). I assume the true reading there to be *conceptum aluo egerere aspersione mendaciorum* = "by a sprinkling of falsehoods."

ne innotescerent nec aratro, quo sunt eruta, obsistere potuerunt, nec stilo Varronis, quo ea, quae de hac re gesta sunt, in nostram memoriam peruenerunt.

(6) Non enim possunt quod non sinuntur efficere; sinuntur autem alto Dei summi iustoque iudicio pro meritis eorum, quos ab eis uel adfligi tantum, uel etiam subici ac decipi iustum est. Quam uero perniciosae uel a cultu uerae diuinitatis alienae illae litterae iudicatae sint, hinc intellegi potest, quod eas maluit senatus incendere, quas Pompilius occultauit, quam timere quod timuit, qui hoc audere non potuit. Qui ergo uitam nec modo habere uult piam, talibus sacris quaerat aeternam; qui autem cum malignis daemonibus non uult habere societatem, non superstitionem, qua coluntur, noxiam pertimescat, sed ueram religionem, qua [6]produntur et uincuntur, agnoscat.

6. **produntur**="are unmasked" (Dods).

LIBER VIII

CAPUT I.

DE QUAESTIONE NATURALIS THEOLOGIAE CUM PHILOSOPHIS EXCELLENTIORIS SCIENTIAE DISCUTIENDA.

(A) Nunc intentiore nobis opus est animo multo quam erat in superiorum solutione quaestionum et explicatione librorum. De theologia quippe, quam naturalem uocant, non cum quibuslibet hominibus (non enim fabulosa est uel ciuilis, hoc est uel theatrica uel urbana; quarum altera iactitat deorum crimina, altera indicat deorum desideria criminosiora ac per hoc malignorum potius daemonum quam deorum), sed cum philosophis est habenda [1] conlatio; quorum ipsum nomen si Latine interpretemur, amorem sapientiae profitetur.

(B) Porro [2] si sapientia Deus est, per quem facta sunt omnia, sicut diuina auctoritas ueritasque monstrauit, uerus [3] philosophus est amator Dei. Sed quia res ipsa, cuius hoc nomen est, non est in omnibus, qui hoc nomine gloriantur (neque enim continuo uerae sapientiae sunt amatores quicumque appellantur philosophi): profecto ex omnibus, quorum sententias ex litteris nosse potuimus, eligendi sunt cum quibus non indigne quaestio ista tractetur.

(C) Neque enim hoc opere omnes omnium philosophorum uanas opiniones refutare suscepi, sed eas tantum, quae ad theologian pertinnent, quo uerbo Graeco significari intellegimus de diuinitate rationem siue sermonem; nec cas omnium, sed eorum tantum, qui cum et esse diuinitatem [4] et humana curare consentiant, non tamen sufficere unius incommutabilis Dei cultum ad uitam adipiscendam etiam post mortem beatam, sed multos ab illo sane uno conditos adque institutos ob eam causam colendos putant.

CHAPTER I.

Of natural theology as a question to be discussed with philosophers of more excellent knowledge.

1. conlatio="conference."

2. si sapientia Deus est. There are many passages, especially of the *Proverbs* and of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, in which Wisdom, if not identified, is yet intimately associated with God—*e.g.*, Prov. ii. 1-9; Wisd. ii, 24-iii. 5.

3. philosophus. Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," v. 3, 8 and 9) tells the noble story how Pythagoras refused to be called wise (σοφός), like the Seven Wise Men, and chose for himself the name φιλόσοφος or "lover of wisdom." Cp. viii. 2 A.

4. et humana curare—not like the Epicurean deities whose indifference Horace (after Lucretius) describes ("Sat.," i. 6, 101-3).

(D) Hi iam etiam Varronis opinionem ueritatis propinquitate transcendunt; si quidem ille totam theologian naturalem usque ad mundum istum uel animam eius extendere potuit, isti uero supra omnem animae naturam confitentur Deum, qui non solum mundum istum uisibilem, qui saepe caeli et terrae nomine nuncupatur, sed etiam omnem omnino animam fecerit, et qui rationalem et intellectualem, cuius generis anima humana est, participatione sui luminis incommutabilis et incorporei beatam facit.

(E) Hos philosophos Platonicos appellatos a Platone doctore uocabulo deriuato nullus, qui haec uel tenuiter [5]audiuit, ignorat. De hoc igitur Platone, quae necessaria praesenti quaestioni existimo, breuiter adtingam, prius illos commemorans, qui eum in eodem genere litterarum tempore praecesserunt.

CAPUT II.

DE DUOBUS PHILOSOPHORUM GENERIBUS, ID EST ITALICO ET IONICO, EORUMQUE AUCTORIBUS.

(A) Quantum enim adtinet ad litteras Graecas, [1]quae lingua inter ceteras gentium clarior habetur, duo philosophorum genera traduntur: unum Italicum ex ea parte Italiae, quae quondam magna Graecia nuncupata est; alterum Ionicum in eis terris, ubi et nunc Graecia nominatur. Italicum genus auctorem habuit [2]Pythagoram Samium, a quo etiam ferunt ipsum philosophiae nomen exortum. Nam cum antea sapientes appellarentur, qui [3]modo quodam laudabilis uitae aliis praestare uidebantur, iste interrogatus, quid profiteretur, philosophum se esse respondit, id est studiosum uel

5. audiuit. The word implies teaching by lecture or conversation, not by the study of books.

CHAPTER II.

Of the two kinds of philosophers, i.e. the Italian and the Ionian, and their founders.

1. quae lingua, etc. A., despite his indifferent Greek scholarship, was keenly alive to the beauty of the Greek language, as he shows, *e.g.*, in "Quaest. ad Iudic," 37. Cp. viii. 10 G.

2. Pythagoram. See note on viii. 1 B. Although Pythagoras was a native of Samos, he spent the best part of his life at Crotona in Southern Italy, or, as it was called, owing to the number of its Greek colonies, Magna Graecia.

3. modo quodam laudabilis uitae. Cp. xviii. 25 C. The Seven Wise Men of Greece were not generally regarded as men whose wisdom assumed the form of special virtue. They were men of wise practical judgment, whose proverbial *dicta*, such as *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, were often, as A. here says, *praecepta ad bene uiuendum adcommodata*. A. puts both sides of their character (xviii. 25 C). In Diogenes Laertius ("De Vit. Philosoph.," i. 40) Dicaearchus is quoted as saying: *οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι συνετοὺς δέ τινας καὶ νομοθετικούς*. Cp. Plutarch ("Solon," 3). Like A., he sets Thales apart from the other Wise Men as a scientific student of Nature, and especially as an astronomer. The names, functions, and doctrines of the Seven Wise Men are fully considered by Grote ("History of Greece," part ii., ch. 29, vol. iv., pp. 21-24).

amatorem sapientiae; quoniam [4]sapientem profiteri adrogantissimum uidebatur.

(B) Ionici uero generis princeps fuit Thales Milesius, unus illorum septem, qui sunt appellati sapientes. Sed illi sex uitae genere distinguebantur et quibusdam praeceptis ad bene uiuendum adcommodatis; iste autem Thales, ut successores etiam propagaret, rerum naturam scrutatus suasque disputationes litteris mandans eminuit maximeque admirabilis extitit, quod [5]astrologiae numeris conprehensis [6]defectus solis et lunae etiam praedicere potuit. [7]Aquam tamen putauit rerum esse principium et hinc omnia elementa mundi ipsumque mundum et quae in eo gignuntur existere. Nihil autem huic operi, quod mundo considerato tam mirabile aspicimus, ex diuina mente praeposuit.

(C) Huic successit [8]Anaximander, eius auditor, mutauitque de rerum natura opinionem. Non enim ex una re, sicut Thales ex umore, sed ex suis propriis principiis quasque res nasci putauit. Quae rerum principia singularum esse credidit infinita, et innumerabiles mundos gignere et quaccumque in eis oriuntur; eosque mundos modo dissolui, modo iterum gigni existimauit, [9]quanta quisque aetate sua manere potuerit; nec ipse aliquid diuinae menti in his rerum operibus tribuens.

(D) Iste Anaximenen discipulum et successorem reliquit, qui omnes rerum causas aeri infinito dedit, nec deos negauit aut tacuit; non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit. Anaxagoras uero eius auditor harum rerum omnium, quas uidemus, [10]effectorem diuinum animum sensit et dixit ex infinita materia,

4. sapientem profiteri. For the construction cp. iii. 17 L and note there.

5. astrologiae. The ancients, both Greeks and Romans, made no distinction of meaning between astronomy and astrology. It is indeed only an accident of language that astrology is not a science as honourable as geology, physiology, and theology itself.

6. defectus solis, etc. Thales' knowledge of astronomy and the use which he made of it by the first historically recorded "corner" in business, are recorded by Aristotle ("Pol.," i. 11, 8-10) and Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 49, 111). Diogenes Laertius ("Vit. Philosoph.," 23) says: *δοκεῖ κατά τινας πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν.*

7. Aquam. Such speculations as that of Thales that water, or of Anaximenes that air, or of Heracleitus that fire is the original or primordial principle (*ἀρχή, principium*) of the world (*mundus*), however irrational they may appear in the light of modern science, yet possess a certain definite historical significance, in that they reveal, as a consequence issuing from the study of Nature, a scientific generalisation which was itself wholly independent of theology.

8. Anaximander. For an account of him and his philosophy see Ueberweg ("History of Philosophy," vol. i., p. 35, § 13).

9. quanta quisque aetate sua, etc. = "according to the length of time, for which each of them was capable of enduring."

10. effectorem diuinum animum—according to the famous phrase of Anaxagoras where he wrote, in the first sentence of his treatise, *περὶ φύσεως*, that *πάντα χρήματα*

quae constaret [11]*dis*similibus inter se particulis rerum omnium, *similibus* quibus*que* suis et propriis singula fieri, sed animo faciente diuino.

(E) [12]Diogenes quoque Anaximenis alter auditor, aerem quidem dixit rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem diuinae rationis, sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset. Anaxagorae successit auditor eius Archelaus. Etiam ipse de particulis inter se similibus, quibus singula quaeque fierent, [13]ita putauit constare omnia, ut inesse etiam mentem diceret, quae corpora aeterna, id est illas particulas, coniungendo et dissipando [14]ageret omnia. Socrates huius discipulus fuisse perhibetur, magister Platonis, propter quem breuiter cuncta ista recolui.

CAPUT III.

DE SOCRATICA DISCIPLINA.

(A) [1]Socrates ergo primus uniuersam philosophiam ad corrigendos componendosque mores flexisse memoratur, cum ante illum omnes magis physicis, id est naturalibus, rebus perscrutandis operam maximam inpenderent. Non mihi autem uidetur posse [2]ad liquidum colligi, utrum Socrates, ut hoc faceret, taedio rerum obscurarum et incertarum ad aliquid apertum et certum reperiendum

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ἦν ὁμοῦ, εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. A. refers to the prosecution of Anaxagoras for heresy (xviii. 41 E).

11. dissimilibus inter se particulis, etc. It is necessary to adopt Hoffmann's emendation here: (1) by reading *dissimilibus* for *similibus* after *constaret;* (2) by inserting *similibus* after *omnium;* (3) by altering *quibus* to *quibusque,* unless indeed A. has made a serious mistake. For in the philosophy of Anaxagoras the elements of the world or universe are infinite and infinitely various; but the several parts of it are composed of similar elements which are brought together by intelligence out of the infinite variety. Wherever the elements are homogeneous with the whole, the product is, as he called it, ὁμοιομερές.

12. Diogenes—not the cynic, but Diogenes of Apollonia, whose characteristic doctrine is criticised by Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 12, 29: *aer quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur deo*). Cp. Diogenes Laertius ("Vit. Philosoph.," ix. 57). Upon the early natural philosophers whose names and theories A. specifies in this chapter, it will be enough, if more information is desired about them, to consult such an authority as Ueberweg ("History of Philosophy," vol. i., §§ 12-14 and 24).

13. ita putauit constare omnia, etc.="While he held that all things were composed . . . yet maintained that there was also in them mind."

14. ageret="energised."

CHAPTER III.

Of the Socratic School of philosophy.

1. Socrates. That Socrates changed the direction of philosophy from physics to ethics is the point of Cicero's well-known words: *Socrates primus philosophiam deuocauit e caelo et in urbibus conlocauit et in domos etiam introduxit et coegit de uita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quaerere* ("Tusc. Disp.," v. 4, 10). Cp. "Acad. Post.," i. 4, 15.

2. ad liquidum colligi="to be exactly ascertained," *ad liquidum* as in v. 5 G.

animum intenderit, quod esset beatae uitae necessarium, propter quam unam omnium philosphorum inuigilasse ac laborasse uidetur industria, [3]an uero, sicut de illo quidam beneuolentius suspicantur, nolebat inmundos terrenis cupiditatibus animos se extendere in diuina conari.

(B) Quando quidem ab eis causas rerum uidebat inquiri, quas primas adque summas non nisi in unius ac summi Dei uoluntate esse credebat; unde non eas putabat nisi mundata mente posse conprehendi; et ideo purgandae bonis moribus uitae censebat instandum, ut deprimentibus libidinibus exoneratus animus naturali uigore in aeterna se adtolleret naturamque incorporei et incommutabilis luminis, [4]ubi causae omnium factarum naturarum stabiliter uiuunt, intellegentiae puritate conspiceret. Constat eum tamen inperitorum stultitiam scire se aliquid opinantium etiam in ipsis moralibus quaestionibus, quo totum animum intendisse uidebatur [5]uel confessa ignorantia sua uel dissimulata scientia lepore mirabili disserendi et acutissima urbanitate agitasse adque uersasse.

(C) Unde et concitatis inimicitiis [6]calumniosa criminatione damnatus morte multatus est. Sed eum postea illa ipsa, quae publice damnauerat, [7]Atheniensium ciuitas publice luxit, in duos accusatores eius usque adeo populi indignatione conuersa, ut [8]unus eorum obpressus ui multitudinis interiret, exilio autem uoluntario adque perpetuo poenam similem [9]alter euaderet.

(D) Tam praeclara igitur uitae mortisque fama Socrates reliquit plurimos suae philosophiae sectatores, quorum certatim studium fuit in quaestionum moralium disceptatione uersari, ubi agitur de

3. an uero . . . nolebat. The construction is irregular; *noluerit* would naturally follow *intenderit*.

4. ubi causae omnium, etc. A.'s language is coloured by the thought of the Platonic *ἰδέαι*; for Plato often speaks of them as causes—*e.g.*, "Phaed.," p. 100 D; "Republ.," vii., p. 508 B.

5. uel confessa, etc.—in reference to the *εἰρωνεία* of Socrates. Cp. viii. 4 D. The following passages in Plato's dialogues sufficiently illustrate the *εἰρωνεία*: "Charm.," p. 175 A-D; "Republ.," i., p. 336 D–337 A.

6. calumniosa criminatione. Diogenes Laertius cites the charges *Ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσηγούμενος; ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεούς διαφθείρων* ("Vit. Philosoph.," ii. 40).

7. Atheniensium ciuitas publice luxit. So Diodorus Siculus says ("Bibl. Hist.," xiv. 37); so, too, Diogenes Laertius (*loc. cit.*, ii. 43). Grote must regard these historians as having lived too late to possess evidential value, when he writes: "I know not upon what authority this statement is made, and I disbelieve it altogether" ("History of Greece," part ii., ch. 68 *ad fin.*, vol. viii., p. 302).

8. unus—Meletus.

9. alter—Anytus. According to Diogenes Laertius (*ibid.*) the Athenians after the death of Socrates *τοὺς μὲν ἐφυγάδευσαν* (Anytus being among the exiles, as the context shows) *Μελίτου δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν*. Diodorus Siculus says less definitely that the people *τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας . . . ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτεινε* ("Bibl. Hist.," *ibid.*).

summo bono, quo fieri homo beatus potest. [10]Quod in Socratis disputationibus, dum omnia mouet, adserit, destruit, quoniam non euidenter apparuit, quod cuique placuit inde sumserunt et ubi cuique uisum est constituerunt finem boni. Finis autem boni appellatur, quo quisque cum peruenerit beatus est.

(E) Sic autem diuersas inter se Socratici de isto fine sententias habuerunt, ut (quod uix credibile est unius magistri potuisse facere sectatores) quidam summum bonum esse dicerent uoluptatem, sicut [11]Aristippus; quidam uirtutem, sicut [12]Antisthenes. Sic alii adque alii aliud adque aliud opinati sunt, quos commemorare longum est.

CAPUT IV.

DE PRAECIPUO INTER SOCRATIS DISCIPULOS PLATONE, QUI OMNEM PHILOSOPHIAM TRIPLICI PARTITIONE DISTINXIT.

(A) Sed inter discipulos Socratis, non quidem inmerito, excellentissima gloria claruit, qua omnino ceteros obscuraret, Plato. Qui cum esset Atheniensis [1]honesto aput suos loco natus et ingenio mirabili longe suos condiscipulos anteiret, parum tamen putans perficiendae philosophiae sufficere se ipsum ac Socraticam disciplinam, quam longe ac late potuit [2]peregrinatus est, quaquauersum eum alicuius nobilitatae scientiae percipiendae fama rapiebat. Itaque et in Aegypto didicit quaecumque magna illic habebantur adque docebantur, et inde [3]in eas Italiae partes ueniens, ubi Pythagoreorum fama celebrabatur, quidquid Italicae philosophiae tunc florebat, auditis eminentioribus in ea doctoribus, facillime comprehendit.

(B) Et quia magistrum Socratem singulariter diligebat, eum loquentem faciens fere in omnibus sermonibus suis etiam illa, quae uel ab aliis didicerat, uel ipse quanta potuerat intellegentia uiderat,

10. Quod in Socratis disputationibus. *Quod = summum bonum.*

11. Aristippus—the founder of the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy. Cp. xviii. 41 F.

12. Antisthenes—the founder of the Cynic School, whom A. mentions in contrast with Aristippus, not only here but xviii. 41 F.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the chief among the disciples of Socrates, Plato, who illuminated all philosophy by dividing it into three parts.

1. honesto aput suos loco. Plato was, on his father's side, descended from Codrus, and on his mother's connected with Solon; he was also related to Critias, the leader of the Thirty Tyrants.

2. peregrinatus est. Diogenes Laertius gives an account of Plato's travels ("De Vit. Dogm. et Apophthegm Clar. Philosoph.," iii. 6). Cp. Apuleius ("De Dogm. Platon.," i. 3, p. 186).

3. in eas Italiae partes—*sc.* Magna Graecia.

cum illius lepore et moralibus disputationibus temperauit. Itaque cum studium sapientiae [4]in actione et contemplatione uersetur, unde una pars eius actiua, altera contemplatiua dici potest (quarum actiua ad agendam uitam, id est ad mores instituendos pertinet, contemplatiua autem ad conspiciendas naturae causas et sincerissimam ueritatem): Socrates in actiua excelluisse memoratur; [5]Pythagoras uero magis contemplatiuae, quibus potuit intellegentiae uiribus, institisse.

(C) Proinde Plato utrumque iungendo philosophiam [6]perfecisse laudatur, quam [7]in tres partes distribuit: unam moralem, quae maxime in actione uersatur; alteram naturalem, quae contemplationi deputata est; tertiam rationalem, qua uerum disterminatur a falso. Quae licet utrique, id est actioni et contemplationi, sit necessaria, maxime tamen contemplatio perspectionem sibi uindicat ueritatis. Ideo haec tripertitio non est contraria illi distintioni qua intellegitur omne studium sapientiae in actione et contemplatione consistere. Quid autem in his uel de his singulis partibus Plato senserit, id est, ubi finem omnium actionum, ubi causam omnium naturarum, ubi lumen omnium rationum esse cognouerit uel crediderit, disserendo explicare et longum esse arbitror et temere adfirmandum esse non arbitror.

(D) Cum enim magistri sui Socratis, quem facit in suis uoluminibus disputantem, notissimum morem dissimulandae scientiae uel opinionis suae seruare adfectat, quia et illi iste mos placuit, factum est ut etiam ipsius Platonis de rebus magnis sententiae non facile perspici possint.

(E) Ex his tamen, quae aput eum leguntur, siue quae dixit, siue quae ab aliis dicta esse narrauit adque conscripsit, quae sibi placita uiderentur, quaedam commemorari et operi huic inseri oportet a nobis, uel ubi suffragatur religioni uerae, quam fides nostra suscipit ac defendit, uel ubi ei uidetur esse contrarius, quantum ad istam de uno Deo et pluribus pertinet quaestionem, propter uitam, quae post mortem futura est, ueraciter beatam.

(F) Fortassis enim qui Platonem ceteris philosophis [8]gentium

4. in actione et contemplatione. For the opposition of ὁ πρακτικὸς and ὁ θεωρητικὸς βιός see Aristotle ("Nicom. Eth.," i. 5).

5. Pythagoras. For his devotion to *sapientia contemplatiua* see A. ("De Consen. Euang.," i. 12).

6. perfecisse laudatur. This construction, which occurs again in E. below, is illustrated in the note on i. 3 B.

7. in tres partes. Cp. xi. 25 A. "The division of philosophy into Ethics, Physics, and Dialectics, though not expressly enunciated by Plato, was practically involved in his treatment of the different classes of philosophical problems in different dialogues" (Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," vol. i., p. 115). Cicero recognises the Platonic tripartition ("Acad. Post.," i. 5, 19-21).

8. gentium = "the Gentiles."

longe recteque praelatum acutius adque ueracius intellexisse ac secuti esse fama celebriore laudantur, aliquid tale de Deo sentiunt, ut in illo inueniatur et causa subsistendi et ratio intellegendi et ordo uiuendi; quorum trium unum ad naturalem, alterum ad rationalem, tertium ad moralem partem intellegitur pertinere.

(G) Si enim homo ita creatus est, ut per id, quod in eo praecellit, adtingat illud, quod cuncta praecellit, id est unum uerum optimum Deum, sine quo nulla natura subsistit, nulla doctrina instruit, nullus usus expedit: ipse quaeratur, [9]ubi nobis sita sunt omnia; ipse cernatur, ubi nobis certa sunt omnia; ipse diligatur, ubi nobis recta sunt omnia.

CAPUT V.

QUOD DE THEOLOGIA CUM PLATONICIS POTISSIMUM DISCEPTANDUM SIT, QUORUM OPINIONI OMNIUM PHILOSOPHORUM POSTPONENDA SINT DOGMATA.

(A) Si ergo Plato Dei huius imitatorem, cognitorem, amatorem dixit esse sapientem, cuius participatione sit beatus, quid opus est excutere ceteros? Nulli nobis quam [1]isti proprius accesserunt. Cedat eis igitur non solum theologia illa fabulosa deorum criminibus oblectans animos inpiorum, nec solum etiam illa ciuilis, ubi inpuri daemones terrestribus gaudiis deditos populos deorum nomine seducentes humanos errores tamquam suos diuinos honores habere uoluerunt, ad spectandos suorum criminum ludos cultores suos tamquam ad suum cultum studiis inmundissimis excitantes et sibi delectabiliores ludos de ipsis spectatoribus exhibentes

9. ubi nobis sita sunt omnia. The reading is doubtful, but Hoffmann's conjecture *seria* is unwarranted. There can be no thought of a contrast between the Socratic irony and the Divine seriousness. It seems clear that the adjective in the first clause must bear the same relation to *causa subsistendi* as *certa* in the second to *ratio intellegendi* and *recta* in the third to *ordo uiuendi*. Nothing, then, is more appropriate than *sita*, "in whom for us all things consist." *Secura*, which is the generally accepted reading, would give, though less naturally, the same sense. It was the repetition of *certa* (perhaps because *sita* was not understood) that gave rise to the variants *serta*, *diserta*, *disserta*. Cp. viii. 10 D: *principium nostrum, lumen nostrum, bonum nostrum.*

CHAPTER V.

That it is with the Platonists that the discussion on theology must be principally carried on; for their opinion is to be preferred to the dogmas of all other philosophers.

1. isti—the Platonists. For A.'s view of the approximation of the Platonic philosophy to Christianity see "De Ver. Relig.," 7, where he is speaking chiefly, if not solely, of the Platonists: *Si hanc uitam illi uiri nobiscum rursum agere potuissent . . . paucis mutatis uerbis adque sententiis Christiani fierent, sicut plerique recentiorum nostrorumque temporum Platonici fecerunt.* Cp. the identical language of Minucius Felix ("Octauius," 21), and Cyprian ("De Idol. Vanit.," 3), Clement of Alexandria says ("Strom.," i. 22, p. 148): Νουμήνιος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἀντικρυς γράφει, Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων ἢ Μωυσῆς ἀττικίζων;

(B) (ubi si qua [2]uelut honesta geruntur in templis, coniuncta sibi theatrorum obscenitate turpantur, et quaecumque turpia geruntur in theatris, comparata sibi templorum foeditate, laudantur), et ea, quae Varro ex his sacris [3]quasi ad caelum et terram rerumque mortalium semina et actus interpretatus est (quia nec ipsa illis ritibus significantur, quae ipse insinuare conatur, et ideo ueritas conantem non sequitur; et si ipsa essent, tamen animae rationali ea quae infra illam naturali ordine constituta sunt, pro deo suo colenda non essent, nec sibi debuit praeferre tamquam deos eas res, quibus ipsam praetulit uerus Deus),

(C) et ea, quae [4]Numa Pompilius re uera ad sacra eius modi pertinentia secum sepeliendo curauit abscondi et aratro eruta senatus iussit incendi. In eo genere sunt etiam illa, ut aliquid de Numa mitius suspicemur, quae [5]Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Aegyptiorum quodam Leone patefacta, ubi non Picus et Faunus et Aeneas et Romulus uel etiam Hercules et Aesculapius et Liber Semela natus et [6]Tyndaridae fratres et si quos alios ex mortalibus pro dis habent, sed ipsi etiam [7]maiorum gentium di, quos *Cicero in Tusculanis [8]tacitis nominibus uidetur adtingere, Iuppiter, Iuno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Vesta et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes siue elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur.

(D) Timens enim [9]et ille quasi reuelata mysteria petens admonet Alexandrum, ut, cum ea matri conscripta [10]insinuauerit, flammis iubeat concremari. Non solum ergo ista, quae duae theologiae, fabulosa continet et ciuilis, Platonicis philosophis cedant, qui uerum Deum et rerum auctorem et ueritatis inlustratorem et beatitudinis largitorem esse dixerunt; sed alii quoque philosophi, qui corporalia naturae principia corpori deditis mentibus opinati

2. **uelut honesta** = "ostensibly honourable."

3. **quasi ad caelum** = "as though they had reference to heaven."

4. **Numa Pompilius.** Cp. vii. 34 A-D.

5. **Alexander Macedo.** The story is told with full details in viii. 27 D; xii. 11; see also Plutarch ("Alexander," 27).

6. **Tyndaridae fratres**—Castor and Pollux. Cp. Horace ("Carm.," iv. 8, 31).

7. **maiorum gentium di.** Cicero ("De Re Publ.," 20) explains that the *maiores gentes* were the more ancient Roman families or clans as contrasted with the new families or clans which Tarquinius Priscus added to the number of the *patres*. Hence the *di maiorum gentium* are the gods of higher dignity and authority, the *di selecti* of Varro's theological system (vii. 2 A).

8. **tacitis nominibus** = "without mentioning their names."

9. **et ille**—Leo the priest, like Numa (vii. 34 C).

10. **insinuauerit** = "communicated," as xii. 11 A—a favourite word of A., as B above. See note on ii. 28 B.

* "Tusc. Disp.," i. 13, 29.

sunt, cedant his tantis et tanti Dei cognitoribus uiris, ut Thales in umore, Anaximenes in aere, Stoici in igne, Epicurus in atomis, hoc est minutissimis corpusculis, quae nec diuidi nec sentiri queunt, et quicumque alii, quorum enumerationi inmorari non est necesse, siue simplicia siue coniuncta corpora, siue uita carentia siue uiuentia, sed tamen corpora, causam principiumque rerum esse dixerunt.

(E) Nam quidam eorum a rebus non uiuis res uiuas fieri posse crediderunt, [11]sicut Epicurei; quidam uero a uiuente quidem et uiuentia et non uiuentia, sed tamen a corpore corpora. Nam [12]Stoici ignem, id est corpus unum ex his quattuor elementis, quibus uisibilis mundus hic constat, et uiuentem et sapientem et ipsius mundi fabricatorem adque omnium, quae in eo sunt, eumque omnino ignem deum esse putauerunt.

(F) Hi et ceteri similes eorum id solum cogitare potuerunt, quod cum eis [13]corda eorum obstricta carnis sensibus fabulata sunt. In se quippe habebant quod non uidebant, et aput se imaginabantur quod foris uiderant, etiam quando non uidebant, sed tantummodo cogitabant. Hoc autem [14]in conspectu talis cogitationis iam non est corpus sed similitudo corporis; illud autem, unde uidetur in animo haec similitudo corporis, nec corpus est nec similitudo corporis; et unde uidetur adque utrum pulchra an deformis sit iudicatur, profecto est melius quam ipsa quae iudicatur.

(G) Haec mens hominis et rationalis animae natura est, quae utique corpus non est, si iam illa corporis similitudo, cum in animo cogitantis aspicitur adque iudicatur, nec ipsa corpus est. Non est ergo nec terra nec aqua nec aer nec ignis, quibus quattuor corporibus, quae dicuntur quattuor elementa, mundum corporeum uidemus esse conpactum. Porro si noster animus corpus non est, quo modo Deus creator animi corpus est ?

(H) Cedant ergo et isti, ut dictum est, Platonicis; cedant et illi, [15]quos quidem puduit dicere Deum corpus esse, uerum tamen eiusdem naturae, cuius ille est, animos nostros esse putauerunt; ita non eos

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11. sicut Epicurei—according to the atomic theory. It is strange that neither Epicurus nor Lucretius seems to have appreciated the difficulty of the transition from inanimate to animate Nature—a difficulty not really mitigated by the Epicurean infinitesimal deflexion of the atoms.

12. Stoici. Cicero says of Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, *Statuebat ignem esse ipsam naturam, quae quidque gigneret et mentem adque sensus* ("Acad. Post.," i. 10, 39). Hence A. speaks of *ignem* as not only *uiuentem* but *sapientem* (intelligent).

13. corda = "minds," "intellects." See note on i. 3 D.

14. in conspectu talis cogitationis = "when it is so imagined in the mind's eye." Cp. viii. 6 C.

15. quos quidem puduit dicere Deum corpus esse, etc. It is probable, but not certain, that A. refers to the Pythagoreans. See Cicero ("De Nat. Deor.," i. 11, 27).

mouit tanta mutabilitas animae, quam Dei naturae tribuere nefas est. Sed dicunt: Corpore mutatur animae natura, nam per se ipsa incommutabilis est. Poterant isti dicere: corpore aliquo uulneratur caro, nam per se ipsa inuulnerabilis est. Prorsus quod mutari non potest, nulla re potest, ac per hoc quod corpore mutari potest, aliqua re potest et ideo incommutabile recte dici non potest.

CAPUT VI.

DE PLATONICORUM SENSU IN EA PARTE PHILOSOPHIAE, QUAE PHYSICA NOMINATUR.

(A) Viderunt ergo isti philosophi, quos ceteris non inmerito fama adque gloria praelatos uidemus, nullum corpus esse Deum, et ideo cuncta corpora transcenderunt quaerentes Deum. Viderunt, [1] quidquid mutabile est, non esse summum Deum, et ideo animam omnem mutabilesque omnes spiritus transcenderunt quaerentes summum Deum. Deinde uiderunt omnem speciem in re quacumque mutabili, qua est quidquid illud est, quoquo modo et qualiscumque natura est, non esse posse nisi ab illo, qui uere est, quia incommutabiliter est.

(B) Ac per hoc siue uniuersi mundi corpus, figuras, qualitates ordinatumque motum et elementa disposita a caelo usque ad terram et quaecumque corpora in eis sunt, siue omnem uitam, uel quae nutrit et continet, qualis est in arboribus, uel quae et hoc habet et sentit, qualis est in pecoribus, uel quae et haec habet et intellegit, qualis est in hominibus, uel quae nuritorio subsidio non indiget, sed tantum continet, sentit, intellegit, [2] qualis est in angelis, nisi ab illo esse non posse, qui simpliciter est; quia non aliud illi est esse, aliud uiuere, quasi possit esse non uiuens; nec aliud illi est uiuere, aliud intellegere, quasi possit uiuere non intellegens; nec aliud illi est intellegere, aliud beatum esse, quasi possit intellegere non beatus: sed quod illi est uiuere, intellegere, beatum esse, hoc est illi esse.

(C) Propter hanc incommutabilitatem et simplicitatem intellexerunt eum et omnia ista fecisse, et ipsum a nullo fieri potuisse.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the meaning of the Platonists in that department of philosophy which is called physical.

1. quidquid mutabile est, etc. The essential immutability of God is stated and explained by Plato ("Republic," ii., pp. 380 D–381 B).

2. qualis est in angelis. The three lives hitherto described correspond with the three grades of soul in vii. 23 C. But A. adds a fourth life, yet higher than the three—the life of the angels—which differs from the others, as not containing in itself all that they contain, but being independent of nutrition.

Considerauerunt enim, quidquid est, uel corpus esse uel uitam, meliusque aliquid uitam esse quam corpus, speciemque corporis esse sensibilem, intellegibilem uitae. Proinde intellegibilem speciem sensibili praetulerunt. Sensibilia dicimus, quae uisu tactuque corporis sentiri queunt; intellegibilia, quae [3]conspectu mentis intellegi.

(D) Nulla est enim pulchritudo corporalis siue in statu corporis, sicut est figura, siue in motu, sicut est [4]cantilena, de qua non animus iudicet. Quod profecto non posset, nisi melior in illo esset haec species, [5]sine tumore molis, sine strepitu uocis, sine spatio uel loci uel temporis. Sed ibi quoque nisi mutabilis esset, non alius alio melius de specie sensibili iudicaret; melius ingeniosior quam tardior, melius peritior quam inperitior, melius exercitatior quam minus exercitatus, et idem ipse unus, cum proficit, melius utique postea quam prius.

(E) Quod autem recipit magis et minus, sine dubitatione mutabile est. Unde ingeniosi et docti et in his exercitati homines facile collegerunt non esse in eis rebus primam speciem, ubi mutabilis esse conuincitur. Cum igitur in eorum conspectu et corpus et animus magis minusque speciosa essent, si autem omni specie carere possent, omnino nulla essent: uiderunt esse aliquid [6]ubi prima esset incommutabilis et ideo nec conparabilis; adque ibi esse rerum principium rectissime crediderunt, quod factum non esset et ex quo facta cuncta essent.

(F) Ita [7]"quod notum est Dei manifestauit eis ipse, cum ab eis inuisibilia eius per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspecta sunt: *sempiterna quoque [8]uirtus eius et diuinitas"; a quo etiam uisibilia et temporalia cuncta creata sunt. Haec de illa parte, quam physicam, id est naturalem, nuncupant, dicta sint.

CAPUT VII.

QUANTO EXCELLENTIORES CETERIS IN LOGICA, ID EST RATIONALI PHILOSOPHIA, PLATONICI SINT HABENDI.

(A) Quod autem adtinet ad doctrinam, ubi uersatur pars altera, quae ab eis logica, id est rationalis, uocatur: absit ut his conparandi

3. **conspectu mentis**="the mind's eye." Cp. *in conspectu talis cogitationis* (viii. 5 F).

4. **cantilena**="a dance" accompanied, of course, by music, and properly by vocal music.

5. **sine tumore molis**="without bulk" or "size."

6. **ubi prima esset**—sc. *species*.

7. **quod notum est Dei**=*φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, θεὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσε*. A. gives these words in full (x. B).

8. **uirtus**=*δύναμις*.

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

uideantur qui posuerunt iudicium ueritatis in sensibus corporis eorumque infidis et fallacibus regulis omnia, quae discuntur, metienda esse censuerunt, [1]ut Epicurei et quicumque alii tales, ut etiam ipsi [2]Stoici, qui cum uehementer amauerint sollertiam disputandi, quam dialecticam nominant, a corporis sensibus eam ducendam putarunt, hinc adseuerantes animum concipere notiones, quas appellant ἐννοίας, earum rerum scilicet quas definiendo explicant; hinc propagari adque conecti totam discendi docendique rationem.

(B) Ubi ego multum mirari soleo, [3]cum pulchros dicant non esse nisi sapientes, quibus sensibus corporis istam pulchritudinem uiderint, qualibus oculis carnis formam sapientiae decusque conspexerint. Hi uero, quos merito ceteris anteponimus, discreuerunt ea, quae mente conspiciuntur, ab his, quae sensibus adtinguntur, nec sensibus adimentes quod possunt, nec eis dantes ultra quam possunt. Lumen autem mentium esse dixerunt ad discenda omnia eundem ipsum Deum, a quo facta sunt omnia.

CAPUT VIII.

QUOD ETIAM IN MORALI PHILOSOPHIA PLATONICI OBTINEANT PRINCIPATUM.

(A) Reliqua est pars moralis, quam Graeco uocabulo dicunt ethicam, ubi quaeritur de summo bono, [1]quo referentes omnia quae agimus, et quod non propter aliud, sed propter se ipsum

CHAPTER VII.

How far more excellent than other philosophers the Platonists are to be considered in logic—i.e., in the philosophy of the reason.

1. ut Epicurei. Ἐν τῷ κανόνι λέγει ὁ Ἐπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς προλήψεις καὶ τὰ πάθη (Diog. Laert., "Vit. Philosoph.," x. 1, 20). Cp. Cicero ("De Fin.," i. 7, 22) who, like A., limits the Epicurean test of truth to the senses (προλήψεις and πάθη falling ultimately under the head of αἰσθήσεις), *iudicia rerum in sensibus ponit, quibus si semel aliquid falsi pro uero probatum sit, sublatum esse omne iudicium ueri et falsi putat.* It was, in fact, the doctrine of Epicurus that sensation in itself is perfectly trustworthy; the addition of opinion to sensation is the source of error.

2. Stoici. According to the Stoics perceptions (φαντασίαι) are the results of impressions (τυπώσεις) made by external objects on the soul; from repeated perceptions arises experience (ἐμπειρία), and from experience or experimental inferences arise conceptions (ἔννοιαι). A. translates φαντασίαι by *animi uisa* (ix. 4 F). Cp. Cicero ("Acad. Post.," i. 11, 40). φανταστόν says Plutarch, is τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν φαντασίαν ("De Placit. Philosoph.," iv. 12).

3. cum pulchros dicant, etc.—the celebrated paradox of the Stoics. The Benedictine editors illustrate it by quoting Cicero ("Pro Muren.," 29, 61), *solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi sint, formosos.*

CHAPTER VIII.

That the primacy in moral philosophy as well belongs to the Platonists.

1. quo referentes omnia, etc. Aristotle defines the τέλος τῶν πρακτῶν as ὃ δι' αὐτὸ βουλόμεθα τἀλλα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ("Nic. Eth.," i. 2, 1). Cp. Plato ("Gorgias," p. 499 E)—a definition which A. virtually repeats here.

adpetentes idque adipiscentes nihil, quo beati simus, ulterius requiramus. Ideo quippe et finis est dictus, quia propter hunc cetera uolumus, ipsum autem non nisi propter ipsum. Hoc ergo beatificum bonum alii a corpore, alii ab animo, alii ab utroque homini esse dixerunt.

(B) Videbant quippe ipsum hominem constare ex animo et corpore et ideo ab alterutro istorum duorum aut ab utroque bene sibi esse posse credebant, finali quodam bono, quo beati essent, quo cuncta quae agebant referrent adque id quo referendum esset non ultra quaererent. Unde illi, qui dicuntur addidisse [2]tertium genus bonorum, quod appellatur extrinsecus, sicuti est honor, gloria, pecunia et si quid huius modi, non sic addiderunt, ut finale esset, id est propter se ipsum adpetendum, sed propter aliud; bonumque esse hoc genus bonis, malum autem malis.

(C) Ita bonum hominis qui uel ab animo uel a corpore uel ab utroque expetiuerunt, nihil aliud quam ab homine expetendum esse putauerunt; sed qui id adpetiuerunt a corpore, a parte hominis deteriore; qui uero ab animo, a parte meliore; qui autem ab utroque, a toto homine. Siue ergo a parte qualibet siue a toto, non nisi ab homine. Nec istae differentiae, quoniam tres sunt, ideo tres, sed [3]multas dissensiones philosophorum sectasque fecerunt, quia et de bono corporis et de bono animi et de bono utriusque diuersi diuersa opinati sunt.

(D) Cedant igitur omnes illis philosophis, qui non dixerunt beatum esse hominem fruentem corpore uel fruentem animo, sed fruentem Deo; non sicut corpore uel se ipso animus aut sicut amico amicus, sed sicut luce oculus, si aliquid ab his ad illa similitudinis adferendum est, quod quale sit, si Deus ipse adiuuerit, [4]alio loco, quantum per nos fieri poterit, apparebit. Nunc satis sit commemorare [5]Platonem determinasse finem boni esse secundum uirtutem uiuere et ei soli euenire posse, qui notitiam Dei habeat et imitationem nec esse aliam ob causam beatum; ideoque non dubitat [6]hoc esse philosophari, amare Deum, cuius natura sit incorporalis.

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2. tertium genus bonorum. The threefold division of goods is explicitly recognised by Aristotle ("Nic. Eth.," i. 8, 1).

3. multas dissensiones philosophorum. Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," iii. 7 and 8) gives an account of many various speculations about the *summum bonum*. Cp. A. ("De Trin.," xiii. 7 [iv.]).

4. alio loco. Cp. "Meditat.," 37 *ad fin.*—a treatise probably written in imitation of A.

5. Platonem determinasse, etc. For Plato's doctrine, to which A. here refers, see "Gorg.," pp. 470 D and 508 B; also "Phileb.," pp. 11 B and C.

6. hoc esse philosophari, etc. A.'s language is less exact here and in viii. 11 F (*Plato dicit amatorem Dei esse philosophum*) than it is just above in the words *qui notitiam Dei habeat et imitationem;* for it is not so much the love of God as the like-

(E) Unde utique colligitur tunc fore beatum studiosum sapientiae (id enim est philosophus), cum frui Deo coeperit. Quamuis enim non continuo beatus sit, qui eo fruitur quod amat (multi enim amando ea, quae amanda non sunt, miseri sunt et miseriores cum fruuntur); nemo tamen beatus est, qui eo quod amat non fruitur. Nam et ipsi, qui res non amandas amant, non se beatos putant amando, sed fruendo.

(F) Quisquis ergo fruitur eo, quod amat, uerumque et summum bonum amat, quis eum beatum nisi miserrimus negat? [7]Ipsum autem uerum ac summum bonum Plato dicit Deum, unde uult esse philosophum amatorem Dei, ut, quoniam philosophia ad beatam uitam tendit, fruens Deo sit beatus qui Deum amauerit.

CAPUT IX.

DE EA PHILOSOPHIA, QUAE AD VERITATEM FIDEI CHRISTIANAE PROPIUS ACCESSIT.

(A) Quicumque igitur philosophi de Deo summo et uero ista senserunt, quod et rerum creatarum sit effector et [1]lumen cognoscendarum et bonum agendarum, quod ab illo nobis sit et principium naturae et ueritas doctrinae et felicitas uitae, siue Platonici adcommodatius nuncupentur, siue quodlibet aliud sectae suae nomen inponant; siue tantummodo [2]Ionici generis qui [3]in eis praecipui fuerunt ista senserint, sicut idem Plato et qui eum bene intellexerunt;

(B) Siue etiam Italici, propter Pythagoram et Pythagoreos et si qui forte alii eiusdem sententiae [4]indidem fuerunt; siue aliarum quoque gentium qui sapientes uel philosophi habiti sunt, [5]Atlantici,

ness to God which is the distinguishing feature of Plato's ideally just or wise man. See "Republ.," x., p. 613 A; "Theaet.," p. 176 A. Yet the difference is not so much one of substance as of language.

7. Ipsum autem uerum ac summum bonum, etc. See Schwegler ("Handbook of the History of Philosophy," xiv. 4 F).

CHAPTER IX.

Of that philosophy which has come nearer to the truth of the Christian faith.

1. lumen cognoscendarum, etc.="the light by which things may be known and the good for which they are done." Cp. viii. 10 D.

2. Ionici generis. Cp. viii. 2 A. So, too, *Italici* below.

3. in eis—*sc.* Ionicis.

4. indidem—a better supported reading than *identidem.*

5. Atlantici, Libyes—probably two different races or tribes; the *Atlantici* who lived under Mount Atlas being neighbours of the *Libyes.* Diodorus Siculus speaks of the Atlantii (*sic*) as a separate people or tribe ("Bibl. Hist.," iii. 60). A passage of Diogenes Laertius ("Vit. Philosoph.," i. 1 and 2) throws light upon the supposed diffusion of philosophy in ancient days; for he mentions among others the Μάγους in Persia, the γυμνοσοφιστάς in India, and παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυίδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους (if that is the right reading), and Λίβυν Ἄτλαντα.

Libyes, Aegyptii, Indi, Persae, Chaldaei, Scythae, Galli, Hispani aliqui reperiuntur, qui hoc uiderint ac docuerint: eos omnes ceteris anteponimus eosque nobis propinquiores fatemur.

CAPUT X.

QUAE SIT INTER PHILOSOPHICAS ARTES RELIGIOSI EXCELLENTIA CHRISTIANI.

(A) Quamuis enim homo Christinaus litteris tantum ecclesiasticis eruditus Platonicorum forte nomen ignoret, nec utrum duo genera philosophorum extiterint in Graeca lingua, Ionicorum et Italicorum, sciat; non tamen ita surdus est in rebus humanis, ut nesciat philosophos uel studium sapientiae uel ipsam sapientiam profiteri. Cauet eos tamen, qui secundum elementa huius mundi philosophantur, non secundum Deum, a quo ipse factus est mundus.

(B) Admonetur enim praecepto apostolico fideliterque audit quod dictum est: **Cauete ne quis uos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem secundum elementa mundi.* Deinde ne omnes tales esse arbitretur, audit ab eodem apostolo dici de quibusdam: †*Quia quod notum est Dei, manifestum est in illis; Deus enim illis manifestauit. Inuisibilia enim eius* [1]*a constitutione mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque uirtus eius et diuinitas;* et ubi Atheniensibus loquens, cum rem magnam de Deo dixisset et quae a paucis possit intellegi, quod ‡[2]*in illo uiuimus et mouemur et sumus*, adiecit et ait: [3]*Sicut et uestri quidam dixerunt.*

(C) Nouit sane etiam ipsos, in quibus errant, cauere; ubi enim dictum est, quod per ea, quae facta sunt, Deus illis manifestauit intellectu conspicienda inuisibilia sua, ibi etiam dictum est non illos ipsum Deum recte coluisse, quia et aliis rebus, quibus non oportebat, diuinos honores, illi uni tantum debitos, detulerunt: §*Quoniam* [4]*cognoscentes Deum non sicut Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed euanuerunt in cogitationibus suis et obscuratum est cor insipiens eorum. Dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt*

CHAPTER X.

What is the pre-eminence which belongs to the Christian in virtue of his religion among the arts of philosophy.

1. **a constitutione mundi**=*ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου.*

2. **in illo uiuimus**, etc. St. Paul's quotation (Acts xvii. 28) is derived from two Greek poets—Cleanthes ("Hymn to Zeus," 4) and Aratus ("Phaenom.," 5).

3. **Sicut et uestri quidam**=*ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν.*

4. **cognoscentes**=*γνόντες.*

* Col. ii. 8.
‡ Acts xvii. 28.
† Rom. i. 19, 20.
§ Rom. i. 21-23.

et inmutauerunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei [5]*in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis* [6]*hominis et uolucrum et quadrupedum et serpentium:* ubi et Romanos et Graecos et Aegyptios, qui de sapientiae nomine gloriati sunt, fecit intellegi.

(D) Sed de hoc cum istis *post modum disputabimus. In quo autem nobis consentiunt de uno Deo huius uniuersitatis auctore, qui non solum super omnia corpora est incorporeus, uerum etiam super omnes animas incorruptibilis, principium nostrum, lumen nostrum, bonum nostrum, in hoc eos ceteris anteponimus.

(E) Nec, si litteras eorum Christianus ignorans uerbis, quae non didicit, in disputatione non utitur, ut uel naturalem Latine uel physicam Graece appellet eam partem, in qua de naturae inquisitione tractatur, et rationalem siue logicam, in qua quaeritur quonam modo ueritas percipi possit, et moralem uel ethicam, in qua de moribus agitur bonorumque finibus adpetendis malorumque uitandis, ideo nescit ab uno uero Deo adque optimo et naturam nobis esse, qua †facti ad eius imaginem sumus, et doctrinam, qua eum nosque nouerimus, et gratiam, qua illi cohaerendo beati simus.

(F) Haec itaque causa est quur istos ceteris praeferamus, quia, cum alii philosophi ingenia sua studiaque contriuerint in requirendis rerum causis, et quinam esset modus discendi adque uiuendi, isti Deo cognito reppererunt ubi esset et causa constitutae uniuersitatis et lux percipiendae ueritatis et fons bibendae felicitatis.

(G) Siue ergo isti Platonici siue quicumque alii quarumlibet gentium philosophi de Deo ista sentiunt, nobiscum sentiunt. Sed ideo cum Platonicis magis agere placuit hanc causam, quia eorum sunt litterae notiores. Nam et Graeci, quorum lingua in gentibus praeminet, eas magna praedicatione celebrarunt, et Latini, permoti earum uel excellentia uel gloria, ipsas libentius didicerunt adque in nostrum [7]eloquium transferendo nobiliores clarioresque fecerunt.

CAPUT XI.

UNDE PLATO EAM INTELLEGENTIAM POTUERIT ADQUIRERE, QUA CHRISTIANAE SCIENTIAE PROPINQUAVIT.

(A) Mirantur autem quidam nobis in Christi gratia sociati, cum audiunt uel legunt Platonem de Deo ista sensisse, quae multum

5. in similitudinem = ἐν ὁμοιώματι.

6. hominis et uolucrum, etc. Godet, in his Commentary on Rom. i. 21-23, makes the remark: "The worship of man especially characterises Greek and Roman polytheism; that of the different classes of animals, Egyptian and Barbarian paganism."

7. eloquium = "language." See note on ii. 18 F.

* viii. 26. † Gen. i. 26, 27.

congruere ueritati nostrae religionis agnoscunt. Unde nonnulli putauerunt eum, quando [1]perrexit in Aegyptum, Hieremiam audisse prophetam uel scripturas propheticas in eadem peregrinatione legisse; quorum quidem opinionem [2]in quibusdam libris meis posui.

(B) Sed diligenter subputata temporum ratio, quae [3]chronica historia continetur, Platonem indicat a tempore, quo prophetauit Hieremias, centum ferme annos postea natum fuisse; qui cum octoginta et unum uixisset, ab anno mortis eius usque ad id tempus, quo [4]Ptolomaeus rex Aegypti scripturas propheticas gentis Hebraeorum de Iudaea poposcit et per septuaginta uiros Hebraeos, qui etiam Graecam linguam nouerant, interpretandas habendasque curauit, anni reperiuntur ferme sexaginta.

(C) Quapropter in illa peregrinatione sua Plato nec Hieremiam uidere potuit tanto ante defunctum, nec easdem scripturas legere, quae nondum fuerant in Graecam linguam translatae, qua ille pollebat; nisi forte, quia fuit acerrimi studii, sicut Aegyptias, ita et istas per interpretem didicit, non ut scribendo transferret (quod

CHAPTER XI.

By what means Plato succeeded in gaining such intelligence as enabled him to come near to Christian knowledge.

1. perrexit in Aegyptum. Cp. viii. 4 A.

2. in quibusdam libris meis—*e.g.*, "De Doctr. Christ.," ii. 43. A. revokes his opinion as a slip of memory (*me fefellit memoria*, "Retract.," ii. 4). There are, in early Christian literature, many passages bearing on Plato's supposed acquaintance with the Hebrew Scriptures—*e.g.*, Justin Martyr ("Apol.," i. 60, §§ 78 and 79); Origen ("Con. Cels.," iv. 39, § 533); Eusebius ("Praef. Euang.," xi. 9, 2); Cyril ("Con. Iulian.," 29); and perhaps the most curious of all Clement of Alexandria ("Strom.," i. 22, § 148). The life of Plato covers the years B.C. 428-347. Of Jeremiah it is not perhaps safe to say more than that his call to the prophetical office, if it coincided (as he himself states) with the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah (Jer. i. 2), must have occurred in B.C. 629 or 627. Consequently A.'s *centum ferme annos* is a wide understatement. Lactantius expresses his surprise that Pythagoras, and after him Plato, should have consulted Egyptian, Magian, and Persian, but not Hebrew religious authorities ("Divin. Instit.," iv. 2).

3. chronica historia="chronological history."

4. Ptolomaeus. Ptolomaeus, known as Philadelphus, reigned B.C. 285-247. It was in his reign that the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament was composed by seventy, or, in strictness, seventy-two, Jewish scholars whom he had summoned to Alexandria. The well-known letter of Aristeas to his brother Philocrates contains the traditional account of the miraculous process by which the version attained its present form, but the letter is almost certainly not genuine. Cp. Josephus ("Antiqq.," xii. 2, 11-14). A. makes frequent reference to the composition of the Septuagint—*e.g.*, xv. 13 A: *septuaginta homines . . . uno in loco positos*—*i.e.*, on the island of Pharos, xv. 11 D, *uno simul tempore unoque sensu interpretati sunt*: and especially xviii. 42 B-D. Upon A.'s view of the inspiration which the LXX translators received see xv. 23 N; xviii. 22 C; 43 B and C. The name *Ptolemaeus* is spelt *Ptolomaeus* in the MSS. of *D.C.D.* By *scripturas propheticas gentis Hebraeorum* A. must mean the whole Old Testament.

Ptolomaeus [5]pro ingenti beneficio, [6]qui a regia potestate etiam timeri poterat, meruisse perhibetur), sed ut conloquendo quid continerent, quantum capere posset, addisceret.

(D) Hoc ut existimetur, illa suadere uidentur indicia, quod liber geneseos sic incipit: *[7]*In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita, et tenebrae erant super abyssum, et spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam;* †[8]in Timaeo autem Plato, quem librum de mundi constitutione conscripsit, Deum dicit in illo opere terram primo ignemque iunxisse. Manifestum est autem, quod igni tribuat caeli locum: habet ergo haec sententia [9]quandam illius similitudinem, qua dictum est: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram.*

(E) Deinde illa duo media, quibus interpositis sibimet haec extrema copularentur, ‡[10]aquam dicit et aerem; unde putatur sic intellexisse quod scriptum est: *spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam.* Parum quippe adtendens quo more soleat illa scriptura appellare spiritum Dei, quoniam et [11]aer spiritus dicitur, quattuor opinatus elementa loco illo commemorata uideri potest.

(F) Deinde quod Plato dicit amatorem Dei esse philosophum, [12]nihil sic illis sacris litteris flagrat; et maxime illud (quod et me plurimum adducit, ut paene adsentiar Platonem illorum librorum expertem non fuisse), quod, cum ad sanctum Moysen ita uerba Dei per angelum perferantur, ut quaerenti quod sit nomen eius, qui eum pergere praecipiebat ad populum Hebraeum ex Aegypto liberandum, respondeatur: §[13]*Ego sum qui sum, et dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me ad uos,* tamquam in eius conparatione, qui uere

5. pro ingenti beneficio—the liberation of a great number of Jewish slaves, as many as 110,000, according to Josephus ("Antiqq.," xii. 2).

6. qui a regia potestate, etc. = "who might—apart from that service—have been feared in virtue of his royal power."

7. In principio, etc. *Incomposita* = *ἀκατασκεύαστος* (LXX); *superferebatur* = *ἐπεφέρετο* (LXX). Neither the Greek nor the Latin gives the exact sense of the original Hebrew מְרַחֶפֶת = "brooding."

8. in Timaeo. *ὄθεν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχόμενος ξυνιστάναι σῶμα ὁ θεὸς ἐποίει* (p. 31 B).

9. quandam illius similitudinem. The parallelism can hardly be said to be made out.

10. aquam dicit et aerem. The actual words are *οὕτω δὴ πυρός τε καὶ γῆς ὕδωρ ἀέρα τε ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θεὶς κ.τ.λ.* (p. 32 B); but it is worth while to consult the whole passage ("Tim.," pp. 31 E–32 C). Cp. xxii. 11 A.

11. aer spiritus dicitur. The Hebrew רוּחַ, the Greek *πνεῦμα*, and the Latin *spiritus* may all mean either "breath" or "spirit"—a fact which has not been without its influence upon Christian theology. Our Lord's teaching in John iii. 1-15 is especially significant in this regard.

12. nihil sic . . . flagrat = "nothing is so conspicuous as this truth."

13. Ego sum qui sum = Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν (LXX).

* Gen. i. 1 and 2. † p. 31 B. ‡ p. 32 B. § Exod. iii. 14.

est quia incommutabilis est, ea quae mutabilia facta sunt non sint, uehementer [14]hoc Plato tenuit et diligentissime commendauit. Et nescio utrum hoc uspiam reperiatur in libris eorum, qui ante Platonem fuerunt, nisi ubi dictum est: *Ego sum qui sum, et dices eis: Qui est, misit me ad uos.*

CAPUT XII.

QUOD ETIAM PLATONICI, LICET DE UNO VERO DEO BENE SENSERINT, MULTIS TAMEN DIS SACRA FACIENDA CENSUERINT.

(A) Sed undecumque ille ista didicerit, siue praecedentibus eum ueterum libris siue potius, quo modo dicit apostolus, *quia* *[1]*quod notum est Dei manifestum est in illis; Deus enim illis manifestauit; inuisibilia enim eius a constitutione mundi per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque uirtus eius et diuinitas:* nunc non inmerito me Platonicos philosophos elegisse cum quibus agam, quod in ista quaestione, quam modo suscepimus, agitur de naturali theologia, utrum propter felicitatem, quae post mortem futura est, uni Deo an pluribus sacra facere oporteat, satis, ut existimo, exposui.

(B) Ideo quippe hos potissimum elegi, quoniam de uno Deo qui fecit caelum et terram, quanto melius senserunt, tanto ceteris gloriosiores et inlustriores habentur, in tantum aliis praelati iudicio posterorum, ut, cum Aristoteles, Platonis discipulus, uir excellentis ingenii et [2]eloquio Platoni quidem inpar, sed multos facile superans, cum [3]sectam Peripateticam condidisset, quod deambulans disputare consueuerat, plurimosque discipulos praeclara fama excellens [4]uiuo adhuc praeceptore in suam [5]haeresim congregasset, post mortem uero Platonis Speusippus, sororis eius filius, et Xenocrates,

14. hoc Plato tenuit. See *e.g.*, "Republ.," ii., pp. 380 D–381 C.

CHAPTER XII.

That even the Platonists, although their theory of the one true God is so good, yet have approved the celebration of sacred rites in honour of many gods.

1. quod notum est Dei, etc.—already quoted viii. 10 B, and less exactly viii. 6 F.

2. eloquio="literary style" rather than "eloquence." See note on ii. 18 F.

3. sectam Peripateticam—so-called, as A. suggests, because Aristotle, when he taught his pupils, would walk up and down the garden belonging to the temple of Apollo Lyceius at Athens.

4. uiuo adhuc praeceptore. See Diogenes Laertius. who quotes the saying of Plato: *Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε καθαπερεὶ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα* ("De Vit. Philosoph.," v. 2). The *praeceptor* is Plato.

5. haeresim="school." So Cicero uses *haeresis* without any shade of disparagement ("Ad Fam.," xv. 16). Iamblichus wrote a laudatory treatise upon Pythagoras, under the title *περὶ Πυθαγόρου αἱρέσεως.* "Heretic" has not been an ignoble name in human history.

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

dilectus eius discipulus, in scholam eius, quae [6]Academia uocabatur, eidem successissent adque ob hoc et ipsi et eorum successores Academici appellarentur, recentiores tamen philosophi nobilissimi, quibus Plato sectandus placuit, noluerint se dici Peripateticos aut Academicos, sed Platonicos.

(c) Ex quibus sunt ualde nobilitati Graeci [7]Plotinus, [8]Iamblichus, [9]Porphyrius; in utraque autem lingua, id est et Graeca et Latina, [10]Apuleius Afer extitit Platonicus nobilis. Sed hi omnes et ceteri eius modi [11]et ipse Plato dis plurimis esse sacra facienda putauerunt.

CAPUT XIII.

DE SENTENTIA PLATONIS, QUA DEFINIVIT DEOS NON ESSE NISI BONOS AMICOSQUE VIRTUTUM.

(a) Quamquam ergo a nobis et in aliis multis rebus magnisque dissentiant, in hoc tamen, quod modo posui, quia neque parua res est et inde nunc quaestio est, primum ab eis quaero, quibus dis istum cultum exhibendum arbitrentur, utrum bonis an malis an et bonis et malis. Sed habemus [1]Platonis sententiam dicentis omnes deos bonos esse, nec esse omnino ullum deorum malum. Consequens est igitur, ut bonis haec exhibenda intellegantur; tunc enim dis exhibentur; quoniam nec di erunt, si boni non erunt.

(b) Hoc si ita est, (nam de dis quid aliud decet credere ?) illa profecto uacuatur opinio, qua nonnulli putant deos malos sacris placandos esse, ne laedant, bonos autem, ut adiuuent, inuocandos. Mali enim nulli sunt di; bonis porro debitus, ut dicunt, honor sacro-

6. Academia—the olive-garden in which Plato was wont to teach his pupils beside the Cephisus.

7. Plotinus—the chief exponent, if not the author, of the Platonic philosophy in the third century A.D. Cp. ix. 10 A. His doctrines were published by his pupil, Porphyrius, in six Enneads or groups of nine subjects. A. refers both to Plotinus and to Porphyrius (x. 30). The Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Inge) has lately examined in a masterly treatise the historical and theological importance of Plotinus and his philosophy. A. pays Plotinus the compliment of saying that he was: *Platonicus philosophus ita et eius similis iudicatus ut simul eos uixisse, tantum autem interest temporis ut in hoc ille reuixisse putandus sit* ("Con. Acad.," iii. 41 (xviii.).

8. Iamblichus—also a Neo-Platonist who lived in the fourth century A.D.

9. Porphyrius. See note on vii. 25 A.

10. Apuleius Afer. See note on iv. 2 C.

11. et ipse Plato. For Plato's opinion upon practical adherence to polytheistic worship see "Laws," iv., p. 716 D to 717 B; viii., p. 828 A-D.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the opinion of Plato, who defined the gods as being absolutely good and absolutely the friends of the virtues.

1. Platonis sententiam—in such passages as "Republ.," ii., p. 379; "Laws," x., p. 885.

rum est deferendus. Qui sunt ergo illi, qui ludos scaenicos amant eosque diuinis rebus adiungi et suis honoribus flagitant exhiberi ? [2]quorum uis non eos indicat nullos, sed iste adfectus nimirum indicat malos. Quid enim [3]de ludis scaenicis Plato senserit, notum est, cum poetas ipsos, quod tam indigna deorum maiestate adque bonitate carmina conposuerint, censet ciuitate pellendos.

(C) Qui sunt igitur isti di, qui de scaenicis ludis cum ipso Platone contendunt ? Ille quippe non patitur deos falsis criminibus infamari; isti eisdem criminibus suos honores celebrari iubent. Denique isti cum eosdem ludos instaurari praeciperent, poscentes turpia etiam maligna gesserunt, [4]Tito Latinio auferentes filium et inmittentes morbum, quod eorum abnuisset imperium, eumque morbum retrahentes, cum iussa conplesset; [5]iste autem illos nec tam malos timendos putat, sed suae sententiae robur constantissime retinens omnes poetarum sacrilegas nugas, quibus [6]illi [7]inmunditiae societate oblectantur, a populo bene instituto remouere non dubitat.

(D) Hunc autem Platonem, quod iam *in secundo libro commemoraui, inter semideos [8]Labeo ponit. Qui Labeo numina mala uictimis cruentis adque huius modi supplicationibus placari existimat, bona uero ludis et talibus quasi ad laetitiam pertinentibus rebus. Quid est ergo quod semideus Plato non semideis, sed deis, et hoc bonis, illa oblectamenta, quia iudicat turpia, tam constanter audet auferre ? Qui sane di refellunt sententiam Labeonis; nam se in Latinio non lasciuos tantum adque ludibundos, sed etiam saeuos terribilesque monstrarunt. Exponant ergo nobis ista Platonici, qui omnes deos secundum auctoris sui sententiam bonos et honestos et uirtutibus sapientium socios esse arbitrantur, aliterque de ullo deorum sentiri nefas habent. Exponimus, inquiunt. Adtente igitur audiamus:

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2. quorum uis, etc. = "They are gods whose power indeed proves them not to be non-existent, but whose taste, such as it is, undoubtedly proves them to be evil."

3. de ludis scaenicis. See note on ii. 14 A.

4. Tito Latinio. Cp. iv. 26 B.

5. iste autem illos, etc. = "Evil as they are, he does not consider them to be proper objects of fear." *iste* is Plato.

6. illi—*sc.* the gods.

7. inmunditiae societate—opposed to *uirtutibus sapientium socios*, D below.

8. Labeo. Some account of Labeo or the Labeos is given in the note on ii. 11 D. Cp. ii. 14 C.

CAPUT XIV.

DE OPINIONE EORUM, QUI RATIONALES ANIMAS TRIUM GENERUM ESSE DIXERUNT, ID EST IN DIS CAELESTIBUS, IN DAEMONIBUS AERIIS ET IN HOMINIBUS TERRENIS.

(A) Omnium, inquiunt, animalium, in quibus est anima rationalis, tripertita diuisio est, in deos, homines, daemones. Di excelsissimum locum tenent, homines infimum, daemones medium. Nam deorum sedes in caelo est, hominum in terra, [1]in aere daemonum. Sicut eis diuersa dignitas est locorum, ita etiam naturarum. Proinde di sunt hominibus daemonibusque potiores; homines uero infra deos et daemones constituti sunt, ut elementorum ordine, sic differentia meritorum. [2]Daemones igitur medii, quem ad modum dis, quibus inferius habitant, postponendi, ita hominibus, quibus superius, praeferendi sunt. Habent enim [3]cum dis communem inmortalitatem corporum, animorum autem cum hominibus passiones.

(B) Quapropter non est mirum, inquiunt, si etiam ludorum obscenitatibus et poetarum figmentis delectantur, quando quidem humanis capiuntur adfectibus, a quibus di longe absunt et modis omnibus alieni sunt. Ex quo colligitur, Platonem poetica detestando et prohibendo figmenta non deos, qui omnes boni et excelsi sunt, priuasse ludorum scaenicorum uoluptate, sed daemones.

(C) Haec si ita sunt (quae licet aput alios quoque reperiantur [4]Apuleius tamen Platonicus Madaurensis de hac re sola unum

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the opinion of those who have stated that there are three kinds of rational souls—i.e., in the gods of heaven, in the demons of the air, and in men upon the earth.

1. in aere daemonum. There has always been a tendency of human thought, where the belief in daemons or evil spirits prevailed, to find a local habitation for them in the air, probably because the heaven was already peopled by gods and the earth by men. So A. speaks elsewhere of *daemones aerii* (viii. 21 A). He holds that they became denizens of the air, as having been cast down into it out of heaven (viii. 22 A; cp. ix. 13 F; x. 11 A). The belief that the air was in an especial manner or degree possessed by evil spirits was both Jewish and Christian. It is so that Satan is called ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος (Eph. ii. 2). Cp. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 9). Other passages, in which A. regards the daemons as denizens of the air, are "De Agon. Christ.," 3 and "De Natur. Bon. c. Manichaeos," 33.

2. Daemones igitur medii. Cp. Plato ("Symp.," p. 202 E), πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ; but the intermediate position or function of the daemons is there somewhat differently conceived. A.'s phrase *daemonum medietate* (C below) is borrowed from Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 12). But A. understands it in the same sense as Plato. Apuleius (*ibid.*, 6) calls the daemons as intermediate beings *medioxumi*, at least if Buckley's text of the "De Deo Socrat." is correct.

3. cum dis communem inmortalitatem corporum. Cp. Plato ("Laws," x., p. 904 A). Apuleius (*ibid.*) speaks of the daemons simply as *habentes communem cum superis inmortalitatem.*

4. Apuleius. See note on iv. 2 C.

scripsit librum, cuius esse titulum uoluit "De deo Socratis," ubi disserit et exponit, ex quo genere numinum [5]Socrates habebat adiunctum et amicitia quadam conciliatum, a quo perhibetur solitus admoneri, ut desisteret ab agendo, quando id quod agere uolebat non prospere fuerat euenturum; dicit enim apertissime et copiosissime adserit non illum deum fuisse, sed daemonem, diligenti disputatione pertractans istam Platonis [6]de deorum sublimitate et hominum humilitate et daemonum medietate sententiam)—

(D) Haec ergo sii ita sunt, quonam modo ausus est Plato, etiamsi non dis, quos [7]ab omni humana contagione semouit, certe ipsis daemonibus poetas urbe pellendo auferre theatricas uoluptates, nisi quia hoc pacto admonuit animum humanum, quamuis adhuc in his moribundis membris positum, pro splendore honestatis inpura daemonum iussa contemnere eorumque inmunditiam detestari? Nam si Plato haec honestissime arguit et prohibuit, profecto daemones turpissime poposcerunt adque iusserunt.

(E) Aut ergo fallitur Apuleius et non ex isto genere numinum habuit amicum Socrates aut contraria inter se sentit Plato modo daemones honorando, modo eorum delicias a ciuitate bene morata remouendo, aut non est Socrati amicitia daemonis gratulanda, de qua usque adeo et ipse Apuleius erubuit, ut "De deo Socratis" praenotaret librum, quem secundum suam disputationem, qua deos a daemonibus tam diligenter copioseque discernit, non appellare "De deo," sed "De daemone Socratis" debuit. Maluit autem hoc in ipsa disputatione quam in titulo libri ponere. Ita enim per sanam doctrinam, quae humanis rebus inluxit, omnes uel paene omnes daemonum nomen exhorrent, [8]ut, quisquis ante disputationem Apulei, qua daemonum dignitas commendatur, titulum libri "De daemone Socratis" legeret, nequaquam illum hominem sanum fuisse sentiret.

(F) Quid autem etiam ipse Apuleius quod in daemonibus laudaret inuenit praeter [9]subtilitatem et firmitatem corporum et habita-

5. Socrates habebat adiunctum, etc.—This is the famous *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates. It was, according to his account of it, *φωνή τις ἡ ὅπου γένηται ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν προτρέπει δὲ οὔποτε* (Plato, "Apol.," p. 31 D). Cp. Apuleius (*ibid.*, 20).

6. de deorum sublimitate, etc. The description of gods, men, and daemons occupies chapters 3 to 5 of Apuleius' "De Deo Socratis."

7. ab omni humana contagione semouit = *ab humana contagione procul discretos* (Apuleius, 3).

8. ut . . . sentiret = "that . . . he would suppose." A. often uses the subject in a conditional sense after *ut*—*e.g.*, *ut . . . soluerentur* (xiii. 19 E); *ut . . . ageret* (xiv. 1 B). See note on i. 1 A.

9. subtilitatem et firmitatem. The point lies in the combination of qualities apparently disparate. A. invests the daemons with aerial bodies (viii. 16 B).

tionis altiorem locum ? Nam de moribus eorum, cum de omnibus generaliter loqueretur, non solum nihil boni dixit, sed etiam plurimum mali. Denique lecto illo libro prorsus nemo miratur eos etiam scaenicam turpitudinem in rebus diuinis habere uoluisse, et cum deos se putari uelint, deorum criminibus oblectari potuisse, et quidquid in eorum sacris obscena sollemnitate seu turpi crudelitate uel ridetur uel horretur, eorum adfectibus conuenire.

CAPUT XV.

QUOD NEQUE PROPTER AERIA CORPORA NEQUE PROPTER SUPERIORA HABITACULA DAEMONES HOMINIBUS ANTECELLANT.

(A) Quam ob rem absit ut ista considerans animus ueraciter religiosus et uero Deo subditus ideo arbitretur daemones se ipso esse meliores, quod habeant [1]corpora meliora. Alioquin multas sibi et bestias praelaturus est, quae nos et acrimonia sensuum et motu facillimo adque celerrimo et ualentia uirium et annosissima firmitate corporum uincunt. Quis hominum uidendo aequabitur aquilis et uulturibus ? quis odorando canibus ? quis uelocitate leporibus, ceruis, omnibus auibus ? quis multum ualendo leonibus et elephantis ? quis diu uiuendo [2]serpentibus, qui etiam deposita tunica [3]senectutem deponere adque in iuuentam redire perhibentur ?

(B) Sed sicut his omnibus ratiocinando et intellegendo meliores sumus, ita etiam daemonibus bene adque honeste uiuendo meliores esse debemus. Ob hoc enim et prouidentia diuina eis, quibus nos constat esse potiores, data sunt quaedam potiora corporum munera, ut illud, quo eis praeponimur, etiam isto modo nobis commendaretur multo maiore cura excolendum esse quam corpus, ipsamque excellentiam corporalem, quam daemones habere nossemus, prae bonitate

Cp. *daemones aeria sunt animalia, quoniam corporum aeriorum natura uigent* ("De Gen. ad Litt.," iii. 14). Cp. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 8 and 9).

CHAPTER XV.

That daemons are not superior to men either because of their aerial bodies or because of their loftier dwelling places.

1. corpora meliora. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 8) describes the bodies of daemons as *neque tam bruta quam terrena neque tam leuia quam aetherea.*

2. serpentibus. The longevity of snakes is not an ascertained fact. Analogy would suggest that the large species of snakes live in a natural state to a great age. But M. Boulanger (of the Natural History Department of the British Museum) wrote to me some little time ago: "So far as I know, the oldest ages attained (by snakes kept in confinement) are twenty-one years in a *Trigonocephalus* and twenty-one years in a Python."

3. senectutem deponere. See Aristotle ("Hist. Anim.," viii. 17). His phrase *ἐκδύνειν τὸ γῆρας* in reference to the supposed rejuvenation of snakes corresponds with A.'s *senectutem deponere.*

uitae, qua illis anteponimur, contemnere disceremus, habituri et nos inmortalitatem corporum, non quam suppliciorum aeternitas torqueat, sed quam puritas praecedat animorum.

(C) Iam uero de loci altitudine, quod daemones in aere, nos autem habitamus in terra, ita permoueri, ut hinc eos nobis esse praeponendos existimemus, omnino ridiculum est. Hoc enim pacto nobis et omnia uolatilia praeponimus. At enim uolatilia cum uolando fatigantur uel reficiendum alimentis corpus habent, terram repetunt uel ad requiem uel ad pastum, quod daemones, inquiunt, non faciunt. Numquid ergo placet eis, ut uolatilia nobis, daemones autem etiam uolatilibus antecellant ? Quod si dementissimum est opinari, nihil est quod de habitatione superioris elementi dignos esse daemones existimemus, quibus nos religionis adfectu subdere debeamus.

(D) Sicut enim fieri potuit, ut aeriae uolucres terrestribus nobis non solum non praeferantur, uerum etiam subiciantur propter rationalis animae, quae in nobis est, dignitatem, ita fieri potuit, ut daemones, quamuis magis aerii sint, terrestribus nobis non ideo meliores sint, quia aer quam terra superior; sed ideo eis homines praeferendi sint, quoniam spei piorum hominum nequaquam illorum desperatio conparanda est.

(E) Nam et [4]illa ratio Platonis, qua elementa quattuor [5]proportione contexit adque ordinat, ita duobus extremis, igni mobilissimo et terrae inmobili, media duo, aerem et aquam, interserens, ut, quanto est aer aquis et aere ignis, tanto et aquae superiores sint terris, satis nos admonet animalium merita non pro elementorum gradibus aestimare. Et ipse quippe Apuleius cum ceteris [6]terrestre animal hominem dicit, qui tamen longe praeponitur animalibus aquatilibus, cum ipsas aquas terris praeponat Plato: ut intellegant, non eundem ordinem tenendum, cum agitur de meritis animarum, qui uidetur esse ordo in gradibus corporum; sed fieri posse, ut inferius corpus anima melior inhabitet deteriorque superius.

4. **illa ratio Platonis**—as stated in the passages quoted from the "Timaeus" in the notes on viii. 11 D and E.

5. **proportione.** Plato's *ἀναλογία* ("Tim.," p. 31 E).

6. **terrestre animal hominem.** See Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 3).

CAPUT XVI.

QUID DE MORIBUS ADQUE ACTIONIBUS DAEMONUM APULEIUS PLATONICUS SENSERIT.

(A) De moribus ergo daemonum cum [1]idem Platonicus loqueretur, dixit eos eisdem quibus homines [2]animi perturbationibus agitari, inritari iniuriis, obsequiis donisque placari, gaudere honoribus, diuersis sacrorum ritibus oblectari et in eis si quid neglectum fuerit commoueri. Inter cetera etiam dicit ad eos pertinere [3]diuinationes augurum, aruspicum, uatum adque somniorum; ab his quoque esse miracula magorum. Breuiter autem eos definiens *[4]ait daemones esse "genere animalia, animo passiua, mente rationalia, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna"; horum uero quinque tria priora illis esse quae nobis, quartum proprium, quintum eos cum dis habere commune.

(B) Sed uideo trium superiorum, quae nobiscum habent, duo etiam cum dis habere. [5]Animalia quippe esse dicit et deos, suaque cuique elementa distribuens in terrestribus animalibus [6]nos posuit cum ceteris quae in terra uiuunt et sentiunt, in aquatilibus pisces et alia natatilia, in aeriis daemones, [7]in aetheriis deos. Ac per hoc quod daemones genere sunt animalia, non solum eis cum hominibus, uerum etiam cum dis pecoribusque commune est; quod mente rationalia, cum dis et hominibus; quod tempore aeterna, cum dis solis; quod animo passiua, cum hominibus solis; quod corpore aeria, ipsi sunt soli.

(C) Proinde quod genere sunt animalia, non est magnum, quia hoc sunt et pecora; quod mente rationalia, non est supra nos, quia sumus et nos; quod tempore aeterna, quid boni est, si non beata? Melior est enim temporalis felicitas quam misera aeternitas. Quod animo passiua, quo modo supra nos est, quando et nos hoc sumus,

CHAPTER XVI.

What was the opinion of Apuleius the Platonist about the characters and actions of daemons.

1. idem Platonicus—*sc.* Apuleius, whose treatise "De Deo Socratis" lies behind many of A.'s statements in this chapter as in the last.

2. animi perturbationibus. See Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 11 and 12).

3. diuinationes augurum, etc.—*ibid.*, 13.

4. ait daemones esse. In the "De Deo Socrat." the true text seems to be *ingenio rationabilia* (rather than *mente rationalia*) *animo passiua.*

5. Animalia quippe esse dicit et deos—"De Deo Socrat.," 4.

6. nos posuit. *In terra praecipuum animal homines sumus* (*ibid.*, 3).

7. in aetheriis deos—*ibid.*, 3.

* "De Deo Socrat.," 12.

[8]nec ita esset, nisi miseri essemus ? [9]Quod corpore aeria, quanti aestimandum est, cum omni corpori praeferatur animae qualiscumque natura, et ideo religionis cultus, qui debetur ex animo, nequaquam debeatur ei rei, quae inferior est animo ?

(D) Porro si inter illa, quae daemonum esse dicit, adnumeraret uirtutem, sapientiam, felicitatem et haec eos diceret habere cum dis aeterna adque communia, profecto aliquid diceret exoptandum magnique pendendum; nec sic eos tamen propter haec tamquam Deum colere deberemus, sed potius ipsum, a quo haec illos accepisse nossemus. Quanto minus nunc honore diuino aeria digna sunt animalia, ad hoc rationalia ut misera esse possint, ad hoc passiua ut misera sint, ad hoc aeterna ut miseriam finire non possint !

CAPUT XVII.

AN DIGNUM SIT EOS SPIRITUS AB HOMINE COLI, A QUORUM VITIIS EUM OPORTEAT LIBERARI.

(A) Quapropter, ut omittam cetera et hoc solum pertractem, quod nobiscum daemones dixit habere commune, id est animi passiones, si omnia quattuor elementa suis animalibus plena sunt, inmortalibus ignis et aer, mortalibus aqua et terra, quaero quur animi daemonum passionum turbelis et tempestatibus agitentur. [1]Perturbatio est enim, quae Graece πάθος dicitur; unde [2]illa uoluit uocare animo passiua, quia uerbum de uerbo πάθος passio diceretur motus animi [3]contra rationem.

(B) Quur ergo sunt ista in animis daemonum, quae in pecoribus non sunt ? Quoniam si quid in pecore simile apparet, non est perturbatio, quia non est contra rationem, qua pecora carent. In hominibus autem ut sint istae perturbationes, facit hoc stultitia uel miseria; nondum enim sumus in illa perfectione sapientiae beati, quae nobis ab hac mortalitate liberatis in fine promittitur.

(C) Deos uero ideo dicunt istas perturbationes non perpeti, quia non solum aeterni, uerum etiam beati sunt. Easdem quippe animas

8. nec ita esset, nisi miseri essemus = "and that is the condition of our unhappiness." Cp. viii. 17 C.

9. Quod corpore aeria—"De Deo Socrat.," 10.

CHAPTER XVII.

Whether it is proper that man should worship those spirits from whose vices he ought to be delivered.

1. Perturbatio. Cicero adopted, and indeed claims to have originated, *perturbatio* as a translation of πάθος. See "Tusc. Disp.," iii. 47; iv. 5, 10; "De Fin.," iii. 10, 35.

2. illa—*sc.* the daemons, in agreement with *animalia*.

3. contra rationem. Cp. Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," iv. 6, 11): *Est igitur Zenonis haec definitio, ut perturbatio sit, quod πάθος ille dicit, auersa a recta ratione, contra naturam animi commotio.*

rationales etiam ipsos habere perhibent, sed ab omni labe ac peste purissimas. Quam ob rem si propterea di non perturbantur, quod animalia sunt beata, non misera, et propterea pecora non perturbantur, quod animalia sunt, quae nec beata possunt esse nec misera; restat ut daemones sicut homines ideo perturbentur, quod animalia sunt non beata, sed misera.

(D) Qua igitur insipientia uel potius amentia per aliquam religionem daemonibus subdimur, cum per ueram religionem ab ea uitiositate, in qua illis sumus similes, liberemur? Cum enim daemones, quod et iste Apuleius, quamuis eis plurimum parcat et diuinis honoribus dignos censeat, tamen cogitur confiteri, [4]ira instigentur, nobis uera religio praecipit, ne ira instigemur, sed [5] ei potius resistamus. Cum daemones donis inuitentur, nobis uera religio praecipit, ne cuiquam donorum acceptione faueamus. Cum daemones honoribus mulceantur, nobis uera religio praecipit, ut talibus nullo modo moueamur. Cum daemones quorundam hominum osores, quorundam amatores sint, non prudenti tranquilloque iudicio, sed animo ut appellat ipse passiuo, nobis uera religio praecipit, ut nostros etiam diligamus inimicos.

(E) Postremo omnem motum cordis et salum mentis omnesque turbelas et tempestates animi, quibus daemones aestuare adque fluctuare adserit, nos uera religio deponere iubet. Quae igitur causa est nisi stultitia errorque mirabilis, ut ei te facias uenerando humilem, cui te cupias uiuendo dissimilem; et religione colas, quem imitari nolis, [6]cum religionis summa sit imitari quem colis?

CAPUT XVIII.

QUALIS RELIGIO, SIT IN QUA DOCETUR, QUOD HOMINES, UT COMMENDENTUR DIS BONIS, DAEMONIBUS UTI DEBEANT ADVOCATIS.

(A) Frustra igitur eis Apuleius, et quicumque ita sentiunt, hunc detulit honorem, sic eos in aere medios inter aetherium caelum terramque constituens, ut, quoniam [1]nullus deus miscetur homini,

4. ira instigentur—"De Deo Socrat.," 12.

5. ei potius resistamus. A. has in mind such passages as Rom. xii. 19. Ephes. iv. 31 and, of course, especially Matt. v. 44. But there are times when anger, if it is unselfish, is a Christian duty. See 2 Cor. xi. 29; Eph. iv. 26.

6. cum religionis summa sit imitari quem colis. A profound spiritual law. It is the motive of the "De Imitatione Christi" of Thomas à Kempis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What kind of religion it is which teaches that men ought to employ the advocacy of daemons in order to win the favour of the good God.

1. nullus deus miscetur homini. A. must refer to Plato's saying: *θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται.* It is worth while to consult the whole passage ("Symp.," pp. 202 E-203 A). Cp. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 4).

quod *Platonem dixisse perhibent, [2]isti ad deos perferant preces hominum et inde ad homines inpetrata quae poscunt. Indignum enim putauerunt qui ista crediderunt misceri homines dis et deos hominibus; dignum autem misceri daemones et dis et hominibus, hinc petita qui adlegent, inde concessa qui adportent; ut uidelicet homo castus et ab artium magicarum sceleribus alienus eos patronos adhibeat, per quos illum di exaudiant, qui haec amant, quae ille non amando fit dignior, quem facilius et libentius exaudire debeant.

(B) Amant quippe illi scaenicas turpitudines, quas non amat pudicitia; amant in maleficiis magorum †"mille nocendi artes," quas non amat innocentia. Ergo et pudicitia et innocentia, si quid ab dis inpetrare uoluerit, non poterit suis meritis nisi suis interuenientibus inimicis. Non est quod iste poetica figmenta et theatrica ludibria iustificare conetur. Habemus contra ista magistrum eorum et tantae aput eos auctoritatis Platonem, si pudor humanus ita de se male meretur, ut non solum diligat turpia, uerum etiam diuinitati existimet grata.

CAPUT XIX.

DE INPIETATE ARTIS MAGICAE, QUAE PATROCINIO NITITUR SPIRITUUM MALIGNORUM.

(A) Porro aduersus magicas artes, de quibus quosdam nimis infelices et nimis inpios etiam gloriari libet, nonne ipsam [1]publicam lucem testem citabo? Quur enim tam grauiter ista plectuntur seueritate legum, si opera sunt numinum colendorum? An forte istas leges Christiani instituerunt, quibus artes magicae puniuntur? Secundum quem alium sensum, nisi quod haec maleficia generi humano perniciosa esse non dubium est, ait poeta clarissimus:

‡[2]Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
Dulce caput, magicas inuitam accingier artes?

(B) Illud etiam, quod alio loco de his artibus dicit:

§[3]Adque satas alio uidi traducere messes,

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2. isti ad deos perferant, etc. Apuleius describes the daemons as *inter terricolas caelicolasque uectores hinc precum, inde donorum* ("De Deo Socrat.," 5). Cp. viii. 20 A; 22 A; 24 M.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the impiety of the magical art which rests upon the support of malign spirits.

1. publicam lucem = "the light of public opinion."

2. Testor, cara, deos, etc. It is Dido who speaks to her sister Anna.

3. Adque satas, etc. The foregoing line—*Saepe animas imis exire sepulchris*—makes the construction plain. Cp. Tibullus ("Eleg.," i. 8, 19).

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* "Symp.," p. 203 A.
† Virg., "Aen.," vii. 338.
‡ Virg., "Aen.," iv. 492, 493.
§ "Eclog.," viii. 99.

eo quod hac pestifera sceleratagque doctrina fructus alieni in alias terras transferri perhibentur, nonne in duodecim tabulis, id est Romanorum antiquissimis legibus, [4]Cicero commemorat esse conscriptum et ei, qui hoc fecerit, supplicium constitutum ? Postremo [5]Apuleius ipse numquid aput Christianos iudices de magicis artibus accusatus est ? Quas utique sibi obiectas si diuinas et pias esse nouerat et diuinarum potestatum operibus congruas, non solum eas confiteri debuit, sed etiam profiteri, leges culpans potius, quibus haec prohiberentur et damnanda putarentur, quae haberi miranda et ueneranda oporteret.

(C) Ita enim uel sententiam suam persuaderet iudicibus, uel, si illi secundum iniquas leges saperent eumque talia praedicantem adque laudantem morte multarent, digna animae illius daemones dona rependerent, pro quorum diuinis operibus praedicandis humanam uitam sibi adimi non timeret; sicut martyres nostri, cum eis pro crimine obiceretur Christiana religio, qua nouerant se fieri saluos et gloriosissimos in aeternum, non eam negando temporales poenas euadere delegerunt, sed potius confitendo, profitendo, praedicando et pro hac omnia fideliter fortiterque tolerando et cum pia securitate moriendo leges, quibus prohibebatur, erubescere conpulerunt mutarique fecerunt.

(D) Huius autem philosophi Platonici [6]copiosissima et disertissima extat oratio, qua crimen artium magicarum a se alienum esse defendit seque aliter non uult innocentem uideri nisi ea negando, quae non possunt ab innocente committi. At omnia miracula magorum, quos recte sentit esse damnandos, doctrinis fiunt et operibus daemonum, quos uiderit quur censeat honorandos, eos necessarios adserens perferendis ad deos precibus nostris, quorum debemus opera deuitare, si ad Deum uerum preces nostras uolumus peruenire.

(E) Deinde quaero, quales preces hominum dis bonis per daemones adlegari putat, magicas an licitas ? [7]Si magicas, nolunt

4. Cicero commemorat—presumably in the "De Legibus," Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxviii. 2, 17) refers to the law which A. has here in mind: *Quid? non et legum ipsarum in duodecim tabulis uerba sunt "qui fruges excantassit" et alibi "qui malum carmen incantassit."* Cp. Seneca ("Natur. Quaest.," iv. 7). See Wordsworth, "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin" (Tab. viii., p. 260).

5. Apuleius ipse. He was tried on a charge of magic before Claudius Maximus, the proconsul, and, as A. here states, the pagan proconsul of Africa. Cp. A.'s letter to Marcellinus (cxxxviii. 8 and 9), and the preceding letter of Marcellinus to A. (cxxxvi. 1).

6. copiosissima et disertissima . . . oratio—the Apologia of Apuleius. Whether it was actually delivered or not, it was his reply to his accusers, the relations of his wife, who charged him with having induced her to marry him when she was a rich widow, well stricken in years, by the use of magical arts.

7. Si magicas, etc. = "If the prayers are magical, the good gods must repudiate such messages, and if they are lawful, such messengers."

tales; si licitas, nolunt per tales. Si autem peccator paenitens preces fundit, maxime si aliquid magicum admisit, itane tandem illis intercedentibus accipit ueniam, quibus inpellentibus aut fauentibus se cecidisse plangit in culpam ? an et ipsi daemones, ut possint paenitentibus mereri indulgentiam, priores agunt, quod eos deceperint, paenitentiam ? Hoc nemo umquam de daemonibus dixit, quia, si ita esset, nequaquam sibi auderent diuinos honores expetere, qui paenitendo desiderarent ad gratiam ueniae peruenire. Ibi enim est detestanda superbia, hic humilitas miseranda.

CAPUT XX.

AN CREDENDUM SIT QUOD DI BONI LIBENTIUS DAEMONIBUS QUAM HOMINIBUS MISCEANTUR.

(A) At enim urgens causa et artissima cogit daemones medios inter deos et homines agere, [1]ut ab hominibus adferant desiderata, et a dis referant inpetrata. Quaenam tandem ista causa est et quanta necessitas ? Quia [2]nullus, inquiunt, Deus miscetur homini. Praeclara igitur sanctitas Dei, qui non miscetur homini supplicanti, et miscetur daemoni adroganti; non miscetur homini paenitenti, et miscetur daemoni decipienti; non miscetur homini confugienti ad diuinitatem, et miscetur daemoni fingenti diuinitatem;

(B) Non miscetur homini petenti indulgentiam, et miscetur daemoni suadenti nequitiam; non miscetur homini per philosophicos libros poetas de bene instituta ciuitate pellenti, et miscetur daemoni a principibus et pontificibus ciuitatis per scaenicos ludos poetarum ludibria requirenti; non miscetur homini deorum crimina fingere prohibenti, et miscetur daemoni se falsis deorum criminibus oblectanti; non miscetur homini magorum scelera iustis legibus punienti, et miscetur daemoni magicas artes docenti et inplenti; non miscetur homini imitationem daemonis fugienti, et miscetur daemoni deceptionem hominis aucupanti.

CAPUT XXI.

AN DAEMONIBUS NUNTIIS ET INTERPRETIBUS DI UTANTUR, FALLIQUE SE AB EIS AUT IGNORENT AUT VELINT.

(A) Sed nimirum tantae huius absurditatis et indignitatis est magna necessitas, quod scilicet deos aetherios humana curantes

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CHAPTER XX.

Whether it is credible that the good gods would rather have intercourse with daemons than with men.

1. **ut ab hominibus,** etc. Cp. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 5).
2. **nullus . . . Deus miscetur homini.** Cp. viii. 18 A and note there.

quid terrestres homines agerent utique lateret, nisi daemones aerii nuntiarent; quoniam aether longe a terra est alteque suspensus, aer uero aetheri terraeque contiguus. O mirabilem sapientiam! Quid aliud de dis isti sentiunt, quos omnes optimos uolunt, nisi eos et humana curare, ne cultu uideantur indigni, et propter elementorum distantiam humana nescire, ut credantur daemones necessarii et ob hoc etiam ipsi putentur colendi, per quos di possint et quid in rebus humanis agatur addiscere et ubi oportet hominibus subuenire?

(B) Hoc si ita est, dis istis bonis magis notus est daemon per corpus uicinum quam homo per animum bonum. O multum dolenda necessitas, an potius inridenda uel detestanda uanitas, [1]ne sit uana diuinitas! Si enim animo ab obstaculo corporis libero animum nostrum uidere di possunt, non ad hoc indigent daemonibus nuntiis; si autem animorum indicia corporalia, qualia sunt locutio, uultus, motus, per corpus suum aetherii di sentiunt et inde colligunt quid etiam daemones nuntient, possunt et mendaciis daemonum decipi. Porro si deorum diuinitas a daemonibus non potest falli, eadem diuinitate quod agimus non potest ignorari.

(C) Vellem autem mihi isti dicerent, utrum dis daemones nuntiauerint de criminibus deorum poetica Platoni displicere figmenta et sibi ea placere celauerint, an utrumque occultauerint deosque esse maluerint totius rei huius ignaros, an utrumque indicauerint, et religiosam erga deos Platonis prudentiam et in deos iniuriosam libidinem suam, an *sententiam quidem Platonis, qua noluit deos per inpiam licentiam poetarum falsis criminibus infamari, ignotam dis esse uoluerint, suam uero nequitiam, qua ludos scaenicos amant, quibus illa deorum dedecora celebrantur, prodere non erubuerint uel timuerint.

(D) Horum quattuor, quae interrogando proposui, quodlibet eligant et in quolibet eorum quantum mali de dis bonis opinentur adtendant. Si enim primum elegerint, confessuri sunt non licuisse dis bonis habitare cum bono Platone, quando eorum iniurias prohibebat, et habitasse cum daemonibus malis, quando eorum iniuriis exultabant, cum di boni hominem bonum longe a se positum non

CHAPTER XXI.

Whether the gods use the daemons as messengers and interpreters and are either unaware of being deceived or are willing to be deceived by them.

1. ne sit uana diuinitas! = "to save the gods from futility"; because to represent the gods as dependent for information upon daemons is to reduce them to futility in the absence of daemonic agency.

* "Republ.," ii., pp. 377 *sqq.*

nisi per malos daemones nossent, [2]quos uicinos nosse [non] possent. Si autem secundum elegerint et utrumque occultatum a daemonibus dixerint, ut di omnino nescirent et Platonis religiosissimam legem et daemonum sacrilegam delectationem; quid in rebus humanis per internuntios daemones di nosse utiliter possunt, quando illa nesciunt, quae in honorem bonorum deorum religione bonorum hominum contra libidinem malorum daemonum decernuntur ?

(E) Si uero tertium elegerint et non solum sententiam Platonis deorum iniurias prohibentem, sed etiam daemonum nequitiam deorum iniuriis exultantem per eosdem daemones nuntios dis innotuisse responderint; hoc nuntiare est an insultare ? et di utrumque sic audiunt, sic utrumque cognoscunt, ut non solum malignos daemones deorum dignitati et Platonis religioni contraria cupientes adque facientes a suo accessu non arceant, uerum etiam per illos malos propinquos Platoni bono longinquo dona transmittant ? sic enim eos elementorum quasi catenata series conligauit, ut illis, a quibus criminantur, coniungi possint, huic, a quo defenduntur, non possint, [3]utrumque scientes, sed aeris et terrae transmutare pondera non ualentes.

(F) Iam, quod reliquum est, si quartum elegerint, peius est ceteris. Quis enim ferat, si poetarum de dis inmortalibus criminosa figmenta et theatrorum indigna ludibria suamque in his omnibus ardentissimam cupiditatem et suauissimam uoluptatem dis daemones nuntiauerunt, et quod Plato philosophica grauitate de optima re publica haec omnia censuit remouenda tacuerunt; ut iam di boni per tales nuntios nosse cogantur mala pessimorum, [4]nec aliena, sed eorundem nuntiorum, adque his contraria non sinantur nosse bona philosophorum, cum illa sint in iniuriam, ista in honorem ipsorum deorum ?

CAPUT XXII.

DE ABICIENDO CULTU DAEMONUM CONTRA APULEIUM.

(A) Quia igitur nihil istorum quattuor eligendum est, ne in quolibet eorum de dis tam male sentiatur, restat, ut nullo modo credendum sit, quod Apuleius persuadere nititur et quicumque

2. **quos uicinos nosse [non] possent.** The sense requires the omission of *non*. It was distance which prevented the gods, according to A.'s supposition, from knowing men; it was local contiguity which enabled them to know the daemons. There would be no equal point in saying, "Whom the gods could not know, although they were near to them." Cp. E below.

3. **utrumque scientes**—sc. *sententiam Platonis* and *daemonum nequitiam*.

4. **nec aliena,** etc. = "the evils not of other beings but of the messengers themselves."

alii sunt eiusdem sententiae philosophi, ita esse medios daemones inter deos et homines tamquam internuntios et interpretes, qui hinc ferant petitiones nostras, inde referant deorum subpetias; sed esse spiritus nocendi cupidissimos, a iustitia penitus alienos, superbia tumidos, inuidentia liuidos, fallacia callidos, qui in hoc quidem aere habitant, quia de caeli superioris sublimitate [1]deiecti merito inregressibilis transgressionis in hoc sibi congruo [2]uelut carcere praedamnati sunt; nec tamen, quia supra terras et aquas aeri locus est, ideo et ipsi sunt meritis superiores hominibus, qui eos non terreno corpore, sed electo in auxilium Deo uero pia mente facillime superant.

(B) Sed multis plane participatione uerae religionis indignis tamquam captis subditisque dominantur, quorum maximae parti mirabilibus et fallacibus signis siue factorum siue praedictorum deos se esse persuaserunt. Quisbusdam uero uitia eorum aliquanto adtentius et diligentius intuentibus non potuerunt persuadere quod di sint, adque inter deos et homines internuntios ac beneficiorum inpetratores se esse finxerunt; [3]si tamen non istum saltem honorem homines eis deferendum putarunt, qui illos nec deos esse credebant, quia malos uidebant, deos autem omnes bonos uolebant; nec aude bant tamen omnino indignos dicere honore diuino, maxime ne offenderent populos, a quibus eis cernebant inueterata superstitione per tot sacra et templa seruiri.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the duty of rejecting the worship of daemons despite the opinion of Apuleius.

1. deiecti. It would seem that A. combines the pagan theory of daemons with the Jewish theory of fallen angels; he stands closer in fact to Milton's "Paradise Lost" than to Hesiod's *θεογονία*. Cp. Is. xiv. 12; Luke x. 18.

2. uelut carcere. A. says elsewhere of the *mali angeli* as he calls the daemons: *Hunc inferum, hoc est inferiorem, caliginosum aerem tamquam carcerem acceperunt* ("De Nat. Bon. c. Manich.," 33). Cp. "De Gen. ad Litt.," iii. 15.

3. si tamen non istum saltem honorem, etc. = "although there were men who thought it was not right to pay them even that honour."

CAPUT XXIII.

QUID HERMES TRISMEGISTUS DE IDOLATRIA SENSERIT ET UNDE SCIRE POTUERIT SUPERSTITIONES AEGYPTIAS AUFERENDAS.

(A) Nam diuersa de illis [1]Hermes Aegyptius, quem Trismegistum uocant, sensit et scripsit. Apuleius enim [2]deos quidem illos negat; sed cum dicit ita inter deos et homines quadam medietate uersari, ut hominibus aput ipsos deos necessarii uideantur, cultum eorum a supernorum deorum religione non separat. Ille autem Aegyptius alios deos esse dicit a summo Deo factos, alios ab hominibus.

(B) Hoc qui audit, sicut a me positum est, putat dici de simulacris, quia opera sunt manuum hominum; at ille uisibilia et contrectabilia simulacra [3]uelut corpora deorum esse adserit; inesse autem his quosdam spiritus inuitatos, qui ualeant aliquid siue ad nocendum siue ad [4]desideria nonnulla conplenda eourm, a quibus eis diuini honores et cultus obsequia deferuntur. Hos ergo spiritus inuisibiles per artem quandam uisibilibus rebus corporalis materiae copulare, ut sint quasi animata corpora illis spiritibus dicata et subdita simulacra, hoc esse dicit deos facere eamque magnam et mirabilem deos faciendi accepisse homines potestatem.

(C) Huius Aegyptii uerba, sicut in nostram linguam interpretata sunt, ponam. *"Et quoniam de cognatione, inquit, et consortio hominum deorumque nobis indicitur sermo, potestatem hominis, o Asclepi, uimque cognosce. Dominus, inquit, et Pater uel quod

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CHAPTER XXIII.

What was the opinion of Hermes Trismegistus about idolatry and what can have been the sources of his knowledge that it was a duty to abolish the superstitions of Egypt.

1. Hermes Aegyptius. Hermes the Egyptian, known as Trismegistus, was an imaginary being, to whom the Neo-Platonists looked as the author of all true philosophical knowledge. There was a tradition that both Pythagoras and Plato had been his scholars. Some works attributed to him were apparently current as early as in the second century A.D. One of them, the dialogue entitled Ἀσκλήπιος, Apulcius translated into Latin. Cp. xviii. 39 D. Lactantius ("Diuin. Instit.," i. 6) tells that Mercury (Hermes), or one of the five Mercuries whom he recognises, fled to Egypt and there became the god Thoth. *Qui, tametsi homo, fuit tamen antiquissimus et instructissimus omni genere doctrinae, adeo ut ei multarum rerum et artium scientia Trismegisti nomen imponeret.* Iamblichus ("De Myst.," i. 1) says in a more scientific spirit θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμών, ὁ Ἑρμῆς, πάλαι δέδοκται καλῶς ἅπασι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἶναι κοινὸς, ὁ καὶ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης προεστηκὼς, εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ὅλοις, ᾧ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τὰ αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας εὑρήματα ἀνετίθεσαν, Ἑρμοῦ παντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συγγράματα ἐπονομάζοντες Cp. Cyril ("Con. Iulian," i. 30).

2. deos quidem illos negat—"De Deo Socrat.," 11.

3. uelut corpora deorum. A. expounds this view of animate images ("Epist.," ii. 102, 18 and 19).

4. desideria="desires" not "regrets" in ecclesiastical Latin.

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* "Asclep.," 23 and 24.

est summum, Deus, ut effector est deorum caelestium, ita homo fictor est deorum, qui in templis sunt humana proximitate contenti." Et paulo post: "Ita humanitas," inquit, "semper memor naturae et originis suae in illa diuinitatis imitatione perseuerat, ut, sicuti Pater ac Dominus, ut sui similes essent, deos fecit aeternos, ita humanitas deos suos [5]ex sui uultus similitudine figuraret."

(D) Hic cum Asclepius, [6]ad quem maxime loquebatur, ei respondisset adque dixisset: "Statuas dicis, o Trismegiste?" tum ille: "Statuas, inquit, o Asclepi, [7]uides quatenus tu ipse diffidas—statuas animatas sensu et spiritu plenas tantaque facientes et talia, statuas futurorum praescias eaque sorte, uate, somniis multisque aliis rebus praedicentes, inbecillitates hominibus facientes easque curantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis. An ignoras, o Asclepi, [8]quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli, aut, quod est uerius, translatio aut descensio omnium quae gubernantur adque exercentur in caelo. Ac si dicendum est uerius, terra nostra mundi totius est templum. Et tamen quoniam praescire cuncta prudentem decet, istud uos ignorare fas non est: Futurum tempus est, quo appareat Aegyptios incassum pia mente diuinitatem sedula religione seruasse."

(E) Deinde multis uerbis Hermes hunc locum exequitur, in quo uidetur hoc tempus preadicere, quo Christiana religio, quanto est ueracior adque sanctior, tanto uehementius et liberius cuncta fallacia figmenta subuertit, ut gratia uerissimi Saluatoris liberet hominem ab eis dis, quos facit homo, et ei Deo subdat, a quo factus est homo. Sed Hermes cum ista praedicit, uelut amicus eisdem ludificationibus daemonum loquitur, nec Christianum nomen euidenter exprimit, sed tamquam ea tollerentur adque delerentur, quorum obseruatione caelestis similitudo custodiretur in Aegypto, ita haec futura deplorans luctuosa quodam modo praedicatione testatur.

(F) Erat enim de his, de quibus dicit apostolus, quod *[9]*cognoscentes Deum non sicut Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt, sed* [10]*euanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum; dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt et inmutauerunt*

5. ex sui uultus similitudine. That man has made his gods in his own image (but more often morally than physically) is a principle first stated, I think, by Aristotle ("Pol.," i. 2, 7).

6. ad quem maxime loquebatur. The "Asclepius" is a dialogue between Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius himself.

7. uides quatenus, etc. = "You see how great an unbeliever you yourself are." *uidesne,* although it has less authority than *uides* here, is the reading in Apuleius.

8. quod Aegyptus imago sit caeli—a phrase explained by E below.

9. cognoscentes = γνόντες.

10. euanuerunt = ἐματαιώθησαν.

* Rom. i. 21-23.

gloriam incorrupti Dei [11]*in similitudinem imaginis* [12]*corruptibilis hominis* et cetera, quae commemorare longum est.

(G) Multa quippe talia dicit de uno uero Deo fabricatore mundi, qualia ueritas habet; et nescio quo modo illa obscuratione cordis ad ista delabitur, ut dis, quos confitetur ab hominibus fieri, semper uelit homines subdi et haec futuro tempore plangat auferri quasi quicquam sit infelicius homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur; cum sit facilius, ut tamquam deos colendo, quos fecit, [13]nec ipse sit homo, quam ut per eius cultum di possint esse, quos fecit homo. Citius enim fit, ut *"' homo in honore positus [14]pecoribus non intellegens conparetur," quam ut operi Dei ad eius imaginem facto, id est ipsi homini, opus hominis praeferatur. Quapropter merito homo [15]deficit ab illo qui eum fecit, cum sibi praeficit ipse quod fecit.

(H) Haec uana, deceptoria, perniciosa, sacrilega Hermes Aegyptius, quia tempus, quo auferrentur, uenturum sciebat, dolebat; sed tam inpudenter dolebat, quam inprudenter sciebat. Non enim haec ei reuelauerat sanctus Spiritus, sicut prophetis sanctis, qui haec praeuidentes cum exultatione dicebant: †*Si* [16]*faciet homo deos, et ecce ipsi non sunt di; et alio loco:* ‡*Erit in illo die, dicit* [17]*Dominus, exterminabo nomina simulacrorum a terra, et non iam erit eorum memoria;* proprie uero de Aegypto, quod ad hanc rem adtinet, ita sanctus Esaias prophetat: §*Et mouebuntur manufacta Aegypti a facie eius, et cor eorum uincetur in eis*, et cetera huius modi.

(I) Ex quo genere et illi erant, qui uenturum quod sciebant uenisse gaudebant; qualis Symeon, qualis Anna, qui mox natum Iesum, qualis Elisabeth, quae etiam conceptum in Spiritu agnouit; qualis Petrus reuelante Patre dicens: ‖*Tu es Christus, filius De uiui.* Huic autem Aegyptio illi spiritus indicauerant futura tempora perditionis suae, qui etiam praesenti in carne Domino trementes dixerunt: ¶[18]*Quid uenisti ante tempus* [19]*perdere nos?* siue quia subitum illis fuit, quod futurum quidem, sed tardius opinabantur, siue quia

11. in similitudinem = ἐν ὁμοιώματι.
12. corruptibilis = φθαρτοῦ.
13. nec ipse sit homo = " He may himself cease to be man."
14. pecoribus non intellegens = τοῖς κτήνεσιν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις (LXX).
15. deficit . . . fecit . . . praeficit . . . fecit—almost an extreme instance of A.'s fondness for variations of the same word.
16. faciet = ποιήσει ἑαυτῷ (LXX).
17. Dominus = κύριος σαβαώθ (LXX).
18. Quid uenisti = ἦλθες ὧδε.
19. perdere = βασανίσαι.

* Ps. xlix. 12.
‡ Zech. xiii. 2.
‖ Matt. xvi. 16.
† Jer. xvi. 20.
§ Is. xix. 1.
¶ Matt. viii. 29.

perditionem suam hanc ipsam dicebant, qua fiebat ut cogniti spernerentur,

(K) Et hoc erat ante tempus, id est ante tempus iudicii, quo aeterna damnatione puniendi sunt cum omnibus etiam hominibus, qui eorum societate detinentur, sicut religio loquitur quae nec fallit nec fallitur, non sicut [20]iste quasi **omni uento doctrinae hinc adque inde perflatus* et falsis uera permiscens dolet quasi perituram religionem, [21]quem postea confitetur errorem.

CAPUT XXIV.

QUO MODO HERMES PARENTUM SUORUM SIT CONFESSUS ERROREM, QUEM TAMEN DOLUERIT DESTRUENDUM.

(A) Post multa enim ad hoc ipsum redit, ut iterum dicat de dis, quos homines fecerunt, ita loquens: †"Sed iam de talibus sint satis dicta talia. Iterum, inquit, ad hominem rationemque redeamus, ex quo diuino dono [1]homo animal dictum est rationale. Minus enim miranda, etsi miranda sunt, quae de homine dicta sunt. Omnium enim mirabilium uicit admirationem quod homo diuinam potuit inuenire naturam [2]eamque efficere.

(B) Quoniam ergo proaui nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli et non animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam, inuenerunt artem, qua efficerent deos. Cui inuentae adiunxerunt [3]uirtutem de mundi natura conuenientem, eamque miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant, euocantes animas daemonum uel angelorum eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis diuinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi et male uires habere potuissent."

(C) Nescio utrum sic confiterentur ipsi daemones adiurati, quo modo iste confessus est. "Quoniam, inquit, proaui nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli et non animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam, inuenerunt artem qua efficerent

20. iste—*sc.* Hermes Trismegistus.

21. quem postea confitetur errorem. If *quem* (rather than *quam*) is the true reading, it agrees by attraction with *errorem*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How Hermes confessed the error of his forefathers, although he lamented that it should be destroyed.

1. homo—which some MSS. here omit, occurs in the text of Apuleius (37).

2. eamque efficere—because some gods are *ab hominibus facti* (viii. 23 A). Cp. Apuleius ("Asclep.," 37).

3. uirtutem="power" or "force" or "energy."

* Eph. iv. 14. † "Asclep.," 37.

deos." Numquidnam saltem mediocriter eos dixit errasse, ut hanc artem inuenirent faciendi deos, aut contentus fuit dicere: Errabant, nisi adderet et diceret: Multum errabant ? Iste ergo multus error et incredulitas non animaduertentium ad cultum religionemque diuinam inuenit artem, qua efficeret deos.

(D) Et tamen quod multus error et incredulitas et a cultu ac religione diuina auersio animi inuenit, ut homo arte faceret deos, hoc dolet uir sapiens tamquam religionem diuinam uenturo certo tempore auferri. Vide si non et ui diuina maiorum suorum errorem praeteritum prodere, et ui diabolica poenam daemonum futuram dolere conpellitur. Si enim proaui eorum multum errando circa deorum rationem incredulitate et auersione animi a cultu ac religione diuina inuenerunt artem, qua efficerent deos; quid mirum, si, haec ars detestanda quidquid fecit auersa a religione diuina, aufertur religione diuina, cum ueritas emendat errorem, fides redarguit incredulitatem, conuersio corrigit auersionem ?

(E) Si enim tacitis causis dixisset proauos suos inuenisse artem qua facerent deos, nostrum fuit utique, si quid rectum piumque saperemus, adtendere et uidere nequaquam illos ad hanc artem peruenturos fuisse, qua homo deos facit, si a ueritate non aberrarent, si ea, quae Deo digna sunt, crederent, si animum aduerterent ad cultum religionemque diuinam; et tamen si causas artis huius nos diceremus multum errorem hominum et incredulitatem et animi errantis adque infidelis a diuina religione auersionem, utcumque ferenda esset inpudentia resistentium ueritati.

(F) Cum uero idem ipse, qui potestatem huius artis super omnia cetera [4]miratur in homine, qua illi deos facere concessum est, et [5]dolet uenturum esse tempus, quo haec omnia [6]deorum figmenta ab hominibus instituta etiam legibus iubeantur auferri, confitetur tamen adque exprimit causas, quare ad ista peruentum sit, dicens [7]proauos suos multo errore et incredulitate et animum non aduertendo ad cultum religionemque diuinam inuenisse hanc artem, qua facerent deos: nos quid oportet dicere, uel potius quid agere nisi quantas possumus gratias Domino Deo nostro, qui haec contrariis causis, quam instituta sunt, abstulit ?

(G) Nam quod instituit multitudo erroris, abstulit uia ueritatis; quod instituit incredulitas, abstulit fides; quod instituit a cultu diuinae

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4. miratur in homine. Cp. Apuleius ("Asclep.," 37): *Omnium mirabilium uincit admirationem, quod homo diuinam potuit inuenire naturam eamque efficere.*

5. dolet uenturum esse tempus—*ibid.*, 24.

6. deorum figmenta. Cp. *Sic deorum fictor est homo* (*ibid.*, 38).

7. proauos suos, etc—*ibid.*, 37.

religionis auersio, abstulit ad unum uerum Deum sanctumque conuersio; nec in sola Aegypto, quam solam in isto plangit [8]daemonum spiritus, sed in omni terra, quae cantat Domino canticum nouum, sicut uere sacrae et uere propheticae litterae praenuntiarunt, ubi scriptum est: **Cantate Domino canticum nouum, cantate Domino omnis terra.* [9]Titulus quippe psalmi huius est: *Quando domus aedificabatur post captiuitatem.* Aedificatur enim domus Domino ciuitas Dei, quae est sancta ecclesia, in omni terra post eam captiuitatem, qua illos homines, de quibus credentibus in Deum †[10]tamquam lapidibus uiuis domus aedificatur, captos daemonia possidebant. Neque enim, quia deos homo faciebat, ideo non ab eis possidebatur ipse qui fecerat, quando in eorum societatem colendo traducebatur; societatem dico non idolorum stolidorum, sed uersutorum daemoniorum.

(H) Nam quid sunt idola, nisi quod eadem scriptura dicit: ‡*Oculos habent, et non uidebunt*, et quidquid tale de materiis, licet adfabre effigiatis, tamen uita sensuque carentibus dicendum fuit. Sed inmundi spiritus eisdem simulacris arte illa nefaria conligati cultorum suorum animas in suam societatem redigendo miserabiliter captiuauerant. Unde dicit apostolus: §*Scimus quia* [11]*nihil est idolum; sed quae immolant gentes daemoniis immolant, et non Deo; nolo uos socios fieri daemoniorum.*

(I) Post hanc ergo captiuitatem, qua homines a malignis daemonibus tenebantur, Dei domus aedificatur in omni terra; unde titulum ille psalmus accepit, ubi dicitur: ‖*Cantate Domino canticum nouum, cantate Domino omnis terra. Cantate Domino, benedicite nomen eius,* [12]*bene nuntiate diem ex die salutare eius. Adnuntiate in gentibus gloriam eius, in omnibus populis mirabilia eius; quoniam magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis, terribilis est super omnes deos. Quia omnes di gentium daemonia, dominus autem caelos fecit.*

(K) Qui ergo doluit uenturum fuisse tempus, quo auferretur cultus idolorum et in eos, qui colerent, dominatio daemoniorum, malo spiritu instigatus semper uolebat istam captiuitatem manere

8. daemonum spiritus—*i.e.*, the spirit of the daemons residing in their votaries, as here in Hermes (*in isto*).

9. Titulus . . . psalmi huius. The title as here given is the Vulgate translation of one of the inscriptions in the LXX Version of the Psalter ὅτε ὁ οἶκος ᾠκοδομεῖτο μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. It indicates that the Psalm was composed after the Return from Captivity for the services of the second temple.

10. tamquam lapidibus uiuis. Cp. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

11. nihil est idolum=οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ.

12. bene nuntiate=εὐαγγελίζεσθε (LXX.).

* Ps. xcvi. 1-4. † 1 Pet. ii. 5. ‡ Ps. cxv. 5.
§ 1 Cor. viii. 4; x. 20. ‖ Ps. xcvi. 1-5.

qua transacta psalmus canit aedificari domum in omni terra. Praenuntiabati illa Hermes dolendo; praenuntiabat haec[13] propheta gaudendo. Et quia Spiritus uictor est, qui haec per sanctos prophetas canebat, etiam Hermes ipse ea, quae nolebat et dolebat auferri, non a prudentibus et fidelibus et religiosis, sed ab errantibus et incredulis et a cultu diuinae religionis auersis esse instituta miris modis coactus est confiteri.

(L) Qui quamuis eos appellet deos, tamen cum dicit a talibus hominibus factos, quales esse utique non debemus, uelit nolit, ostendit colendos non esse ab eis, qui tales non sunt, quales fuerunt a quibus facti sunt, hoc est a prudentibus, fidelibus, religiosis; simul etiam demonstrans ipsos homines, qui eos fecerunt, sibimet inportasse, ut eos haberent deos, qui non erant di. Verum est quippe illud propheticum: *[14]*Si faciet homo deos, et ecce ipsi non sunt di.* Deos ergo tales, talium deos, arte factos a talibus, cum appellasset Hermes, id est idolis daemones per artem nescio quam cupiditatum suarum uinculis inligatos cum appellaret factos ab hominibus deos, non tamen eis dedit, quod Platonicus Apuleius (unde iam satis diximus et quam sit inconueniens absurdumque monstrauimus), ut ipsi essent interpretes et intercessores inter deos, quos fecit Deus, et homines, quos idem fecit Deus; hinc adferentes uota, inde munera referentes.

(M) Nimis enim stultum est credere deos, quos fecerunt homines, plus ualere aput deos, quos fecit Deus, quam ualent ipsi homines quos idem ipse fecit Deus. Daemon quippe simulacro arte inpia conligatus ab homine factus est deus, sed tali homini, non omni homini. Qualis est ergo iste deus, quem non faceret homo nisi errans et incredulus et auersus a uero Deo ?

(N) Porro si daemones, qui coluntur in templis, per artem nescio

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13. propheta. The description of the Psalmists as *prophetae* has been illustrated in the note on i. 7 B. It is very frequent in A. Such passages as Matt. vii. 12 and Luke xvi. 16 show that the Old Testament was popularly divided into the law and the prophets. But A. goes even further; for in xi. 4 A the author of Genesis is called *propheta;* cp. *prophetica auctoritas* (xi. 8 C). The fact is that in his eyes, as all the Old Testament is prophetic in virtue of its prospective reference to the Messiah, so all its authors are justly entitled to the name of "prophets." He discusses (xvii. 1) the twofold sense of prophecy, according as it means (*a*) the prophets strictly so-called from the time of Samuel to the return of the Jews from the Captivity; (*b*) all persons who were concerned, directly or indirectly, in the prediction or the manifestation of the City of God. Cp. xviii. 38. Even outside the Canon the apocryphal book of Enoch is regarded as entitling its putative author to rank among the prophets (xv. 23 Q; xviii. 38 A). Nay, the LXX translation of the Old Testament is also *prophetia* (xviii. 44 D). A. says of David: *Omnis fere prophetia eius in psalmis est* (xvii. 14 A).

14. Si faciet, etc. = *εἰ ποιήσει ἑαυτῷ ἄνθωπος θεοὺς καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί* (LXX).

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* Jer. xvi. 20.

quam [15]imaginibus inditi, hoc est uisibilibus simulacris, ab eis hominibus, qui hac arte fecerunt deos, cum aberrarent auersique essent a cultu et religione diuina, non sunt internuntii nec interpretes inter homines et deos et propter suos pessimos ac turpissimos mores, et quod homines, quamuis errantes et increduli et auersi a cultu ac religione diuina, tamen eis sine dubio meliores sunt, quos deos ipsi arte fecerunt; restat, ut, [16]quod possunt, tamquam daemones possint, uel quasi beneficia praestando magis nocentes, quia magis decipientes, uel aperte malefaciendo (nec tamen quodlibet horum, nisi quando permittuntur alta et secreta Dei prouidentia), non autem tamquam medii inter homines et deos per amicitiam deorum multum aput homines ualeant.

(o) Hi enim dis bonis, quos sanctos angelos nos uocamus rationalesque creaturas sanctae caelestis habitationis [17]siue sedes siue dominationes siue principatus siue potestates, amici esse omnino non possunt, a quibus tam longe absunt animi affectione, quam longe absunt a uirtutibus uitia et a bonitate malitia.

CAPUT XXV.

DE HIS, QUAE SANCTIS ANGELIS ET HOMINIBUS BONIS POSSUNT ESSE COMMUNIA.

(A) Nullo modo igitur per daemonum quasi medietatem [1]ambiendum est ad beneuolentiam seu beneficentiam deorum uel potius angelorum bonorum, sed per bonae uoluntatis similitudinem, qua cum illis sumus et cum illis uiuimus et cum illis Deum quem colunt colimus, etsi eos carnalibus oculis uidere non possumus; in quantum autem dissimililtudine uoluntatis et fragilitate infirmitatis miseri sumus, in tantum ab eis longe sumus uitae merito, non corporis loco.

(B) Non enim quia in terra condicione carnis habitamus, sed si inmunditia cordis [2]terrena sapimus, non eis iungimur. Cum uero

15. imaginibus inditi—an expression borrowed from Apuleius; cp. viii. 24 B.

16. quod possunt, tamquam daemones possint = "The power which they possess they possess as daemons."

17. siue sedes, etc. For the celestial hierarchy see Bishop Lightfoot's note on Col. i. 16 and Dean Robinson's on Eph. i. 21. Cp. x. 1 C. A. speaks of *uirtutes* generally (x. 19 B) and of *uirtutes Dei* (xix. 23 P).

CHAPTER XXV.

Of those things which may be common to the holy angels and to good men.

1. ambiendum est = "It is necessary to take a roundabout route"—by the use of intermediaries.

2. terrena sapimus. The phrase is St. Paul's "to mind earthly things"—*i.e.*, "to have an earthly mind" (Phil. iii. 19).

sanamur, ut quales ipsi sunt simus; fide illis [3]interim propinquamus, si ab illo nos fieri beatos, a quo et ipsi facti sunt, etiam ipsis fauentibus credimus.

CAPUT XXVI.

QUOD OMNIS RELIGIO PAGANORUM CIRCA HOMINES MORTUOS FUERIT INPLICATA.

(A) Sane aduertendum est, quo modo [1]iste Aegyptius, cum doleret tempus esse uenturum, quo illa auferrentur ex Aegypto, quae fatetur a multum errantibus et incredulis et a cultu diuinae religionis auersis esse instituta, ait inter cetera: *"Tunc terra ista, sanctissima sedes delubrorum adque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima"; quasi uero, si illa non auferrentur, non essent homines morituri, aut alibi essent mortui ponendi quam in terra; et utique, quanto plus uolueretur temporis et dierum, tanto maior esset numerus sepulcrorum propter maiorem numerum mortuorum.

(B) Sed hoc uidetur dolere, quod [2]memoriae martyrum nostrorum templis eorum delubrisque succederent, ut uidelicet, qui haec legunt animo a nobis auerso adque peruerso, putent a paganis cultos fuisse deos in templis, a nobis autem coli mortuos in sepulcris. Tanta enim homines inpii caecitate in montes quodam modo offendunt resque oculos suos ferientes nolunt uidere, ut non adtendant in omnibus litteris paganorum aut non inueniri aut uix inueniri deos, [3]qui non homines fuerint mortuisque diuini honores delati sint.

(C) Omitto, quod Varro dicit omnes ab eis mortuos existimari [4]manes deos et probat per ea sacra, quae omnibus fere mortuis exhibentur, ubi et ludos commemorat funebres, tamquam hoc sit maximum diuinitatis indicium, quod non soleant ludi nisi numinibus celebrari.

(D) Hermes ipse, de quo nunc agitur, in eodem ipso libro, ubi quasi futura praenuntiando deplorans ait: "Tunc terra ista,

3. **interim** = "in this present life." The word implies that the approximation or assimilation will be perfected in the future life.

CHAPTER XXVI.

That the religion of the pagans has been all concerned with men who were dead.

1. **iste Aegyptius**—*sc.*, Hermes Trismegistus.

2. **memoriae** = "shrines," properly "memorial shrines." See note on i. 4 B.

3. **qui non homines fuerint**—in accordance with the Euhemeran theory, to which A. here gives his definite support. See note on iv. 27 B.

4. **manes deos** = "Divine spirits." Of this phrase Apuleius says *scilicet honoris gratia Dei uocabulum additum est* ("De Deo Socrat.," 15).

* "Asclep.," 24.

sanctissima sedes delubrorum adque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima," deos Aegypti homines mortuos esse testatur. Cum enim dixisset proauos suos multum errantes circa deorum rationem, incredulos et non animaduertentes ad cultum religionemque diuinam, inuenisse artem, qua efficerent deos: "Cui inuentae, inquit, adiunxerunt uirtutem de mundi natura conuenientem eamque miscentes, quoniam animas facere non poterant, euocantes animas daemonum uel angelorum eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis diuinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi et male uires habere potuissent."

(E) Deinde sequitur tamquam hoc exemplis probaturus et dicit: *[5]"Auus enim tuus, o Asclepi, medicinae primus inuentor, cui templum consecratum est in monte Libyae circa litus crocodilorum, in quo eius iacet mundanus homo, id est corpus—[6]reliquus enim, uel potius totus, si est homo totus in sensu uitae—melior remeauit in caelum, omnia etiam nunc hominibus adiumenta praestans infirmis numine nunc suo, quae solent medicinae arte praeberi." Ecce dixit mortuum coli pro deo in eo loco, ubi habebat sepulcrum, falsus ac fallens, quod remeauit in caelum.

(F) Adiungens deinde aliud "Hermes," inquit, [7]"cuius auitum mihi nomen est, nonne [8]in sibi cognomine patria consistens omnes mortales undique uenientes adiuuat adque conseruat?" Hic enim Hermes maior, id est Mercurius, quem dicit auum suum fuisse, in Hermopoli, hoc est in sui nominis ciuitate, esse perhibetur. Ecce duos deos dicit homines fuisse, Aesculapium et Mercurium. Sed de Aesculapio et Graeci et Latini hoc idem sentiunt; Mercurium autem multi non putant fuisse mortalem, quem tamen iste auum suum fuisse testatur. At enim alius est ille, alius iste, quamuis eodem nomine nuncupentur. Non multum pugno, alius ille sit,

5. Auus . . . tuus—*sc.* Asclepius, the fabled son of Apollo and the inventor of medicine as a science.

6. reliquus enim, etc. If the sentence is to be made grammatical, the clause *reliquus enim . . . melior* must be treated as a parenthesis. It is the difficulty of construction which probably accounts for the variety of readings in the MSS. The text of Apuleius is *quae anta . . . solebat praebere.*

7. cuius auitum mihi nomen est. For Hermes Trismegistus was represented as the grandson of the god Hermes.

8. in sibi cognomine patria—*sc.* Hermopolis. There were two cities of that name in Egypt. This must be the greater Hermopolis, a city of Middle Egypt, the chief seat of the worship of Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes. The remains of it are now called Eshman. Beni-hassan, although situated on the opposite bank of the Nile, was the burying-ground of the Hermopolitans. Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," v. 9, 49) mentions the *Hermopolites nomus* or *praefectura*, of which Hermopolis was the principal city. Strabo ("Geogr.," xvii. 1, 19, p. 802) treats Ἑρμοῦ πόλις as situate within the Σεβεννυτικὸς νομός.

* "Asclep.," 37.

alius iste; uerum et iste, sicut Aesculapius, ex homine deus secundum testimonium tanti aput suos uiri, huius Trismegisti, nepotis sui.

(G) Adhuc addit et dicit: *[9] "Isin uero Osiris quam multa bona praestare propitiam, quantis obesse scimus iratam!" Deinde ut ostenderet ex hoc genere esse deos, quos illa arte homines faciunt (unde dat intellegi daemones se opinari ex hominum mortuorum animis extitisse, quos per artem, quam inuenerunt [10]homines multum errantes, increduli et inreligiosi, ait inditos simulacris, quia hi, qui tales deos faciebant, animas facere non utique poterant), cum de Iside dixisset, quod commemoraui, "quantis obesse scimus iratam," secutus adiunxit: "Terrenis etenim dis adque mundanis facile est irasci, utpote qui sint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti adque conpositi." "Ex utraque natura" dicit ex anima et corpore, ut pro anima sit daemon, pro corpore simulacrum.

(H) "Unde contigit," inquit, "ab Aegyptiis haec sancta animalia nuncupari colique per singulas ciuitates eorum animas, quorum sunt consecratae uiuentes, ita ut eorum legibus incolantur et eorum nominibus nuncupentur." Ubi est illa uelut querela luctuosa, quod terra Aegypti, sanctissima sedes delubrorum adque templorum, sepulcrorum futura esset mortuorumque plenissima? Nempe spiritus fallax, cuius instinctu Hermes ista dicebat, per eum ipsum coactus est confiteri iam tunc illam terram sepulcrorum et mortuorum, quos pro dis colebant, fuisse plenissimam. Sed dolor daemonum per eum loquebatur, qui suas futuras poenas aput sanctorum martyrum memorias inminere maerebant. In multis enim talibus locis [11]torquentur et confitentur et de possessis hominum corporibus eiciuntur.

CAPUT XXVII.

DE MODO HONORIS, QUEM CHRISTIANI MARTYRIBUS INPENDUNT.

(A) Nec tamen nos eisdem martyribus templa, sacerdotia, sacra et sacrificia constituimus, quoniam non ipsi, sed Deus eorum

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9. Isin . . . Osiris = "Isis the wife of Osiris." See note on vi. 10 F.

10. homines multum errantes, etc. Cp. Apuleius ("Asclep.," 37).

11. torquentur et confitentur, etc. Demoniacal possession and as its consequence exorcism were regarded by the primitive Church as established facts. It is impossible in the light of our Lord's language and conduct to deny them. Nature is still full of mysteries—above all the spiritual nature of man—and every mystery is a great possibility.

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* "Asclep.," 37.

nobis est Deus. Honoramus sane [1]memorias eorum tamquam sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad mortem corporum suorum pro ueritate certarunt, ut innotesceret uera religio falsis fictisque conuictis; quod etiam si qui antea sentiebant, timendo reprimebant.

(B) Quis autem audiuit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare, etiam super sanctum corpus martyris ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum, dicere in precibus: Offero tibi sacrificium Petre uel Paule uel [2]Cypriane, cum aput eorum memorias offeratur Deo, qui eos et homines et martyres fecit et sanctis suis angelis caelesti honore sociauit, ut ea celebritate et Deo uero de illorum uictoriis gratias agamus et nos ad imitationem talium coronarum adque palmarum eodem inuocato in auxilium ex illorum memoriae renouatione adhortemur ?

(C) Quaecumque igitur adhibentur religiosorum obsequia in martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt memoriarum, non sacra uel sacrificia mortuorum tamquam deorum. Quicumque etiam [3]epulas suas eo deferunt (quod quidem a Christianis melioribus non fit, et in plerisque terrarum nulla talis est consuetudo)—tamen quicumque id faciunt, quas cum adposuerint, orant et auferunt, ut uescantur uel ex eis etiam indigentibus largiantur, sanctificari sibi eas uolunt per merita martyrum in nomine domini martyrum. Non autem esse ista sacrificia martyrum nouit, qui nouit unum, quod etiam illic offertur, sacrificium Christianorum.

(D) Nos itaque martyres nostros nec diuinis honoribus nec humanis criminibus colimus, sicut colunt illi deos suos, nec sacrificia illis offerimus, nec eorum probra in eorum sacra conuertimus. Nam de Iside, uxore Osiris, Aegyptia dea, et [4]de parentibus eorum, qui omnes reges fuisse scribuntur (quibus parentibus suis illa cum sacrificaret, [5]inuenit hordei segetem adque inde spicas marito regi et eius consiliario Mercurio demonstrauit, unde eandem et Cererem uolunt), quae et quanta mala non a poetis, sed mysticis eorum litteris memoriae mandata sint, sicut [6]Leone sacerdote prodente

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the kind of honour which Christians pay to martyrs.

1. memorias. *Memoria* in this chapter varies in meaning between "memorial" and "memory."

2. Cypriane—the great bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248-258.

3. epulas suas eo deferunt. For this practice of bringing viands to the shrines of martyrs see A. ("Confess.," vi. 2).

4. de parentibus eorum—*sc.* Cronos and Rhea. See Diodorus Siculus ("Biblioth. Hist.," i. 13).

5. inuenit hordei segetem. Diodorus (*loc. cit.* 14) relates the popular belief: *τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν μεθερμηνεύομενον εἶναι Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἶσιν ἔγγιστά πως Δήμητραν.*

6. Leone sacerdote. See xii. 11.

ad Olympiadem matrem scribit Alexander, legant qui uolunt uel possunt, et recolant qui legerunt, et uideant quibus hominibus mortuis uel de quibus eorum factis tamquam dis sacra fuerint instituta.

(E) Absit ut eos, quamuis deos habeant, sanctis martyribus nostris, quos tamen deos non habemus, ulla ex parte audeant conparare. Sic enim non constituimus sacerdotes nec offerimus sacrificia martyribus nostris, quia incongruum, indebitum, inlicitum est adque uni Deo tantummodo debitum, ut nec criminibus suis nec ludis eos turpissimis oblectemus, ubi uel flagitia isti celebrant deorum suorum, si, cum homines essent, talia commiserunt, uel conficta delectamenta daemonum noxiorum, si homines non fuerunt. Ex isto genere daemonum Socrates non haberet deum, si haberet deum; sed fortasse homini ab illa arte faciendi deos alieno et innocenti illi inportauerint talem deum, qui eadem arte excellere uoluerunt.

(F) Quid ergo plura? Non esse spiritus istos colendos propter uitam beatam, quae post mortem futura est, nullus uel mediocriter prudens ambigit. Sed fortasse dicturi sunt deos quidem esse omnes bonos, daemones autem alios malos, alios bonos, et eos, per quos ad uitam in aeternum beatam perueniamus, colendos esse censebunt, quos bonos opinantur. Quod quale sit iam in uolumine sequenti uidendum est.

LIBER IX

CAPUT I.

AD QUEM ARTICULUM DISPUTATIO PRAEMISSA PERVENERIT ET QUID DISCUTIENDUM SIT DE RESIDUA QUAESTIONE.

(A) Et bonos et malos deos esse quidam opinati sunt; quidam uero de dis meliora sentientes tantum eis honoris laudisque tribuerunt, ut nullum deorum malum credere auderent. Sed illi, qui deos quosdam bonos, quosdam malos esse dixerunt, daemones quoque appellauerunt nomine deorum, quamquam et deos, sed rarius, nomine daemonum, ita ut[1] ipsum Iouem, quem uolunt esse regem ac principem ceterorum, ab Homero fateantur daemonem nuncupatum.

(B) Hi autem, qui omnes deos non nisi bonos esse adserunt et longe praestantiores eis hominibus, qui perhibentur boni, merito mouentur daemonum factis, quae negare non possunt, eaque nullo modo a dis, quos omnes bonos uolunt, committi posse existimantes differentiam inter deos et daemones adhibere coguntur, ut, quidquid eis merito displicet in operibus uel adfectibus prauis, quibus uim suam manifestant occulti spiritus, id credant esse daemonum, non deorum.

(C) Sed quia eosdem daemones inter homines et deos ita medios constitutos putant, tamquam nullus deus homini misceatur, ut hinc perferant desiderata, inde referant inpetrata, adque hoc Platonici, praecipui philosophorum ac nobilissimi, sentiunt, cum quibus[2] uelut cum excellentioribus placuit istam examinare quaestionem, utrum cultus plurimorum deorum prosit ad consequendam uitam beatam quae post mortem futura est: libro superiore quaesiuimus, quo pacto daemones, qui talibus gaudent, qualia boni et prudentes homines auersantur et damnant, id est sacrilega, flagitiosa, facinorosa

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CHAPTER I.

What is the point which has been reached in the argument hitherto and what is the question which remains to be discussed.

1. ipsum Iouem. See Plutarch ("De Orac. Defect.," p. 415, 47 *sqq.*), especially Ἑλλήνων δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν φαίνεται κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Cp. *ibid.*, p. 421, 40 *sqq.* His statement may find its justification in such a passage as "Iliad," i. 22, where Zeus is or seems to be included among the δαίμονες.

2. uelut cum excellentioribus. Cp. viii. 5 A.

non de quolibet homine, sed de ipsis dis figmenta poetarum et magicarum artium sceleratam puniendamque uiolentiam, possint quasi propinquiores et amiciores dis bonis conciliare homines bonos; et hoc nulla ratione posse conpertum est.

CAPUT II.

AN INTER DAEMONES, QUIBUS DI SUPERIORES SUNT, SIT ALIQUA PARS BONORUM, QUORUM PRAESIDIO AD VERAM BEATITUDINEM POSSIT HUMANA ANIMA PERVENIRE.

(A) Proinde hic liber, sicut in illius fine promisimus, disputationem continere debebit de differentia (si quam uolunt esse) non deorum inter se, quos omnes bonos dicunt, nec de differentia deorum et daemonum, quorum illos ab hominibus longe alteque seiungunt, istos inter deos et homines conlocant; sed de differentia ipsorum daemonum, quod ad praesentem pertinet quaestionem.

(B) Aput plerosque enim usitatum est dici, alios bonos alios malos daemones; quae siue sit etiam Platonicorum, siue quorumlibet sententia, nequaquam eius est neglegenda discussio, ne quisquam [1]uelut daemones bonos sequendos sibi esse arbitretur, per quos tamquam medios dis, quos omnes bonos credit, dum conciliari adfectat et studet, ut quasi cum eis possit esse post mortem, inretitus malignorum spirituum deceptusque fallacia longe aberret a uero Deo, cum quo solo et in quo solo et de quo solo anima humana, [2]id est rationalis et intellectualis, beata est.

CAPUT III.

QUAE DAEMONIBUS APULEIUS ADSCRIBAT, QUIBUS CUM RATIONEM NON SUBTRAHAT, NIHIL VIRTUTIS ADSIGNAT.

(A) Quae igitur est differentia daemonum bonorum et malorum? Quando quidem Platonicus Apuleius [1]de his uniuersaliter disserens et tam multa loquens de aeriis eorum corporibus de uirtutibus tacuit animorum, quibus essent praediti,

CHAPTER II.

Whether among the daemons, who are inferior to the gods, there is a section of good daemons by whose guardianship the human soul may attain true beatitude.

1. uelut daemones bonos = "the supposed good daemons."

2. id est rationalis et intellectualis. Cp. vii. 23 C—*tertium gradum esse animae summum, quod uocatur animus, in quo intellegentia praeeminet.* It is strange that A. should omit—what St. Paul so greatly emphasised—the spiritual element in human nature. But virtue no less than wisdom resides, according to A., in the *anima rationalis* or, as he calls it outright, the *mens* (ix. 6 A).

CHAPTER III.

What are the qualities which Apuleius attributes to the daemons, as he does not deny their reason yet does not ascribe to them any virtue.

1. de his uniuersaliter disserens—in the "De Deo Socratis," especially 8 *sqq.*

si essent boni. Tacuit ergo beatitudinis causam, indicium uero miseriae tacere non potuit, confitens eorum mentem, qua rationales esse perhibuit, non saltem inbutam munitamque uirtute passionibus animi inrationabilibus nequaquam cedere, sed ipsam quoque, sicut stultarum mentium mos est, procellosis quodam modo perturbationibus agitari.

(B) [2]Verba namque eius de hac re ista sunt: *"Ex hoc ferme daemonum numero," inquit, "poetae solent haudquaquam procul a ueritate osores et amatores quorundam hominum deos fingere; hos prosperare et euehere, illos contra aduersari et adfligere; igitur et misereri et indignari, et angi et laetari omnemque humani animi faciem pati, simili motu cordis et salo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare. Quae omnes turbelae tempestatesque procul a deorum caelestium tranquillitate [3]exulant."

(C) Num est in his uerbis ulla dubitatio, quod non animorum aliquas inferiores partes, sed ipsas daemonum mentes, quibus rationalia sunt animalia, uelut procellosum salum dixit passionum tempestate turbari? ut ne hominibus quidem sapientibus conparandi sint, qui huius modi perturbationibus animorum, a quibus humana non est inmunis infirmitas, etiam cum eas huius uitae condicione patiuntur, mente inperturbata resistunt, non eis cedentes ad aliquid adprobandum uel perpetrandum, quod exorbitet ab itinere sapientiae et lege iustitiae; sed stultis mortalibus et iniustis non corporibus sed moribus similes (ut non dicam deteriores, eo quo uetustiores et debita poena insanabiles) ipsius quoque mentis, ut iste appellauit, salo fluctuant, nec in ueritate adque uirtute, qua turbulentis et prauis affectionibus repugnatur, ex ulla animi parte consistunt.

CAPUT IV.

DE PERTURBATIONIBUS, QUAE ANIMO ACCIDUNT, QUAE SIT PERIPATETICORUM STOICORUMQUE SENTENTIA.

(A) Duae sunt sententiae philosophorum de his animi motibus, quae Graeci πάθη, nostri autem quidam, [1]sicut Cicero,

2. Verba namque eius, etc. A. does not quote the words of Apuleius quite accurately; they are *hos euehere et secundare, illos aduersari et adfligere.*

3. exulant—may bear a transitive sense; but I incline to translate "are banished" or "removed." Cp. *exorbitet* (C. below). *exorbitare* is defined as = *extra orbem fieri* ("In Ioan Euang. Tract," xlvii. 11) A.'s language throughout this chapter carefully sustains the parallel between a spirit troubled by the storms of passion and the storm-tossed ocean.

CHAPTER IV.

What is the opinion of the Peripatetics and the Stoics about the emotions which occur to the mind.

1. sicut Cicero. Cp. viii. 17 A and note there.

* "De Deo Socrat.," 11.

perturbationes, quidam [2]adfectiones uel adfectus, quidam uero, sicut iste de Graeco expressius, passiones uocant. Has ergo perturbationes siue adfectiones siue passiones quidam philosophi dicunt etiam in sapientem cadere, sed moderatas rationique subiectas, ut eis leges quodam modo, quibus ad necessarium redigantur modum, dominatio mentis inponat.

(B) [3]Hoc qui sentiunt, Platonici sunt siue Aristotelici, cum Aristoteles discipulus Platonis fuerit, qui sectam Peripateticam condidit. Aliis autem, sicut Stoicis, cadere ullas omnino huiusce modi passiones in sapientem non placet. Hos autem, id est Stoicos, Cicero [4]in libris de finibus bonorum et malorum uerbis magis quam rebus aduersus Platonicos seu Peripateticos certare conuincit; quando quidem Stoici nolunt bona appellare, sed [5]commoda corporis et externa, eo quod nullum bonum uolunt esse hominis praeter uirtutem tamquam artem bene uiuendi, quae non nisi in animo est.

(C) Haec autem isti simpliciter et ex communi loquendi consuetudine appellant bona; sed in conparatione uirtutis, qua recte uiuitur, parua et exigua. Ex quo fit, ut ab utrisque quodlibet uocentur, seu bona seu commoda, pari tamen aestimatione pensentur, nec in hac quaestione Stoici delectentur nisi nouitate uerborum. Videtur ergo mihi etiam in hoc, ubi quaeritur utrum accidant sapienti passiones animi, an ab eis sit prorsus alienus, de uerbis eos potius quam de rebus facere controuersiam. Nam et ipsos nihil hinc aliud quam Platonicos et Peripateticos sentire existimo, quantum ad uim rerum adtinet, non ad uocabulorum sonum.

(D) Ut enim alia omittam, quibus id ostendam, ne longum faciam, aliquid unum quod sit euidentissimum dicam. In libris, quibus titulus est Noctium Atticarum, scribit [6]A. Gellius, uir

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2. adfectiones uel adfectus—words indistinguishable in meaning, so that A. uses *adfectiones* alone immediately afterwards. If it is necessary to translate both words, some word like Healey's "*affects*" may perhaps be coined as an equivalent of "*adfectus*"; but "emotions or motions" would probably be near enough. Cicero seems to regard *morbus* (not *passio*, a word which he does not, I think, suggest) as a literal translation of *πάθος*.

3. Hoc qui sentiunt, etc. For this difference between the Peripatetics and the Stoics see Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," iv. 15, 26).

4. in libris de finibus, etc.—especially Books III. and IV.

5. commoda corporis et externa. These are practically the *προηγμένα* or *praeposita* of Stoicism. Cp. H below. Cicero, following in the steps of Zeno, defines them as things *secundum naturam* or *aestimabilia* or *sumenda et quadam aestimatione dignanda* ("Acad. Post.," i. 10, 36; "De Fin.," iii. 15, 50 and 51). See Zeller ("Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," ch. xi., pp. 265-6).

6. A. Gellius, who lived in the middle of the second century (A.D. 125-175, according to Teuffel, "History of Roman Literature," ii. 36), wrote an antiquarian treatise in twenty volumes and called it "Noctes Atticae," because it was composed on winter evenings in a country house near Athens. It is not now perfect; but it still contains a great deal of information about ancient Greek and Roman law,

elegantissimi [7]eloquii et multae undecumque scientiae, se nauigasse aliquando cum quodam philosopho nobili Stoico. [8]Is philosophus, sicut latius et uberius, quod ego breuiter adtingam, narrat A. Gellius, cum illud nauigium horribili caelo et mari periculosissime iactaretur, ui timoris expalluit.

(E) Id animaduersum est ab eis, qui aderant, quamuis in mortis uicinia curiosissime adtentis, utrumne philosophus animo turbaretur. Deinde tempestate transacta mox ut securitas praebuit conloquendi uel etiam garriendi locum, quidam ex his, quos nauis illa portabat, dies luxuriosus Asiaticus philosophum conpellat inludens, quod extimuisset adque palluisset, cum ipse mansisset intrepidus in eo quod inpendebat exitio. At ille [9]Aristippi Socratici responsum rettulit, qui cum in re simili eadem uerba ab homine simili audisset, respondit illum pro anima nequissimi nebulonis merito non fuisse sollicitum, se autem pro Aristippi anima timere debuisse.

(F) Hac illo diuite responsione depulso postea quaesiuit A. Gellius a philosopho non exagitandi animo, sed discendi, quaenam illa ratio esset pauoris sui. Qui ut doceret hominem sciendi studio nauiter accensum, protulit statim de sarcinula sua Stoici [10]Epicteti librum, in quo ea scripta essent, quae congruerent decretis [11]Zenonis et Chrysippi, quos fuisse Stoicorum principes nouimus. In eo libro se legisse dicit A. Gellius hoc Stoicis placuisse, quod [12]animi

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philosophy, science, and literature. It suggested, I suppose, the title of "Noctes Ambrosianae" to Professor Wilson ("Christopher North").

7. eloquii="style."

8. Is philosophus, etc. The story occurs in "Noct. Attic.," xix. 1.

9. Aristippi Socratici. See note on viii. 3 E. Diogenes Laertius tells the story a little differently; but there is the same or still more point in the repartee of Aristippus as he records it: *οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὁμοίας ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶμεν ἕκαστοι* ("Vit. Philosoph.," ii. 8, 7). Cp. A. "Quaest. in Gen.," 30.

10. Epicteti—the lame Phrygian slave (whom his master Epaphroditus set free) and teacher of the Stoic philosophy at Rome, until Domitian banished all philosophers from Italy (A.D. 94) and afterwards at Nicopolis in Epirus. His teaching, so far as it is known, is known owing to his pupil Arrian. No writer of antiquity stands higher as a moralist than Epictetus; but it is difficult to help hoping that the famous distych which Aulus Gellius quotes ("Noct. Attic.," ii. 18) was composed for him rather than by him, although Gellius says *Epicteti de se scripti duo uersus feruntur:*

δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην καὶ σώματι πηρός
καὶ πενίην Ἴρος καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις.

11. Zenonis et Chrysippi—one the founder, the other the third among the leaders, of the Stoic philosophy. A. ranks them together elsewhere (ix. 5 C), saying that they *huius sectae primas habuerunt.* Of the importance attaching to Chrysippus the Iambic line quoted by Diogenes Laertius ("Vit. Philosoph.," vii. 7, 183) is sufficient proof: *Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά*

12. animi uisa, quas adpellant phantasias. See note on viii. 7 A. **animi uisa**="impressions made on the mind" or "perceptions of the mind." Cicero speaks of a *quaedam quasi inpulsio oblata extrinsecus; quam ille* (Zeno) *φαντασίαν, nos uisum adpellemus licet* ("Acad. Post.," i. 11, 40).

uisa, quas adpellant phantasias, nec in potestate est utrum et quando incidant animo, cum ueniunt ex terribilibus et formidabilibus rebus necesse est etiam sapientis animum moueant, ita ut paulisper uel pauescat metu, uel tristitia contrahatur, tamquam his passionibus praeuenientibus mentis et rationis officium; nec ideo tamen in mente fieri opinionem mali, nec adprobari ista eisque consentiri.

(G) Hoc enim esse uolunt in potestate idque, interesse censent inter animum sapientis et stulti, quod stulti animus eisdem passionibus cedit adque adcommodat mentis adsensum; sapientes autem, quamuis eas necessitate patiantur, retinent tamen de his, quae adpetere uel fugere rationabiliter debent, ueram et stabilem inconcussa mente sententiam. Haec ut potui non quidem commodius A. Gellio, sed certe breuius et, ut puto, planius exposui, quae ille se [13]in Epicteti libro legisse commemorat eum ex decretis Stoicorum dixisse adque sensisse.

(H) Quae si ita sunt, aut nihil aut paene nihil distat inter Stoicorum aliorumque philosophorum opinionem de passionibus et perturbationibus animorum; utrique enim mentem rationemque sapientis ab earum dominatione defendunt. Et ideo fortasse dicunt eas in sapientem non cadere Stoici, quia nequaquam eius sapientiam, qua utique sapiens est, ullo errore obnubilant aut labe subuertunt. Accidunt autem animo sapientis salua serenitate sapientiae propter illa, quae [14]commoda uel incommoda appellant, quamuis ea nolint dicere bona uel mala.

(I) Nam profecto si nihili penderet eas res ille philosophus, quas amissurum se naufragio sentiebat, sicuti est uita ista salusque corporis, non ita illud periculum perhorresceret, ut palloris etiam testimonio proderetur. Verum tamen et illam poterat permotionem pati, et fixam tenere mente sententiam, uitam illam salutemque corporis, quorum amissionem minabatur tempestatis inmanitas, non esse bona, quae illos quibus inessent facerent bonos, sicut facit iustitia.

(K) Quod autem aiunt ea nec bona appellanda esse, sed commoda, uerborum certamini, non rerum examini deputandum est. Quid enim interest, utrum aptius bona uocentur an commoda, dum tamen ne his priuetur non minus Stoicus quam Peripateticus pauescat et palleat, ea non aequaliter appellando, sed aequaliter aestimando? Ambo sane, si bonorum istorum seu commodorum periculis ad flagitium uel facinus urgeantur, ut aliter ea retinere non possint, malle

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13. in Epicteti libro—the "Enchiridion" of Epictetus (20-22). Cp. ix. 5 c.

14. commoda. *Commodum*, according to Seneca, *est quod plus usus habet quam molestiae; bonum sincerum esse debet et ab omni parte innoxium* (Epist. 87).

se dicunt haec amittere, quibus natura corporis salua et incolumis habetur, quam illa committere, quibus iustitia uiolatur.

(L) Ita mens, ubi fixa est ista sententia, nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praeualere permittit; quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum uirtutis exercet. Talem describit etiam Vergilius Aenean, ubi ait:

*[15]Mens inmota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.

CAPUT V.

QUOD PASSIONES, QUAE CHRISTIANOS ANIMOS ADFICIUNT, NON IN UITIUM TRAHANT, SED VIRTUTEM EXERCEANT.

(A) Non est nunc necesse copiose ac diligenter ostendere, quid de istis passionibus doceat scriptura diuina, qua Christiana eruditio continetur. Deo quippe [1][illam] ipsam mentem subicit regendam et iuuandam mentique passiones ita moderandas adque frenandas, ut in usum iustitiae conuertantur. Denique in disciplina nostra non tam quaeritur utrum pius animus irascatur sed quare irascatur; nec utrum sit tristis sed unde sit tristis; nec utrum timeat sed quid timeat. Irasci enim peccanti ut corrigatur, contristari pro adflicto ut liberetur, timere periclitanti ne pereat, nescio utrum quisquam sana consideratione reprehendat. Nam [2]et misericordiam Stoicorum est solere culpare; sed quanto honestius ille Stoicus misericordia perturbaretur hominis liberandi quam timore naufragii!

(B) Longe melius et humanius et piorum sensibus adcommodatius [3]Cicero in Caesaris laude locutus est, ubi ait: †"Nulla de uirtutibus

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15. Mens inmota manet, etc. The mind is that of Aeneas, the tears are those of Dido. A. would seem to refer both to Aeneas; and if so, although he misconceives the meaning of Virgil's line, he is perfectly true to Greek (if not to Roman) sentiment in imagining the combination of inflexible resolve with a physical exhibition of sympathy or suffering.

CHAPTER V.

That the passions which affect Christian minds are not seductions to vice but exercises in virtue.

1. [**illam**]—is superfluous, and should be omitted.

2. et misericordiam. The Stoical view of compassion is expressed by Seneca ("De Clement.," ii. 5); for he pointedly condemns *misericordia* as *uitium pusilli animi*. *Clementia* he eulogises (*ibid.*, i. 3), but he draws a sharp distinction between *clementia* and *misericordia*. Cp. Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," iii. 9, 20-10, 21; "Pro Muren.," 29, 61). **ille Stoicus**—*sc.* the Stoic described in viii. 4 D and E.

3. Cicero in Caesaris laude—in his speech "Pro Ligario" (xii. 37). In B.C. 46 Cicero defended the Pompeian Q. Ligarius before Cæsar himself. His speech was one of his greatest oratorical triumphs. Ligarius was acquitted. The speech is here described as *laus Caesaris*, because it was in part a eulogy of Cæsar.

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* "Aen.," iv. 449. † "Pro Ligar.," xii. 37.

tuis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est." Quis est autem misericordia nisi alienae miseriae quaedam in nostro corde conpassio, qua utique si possumus subuenire conpellimur? Seruit autem motus iste rationi, quando ita praebetur misericordia, ut iustitia conseruetur, siue cum indigenti tribuitur, siue cum ignoscitur paenitenti.

(C) Hanc Cicero locutor egregius non dubitauit appellare uirtutem, quam Stoicos inter uitia numerare non pudet, qui tamen, ut docuit [4]liber Epicteti, nobilissimi Stoici, ex decretis Zenonis et Chrysippi, qui huius sectae primas habuerunt, huiusce modi passiones in animum sapientis admittunt, quem uitiis omnibus liberum uolunt. Unde fit consequens, ut haec ipsa non putent uitia, quando sapienti sic accidunt, ut contra uirtutem mentis rationemque nihil possint, et una sit eademque sententia Peripateticorum uel etiam Platonicorum et ipsorum Stoicorum, sed, ut *ait Tullius, uerbi controuersia iam diu torqueat homines [5]Graeculos contentionis cupidiores quam ueritatis.

(D) Sed adhuc merito quaeri potest, utrum ad uitae praesentis pertineat infirmitatem etiam in quibusque bonis officiis huiusce modi perpeti affectus, sancti uero angeli et sine ira [6]puniant, quos accipiunt aeterna Dei lege puniendos, et miseris sine miseriae conpassione subueniant, et periclitantibus eis, quos diligunt, sine timore opitulentur; et tamen istarum nomina passionum consuetudine locutionis humanae etiam in eos usurpentur propter quandam operum similitudinem, non propter adectionum infirmitatem, sicut ipse Deus secundum scripturas irascitur, nec tamen ulla passione turbatur. Hoc enim uerbum uindictae usurpauit effectus, non [7]illius turbulentus adfectus.

CAPUT VI.

QUIBUS PASSIONIBUS DAEMONES CONFITENTE APULEIO EXAGITENTUR, QUORUM OPE HOMINES APUT DEOS ADSERIT ADIUUARI.

(A) Qua interim de sanctis angelis quaestione dilata uideamus quem ad modum dicant †Platonici medios daemones inter deos et homines constitutos istis passionum aestibus fluctuare. Si enim mente ab his libera eisque dominante motus huiusce modi pateren-

4. liber Epicteti. Cp. viii. 4 G.

5. Graeculos. On the diminutive, see i. 4 B.

6. puniant. The punitive office of the angels is indicated by our Lord (Matt. xiii. 41).

7. illius—*sc.* God.

* "De Oratore.," i. 11, 47.

† "De Deo Socrat.," 11.

tur,[1] non eos diceret Apuleius " simili motu cordis et salo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare." Ipsa igitur [2]mens eorum, id est pars animi superior, qua rationales sunt, in qua uirtus et sapientia, si ulla eis esset, passionibus turbulentis inferiorum animi partium regendis moderandisque dominaretur, — ipsa, inquam, mens eorum, sicut iste Platonicus confitetur, salo perturbationum fluctuat.

(B) Subiecta est ergo mens daemonum passionibus libidinum, formidinum, irarum adque huiusce modi ceteris. Quae igitur pars in eis libera est composque sapientiae, qua placeant dis et [3]ad bonorum morum similitudinem hominibus consulant, cum eorum mens passionum uitiis subiugata et obpressa, quidquid rationis naturaliter habet, ad fallendum et decipiendum tanto acrius intendat, quanto eam magis possidet nocendi cupiditas ?

CAPUT VII.

QUOD PLATONICI FIGMENTIS POETARUM INFAMATOS ADSERANT DEOS DE CONTRARIORUM STUDIORUM CERTAMINE, CUM HAE PARTES DAEMONUM, NON DEORUM SINT.

(A) Quod si quisquam dicit, non ex omnium, sed ex malorum daemonum numero esse, quos poetae " quorundam hominum osores et amatores deos " non procul a ueritate confingunt (hos enim dixit Apuleius " salo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare "); quo modo istud intellegere poterimus, quando, cum hoc diceret, non quorundam, id est malorum, sed omnium daemonum medietatem propter aeria corpora inter deos et homines describebat ?

(B) Hoc enim ait fingere poetas, quod ex istorum daemonum numero deos faciunt et eis deorum nomina inponunt et quibus uoluerint hominibus ex his amicos inimicosque distribuunt ficti carminis inpunita licentia, cum deos ab his daemonum moribus et caelesti loco et beatitudinis opulentia remotos esse perhibeat.

CHAPTER VI.

What are the passions which, according to the confession of Apuleius, agitate the daemons, whose aid is, as he says, a support to human beings in relation to the gods.

1. non eos diceret Apuleius, etc. A. has already quoted the passage to which he here refers (ix. 3 B). The context in Apuleius shows that *simili* means " human." Cp. *hominibus simili* (ix. 7 E).

2. mens. A. here explicitly identifies the *pars animi superior* or *anima rationalis* with the *mens*, but as the seat both of *uirtus* and of *sapientia*. His language, however, is not altogether consistent; for elsewhere he speaks of the *animus* as the *gradus summus* of the *anima* (vii. 23 C).

3. ad bonorum morum, etc. = " may guide mankind in the path of conformity with good morals."

[1]Haec est ergo fictio poetarum deos dicere, qui di non sunt, eosque sub deorum nominibus inter se decertare propter homines, quos pro studio partium diligunt uel oderunt.

(C) Non procul autem a ueritate dicit hanc esse fictionem, quoniam *deorum appellati uocabulis, qui di non sunt, tales tamen describuntur daemones, quales sunt. Denique hinc esse dicit [2]Homericam illam Mineruam, *" quae mediis coetibus Graium [3]cohibendo Achilli interuenit."

(D) Quod ergo Minerua illa fuerit, poeticum uult esse figmentum, eo quod Mineruam deam putat eamque inter deos, quos omnes bonos beatosque credit, in alta aetheria sede conlocat, procul a [4]conuersatione mortalium; quod autem aliquis daemon fuerit Graecis fauens Troianisque contrarius, sicut alius aduersus Graecos Troianorum opitulator, quem Veneris seu Martis nomine idem poeta commemorat, quos deos [5]iste talia non agentes in habitationibus caelestibus ponit; et hi daemones pro eis, quos amabant, contra eos, quos oderant, inter se decertauerint, hoc non procul a ueritate poetas dixisse confessus est.

(E) De his quippe ista dixerunt, quos hominibus "simili motu cordis et salo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare" testatur, ut possint amores et odia non pro iustitia, sed sicut populus similis eorum [6]in uenatoribus et aurigis secundum suarum studia partium pro aliis aduersus alios exercere. Id enim uidetur philosophus curasse Platonicus, ne, cum haec a poetis canerentur, non a daemonibus mediis, sed ab ipsis dis, quorum nomina poetae fingendo ponunt, fieri crederentur.

CHAPTER VII.

That according to the Platonists the gods have been maligned by the fictions of the poets who represent them as eagerly contending on opposite sides, when it is the daemons, and not the gods, who exhibit this party spirit.

1. Haec est ergo fictio, etc. *Dicere* does, as it were, double duty "to *call* them gods . . . and to *say* that they do battle."

2. Homericam illam Mineruam. The original reference is to "Iliad," i. 193 *sqq.*

3. cohibendo Achilli="to restrain the wrath of Achilles."

4. conuersatione—has here the sense of "intercourse." The word "conversation" (when it means only "talking") has degenerated from its proper original meaning, "manner of life," which it still bears in the Authorised Version of the Bible—*e.g.*, Phil. i. 27; 1 Pet. i. 15. For *conuersari* cp. ix. 17 C. A.'s use of *conuersatio* may be illustrated by xvi. 24 G.

5. iste—*sc.* Apuleius.

6. in uenatoribus et aurigis. A. may mean by "the hunters" the amphitheatre; as by "the chariot race" he means undoubtedly the circus. Cp. his "Enarr. in Psalm." xxxix., §§ 8 and 9; liii., § 10. Upon the fashion of the circus see Gibbon's famous passage ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. 14, ch. 40, pp. 218-222, Bury's edition).

* "De Deo Socrat.," 10.

CAPUT VIII.

DE DIS CAELESTIBUS ET DAEMONIBUS AERIIS HOMINIBUSQUE TERRENIS APULEI PLATONICI DEFINITIO.

(A) Quid ? illa ipsa definitio daemonum parumne intuenda est (ubi certe omnes determinando conplexus est),[1] quod *ait daemones esse "genere animalia, animo passiua, mente rationalia, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna ?" In quibus quinque commemoratis nihil dixit omnino, quod daemones cum bonis saltem hominibus [2][id] uiderentur habere commune, quod non esset in malis.

(B) Nam ipsos homines cum aliquanto latius describendo conplecteretur, suo loco de illis dicens tamquam de infimis adque terrenis, cum prius dixisset de caelestibus dis, ut [3]commendatis duabus partibus ex summo et infimo ultimis tertio loco de mediis daemonibus loqueretur: †"Igitur homines, inquit,[4] ratione cluentes, oratione pollentes, inmortalibus animis, moribundis membris, leuibus et anxiis mentibus, brutis et [5]obnoxiis corporibus,[6] dissimilibus moribus, similibus erroribus, peruicaci audacia, pertinaci spe, casso labore, fortuna caduca, singillatim mortales, [7]cuncti tamen

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the definition which Apuleius the Platonist gives of the gods who dwell in heaven, daemons who dwell in the air, and men who dwell upon the earth.

1. quod ait, etc. In this quotation A. here (as viii. 16 A; ix. 12 A) substitutes *mente rationalia* for the *ingenio rationabilia* of Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.").

2. [id] uiderentur. If "*id*" were omitted, the sentence would be clearer. Hence the conjectural reading *quo*.

3. commendatis. A verb which A. uses often with a considerable elasticity of meaning. Thus it means: (1) To mention or describe—as here, cp. xi. 31 A; xvi. 11 A. (2) To relate or recount—vi. 3 B; xv. 20 K; xvi. 4 C. (3) To suggest or reveal—xi. 6 C; 9 E; xv. 2 F. (4) To explain—xi. 30 D. (5) To introduce or represent—xii. 19 C. (6) To recommend—x. 17 E; xviii. 46 A. (7) To praise or honour,—C below; x. 16 H.

4. ratione cluentes. There can be little doubt that *cluentes* is the true reading, or that it means "famous." It was corrupted first into *claudentes*, then into *gaudentes* or *plaudentes*. If *plaudentes* (which is the reading in Apuleius) be adopted, it must apparently be taken as = *sibi plaudentes*, so that the whole phrase will mean "proud of their reason."

5. obnoxiis = "sickly." Healey translates "frail," Dods "corruptible." Perhaps the translation which most nearly expresses the meaning is De Cerizier's "*sujets à mille accidents.*" It is so that Seneca speaks of the body as the *obnoxium domicilium* of the soul ("Epist. Moral.," vii. 3, 22); cp. Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxxi. 6, 60). *Obnoxius* = exposed (or "addicted") to particular evils, as *uitio cuilibet obnoxius* (x. 11 F), *peccatis obnoxii* (x. 24 E), or "bound" (or "subject") as *oculis carneis stultitia fecit obnoxios* ("De Fid. Rer.," i. (1), when people are the slaves of the senses. *obnoxios damnationi* ("Enchir.," 14 (L) = "liable to condemnation."

6. dissimilibus moribus, etc. = "different in their characters but alike in their errors."

7. cuncti. In Apuleius *cunctum*, the emendation proposed by Lipsius, is generally adopted.

* "De Deo Socrat.," 12. † *Ibid.*, 4.

uniuerso genere perpetui, uicissim sufficienda prole mutabiles, uolucri tempore, tarda sapientia, cita morte, querula uita terras incolunt."

(C) Cum hic tam multa diceret, quae ad plurimos homines pertinent, numquid etiam illud tacuit, quod nouerat esse paucorum, ubi ait "tarda sapientia"? Quod si praetermisisset, nullo modo recte genus humanum descriptionis huius tam intenta diligentia terminasset. Cum uero deorum excellentiam commendaret, ipsam beatitudinem, quo uolunt homines per sapientiam peruenire, in eis adfirmauit excellere. Proinde si aliquos daemones bonos uellet intellegi, aliquid etiam in ipsorum descriptione poneret, unde uel cum dis aliquam beatitudinis partem, uel cum hominibus qualemcumque sapientiam putarentur habere communem. Nunc uero nullum bonum eorum commemorauit, quo boni discernuntur a malis.

(D) Quamuis et eorum malitiae liberius exprimendae pepercerit, non tam ne ipsos, quam ne cultores eorum, aput quos loquebatur, offenderet; significauit tamen prudentibus, quid de illis sentire deberent, quando quidem deos, quos omnes bonos beatosque credi uoluit, ab eorum passionibus adque, ut ait ipse, [9]turbelis omni modo separauit, sola illos corporum aeternitate coniungens, animo autem non dis, sed hominibus similes daemones apertissime inculcans; et hoc non sapientiae bono, cuius et homines possunt esse participes, sed perturbatione passionum, quae stultis malisque dominatur, a sapientibus uero et bonis ita regitur, ut malint eam non habere quam uincere.

(E) Nam si non corporum, sed animorum aeternitatem cum dis habere daemones uellet intellegi, non utique homines ab huius rei consortio separaret, quia et hominibus aeternos esse animos procul dubio [10]sicut Platonicus sentit. Ideo cum hoc genus animantum describeret, inmortalibus animis, moribundis membris dixit esse homines. Ac per hoc si propterea communem cum dis aeternitatem non habent homines, quia corpore sunt mortales: propterea ergo daemones habent, quia corpore sunt inmortales.

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8. uicissim sufficienda prole mutabiles = "ever changing, as one generation succeeds another."

9. turbelis. A. feels bound to apologise, as it were, for the strange word *turbelis* which Apuleius uses ("De Deo Socrat.," 11) to represent *πάθη* or *perturbationes*.

10. sicut Platonicus. For the immortality of the soul was almost a primary doctrine of Neo-Platonism. "All spirit, and the human soul among all spirits, is, according to Plotinus, essentially immortal; but it may rise or fall in the scale of existent beings in proportion to its own excellence." ("Dict. of Christian Biography," *s.v.* Neo-Platonism). Cp. Inge, "Plotinus" (vol. ii., pp. 16-24).

CAPUT IX.

AN AMICITIA CAELESTIUM DEORUM PER INTERCESSIONEM DAEMONUM POSSIT HOMINI PROVIDERI.

(A) Quales igitur mediatores sunt inter homines et deos, per quos ad deorum amicitias homines [1]ambiant, [2]qui hoc cum hominibus habent deterius, quod est in animante melius, id est animum; hoc autem habent cum dis melius, quod est in animante deterius, id est corpus? Cum enim animans, id est animal, ex anima constet et corpore, quorum duorum anima est utique corpore melior, etsi uitiosa et infirma, melior certe corpore etiam sanissimo adque firmissimo, quoniam natura eius excellentior nec labe uitiorum postponitur corpori, sicut aurum etiam sordidum argento seu plumbo, licet purissimo, carius aestimatur: ista mediatores deorum et hominum, per quos interpositos diuinis humana iunguntur, cum dis habent corpus aeternum, uitiosum autem cum hominibus animum; quasi [3]religio, qua uolunt dis homines per daemones iungi, in corpore sit, non in animo constituta.

(B) Quaenam tandem istos mediatores falsos adque fallaces quasi capite deorsum nequitia uel poena suspendit, ut inferiorem animalis partem, id est corpus, cum superioribus, superiorem uero, id est animum, cum inferioribus habeant, et cum dis caelestibus in parte seruiente coniuncti, cum hominibus autem terrestribus in parte dominante sint miseri? Corpus quippe seruum est, sicut etiam Sallustius ait: *[4]"Animi imperio, corporis seruitio magis utimur." Adiunxit autem ille: "Alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum beluis commune est," quoniam de hominibus loquebatur, quibus sicut beluis mortale corpus est.

(C) Isti autem, quos inter nos et deos mediatores nobis philosophi

CHAPTER IX.

Whether the friendship of the gods in heaven can be won for man through the intercession of daemons.

1. ambiant = "take a roundabout way." The verb implies the idea of an irregular or indirect process. Cp. xxii. 30 C. Opposed to the roundabout way of approaching God through the daemons is the direct way or short cut (*compendium*, ix. 15 F) through the Incarnate Word.

2. qui hoc cum hominibus, etc. = "They are inferior in the part which is common to them with men, and which in a living being is the higher part—*i.e.*, the soul—and superior in the part which is common to them with the gods, and which in a living being is the inferior part—*i.e.*, the body." Cp. C below.

3. religio. A.'s language here would support the derivation of *religio* from *religare*. Elsewhere he derives it from *re-ligere*. See note on x. 3 C.

4. Animi imperio, etc. Beside and above Sallust's words may be set Plato's ("Phaedr.," p. 79 E) *ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὦσι ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, τῷ μὲν δουλεύειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἡ φύσις προστάττει, τῇ δὲ ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν.*

* "Catil.," 1.

prouiderunt, possunt quidem dicere de animo et corpore: Alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum hominibus commune est; sed, sicut dixi, tamquam in peruersum ligati adque suspensi, seruum corpus cum dis beatis, dominum animum cum hominibus miseris habentes, parte inferiore exaltati, superiore deiecti. Unde etiamsi quisquam propter hoc eos putauerit aeternitatem habere cum dis, quia nulla morte, sicut animalium terrestrium, animi eorum soluuntur a corpore; nec sic existimandum est eorum corpus tamquam honoratorum aeternum uehiculum, sed aeternum uinculum damnatorum.

CAPUT X.

QUOD SECUNDUM PLOTINI SENTENTIAM MINUS MISERI SINT HOMINES IN CORPORE MORTALI QUAM DAEMONES IN AETERNO.

(A) [1]Plotinus certe nostrae memoriae uicinis temporibus Platonem ceteris excellentius [2]intellexisse laudatur. Is cum de humanis animis ageret: *[3]" Pater," inquit, " misericors mortalia illis uincla faciebat." Ita hoc ipsum, quod mortales sunt homines corpore, ad misericordiam Dei patris pertinere arbitratus est, ne semper huius uitae miseria tenerentur. Hac misericordia indigna iudicata est iniquitas daemonum, quae [4]in animi passiui miseria non mortale sicut homines, sed aeternum corpus accepit.

(B) Essent quippe feliciores hominibus, si mortale cum eis haberent corpus et cum dis animum beatum. Essent autem pares hominibus, si cum animo misero corpus saltem mortale cum eis habere meruissent; [5]si tamen adquirerent aliquid pietatis, ut ab aerumnis uel in morte requiescerent. Nunc uero non solum feliciores hominibus non sunt animo misero, sed etiam miseriores sunt perpetuo corporis uinculo. Non enim aliqua pietatis et sapientiae disciplina proficientes intellegi uoluit ex daemonibus fieri deos, cum apertissime dixerit daemones aeternos.

CHAPTER X.

That according to the opinion of Plotinus men, as having a mortal body, are less miserable than daemons, as having a body which is eternal.

1. Plotinus. See note on viii. 12 C. Plotinus died in or about A.D. 270. Upon his relation to Plato see " Con. Acad.," iii. 41 (xviii.).

2. intellexisse laudatur. This construction is illustrated in the note on i. 3 B. Cp. *dixisse laudatur* (xiii. 19 B).

3. "Pater," inquit, etc. The actual words of Plotinus are Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐλεήσας πονουμένας (ψυχάς) θνητὰ αὐτῶν τὰ δεσμὰ ποιῶν κ.τ.λ.

4. in animi passiui miseria. Cp. ix. 3.

5. si tamen, etc. *tamen—sc.* in spite of their demoniac nature or perhaps in spite of their bodies.

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* " Ennead.," iv. 3, 12.

CAPUT XI.

DE OPINIONE PLATONICORUM, QUA PUTANT ANIMAS HOMINUM DAEMONES ESSE POST CORPORA.

(A) [1]Dicit quidem et animas hominum daemones esse et ex hominibus fieri lares, si boni meriti sunt; lemures, si mali, seu laruas: [2]manes autem deos dici, si incertum est bonorum eos seu malorum esse meritorum. In qua opinione quantam uoraginem aperiant sectandis perditis moribus, quis non uideat, si uel paululum adtendat? Quando quidem quamlibet nequam homines fuerint, uel laruas se fieri dum opinantur, uel dum manes deos, tanto peiores fiunt, quanto sunt nocendi cupidiores, ut etiam quibusdam sacrificiis tamquam diuinis honoribus post mortem se inuitari opinentur, ut noceant. Laruas quippe dicit esse noxios daemones ex hominibus factos. Sed hinc alia quaestio est. Inde autem perhibet appellari Graece beatos [3]εὐδαίμονας, quod boni sint animi, hoc est boni daemones, animos quoque hominum daemones esse confirmans.

CAPUT XII.

DE TERNIS CONTRARIIS, QUIBUS SECUNDUM PLATONICOS DAEMONUM HOMINUMQUE NATURA DISTINGUITUR.

(A) Sed nunc de his agimus, quos in natura propria descripsit inter deos et homines *"genere animalia, [1]mente rationalia, animo passiua, corpore aeria, tempore aeterna." Nempe cum prius deos in sublimi caelo, homines autem in terra infima disiunctos locis et

CHAPTER XI.

Of the opinion of the Platonists that the souls of men, when emancipated from the body are daemons.

1. Dicit quidem, etc. The reference is not to Plotinus but to Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 14). *Nam quodam significatu et animus humanus, etiam nunc in corpore situs, δαίμων nuncupatur.* It would seem that Apuleius made an effort to harmonise pagan theology with his own theory of the *daemons*. *Lares* were properly the household gods of a Roman family; *Manes* or *Di Manes*, as they were often called (*e.g.*, viii. 26 c), were the spirits of the dead; *Lemures* or *Laruae* were more like ghosts. Cp. "De Deo Socrat.," 15.

2. manes autem deos. See note on viii. 26 c.

3. εὐδαίμονας. The passage of Apuleius is "De Deo Socrat.," 14, *Unde nonnulli arbitrantur* εὐδαίμονας *dici beatos, quorum daemon bonus, id est animus, uirtute perfectus est.* But εὐδαίμονες cannot etymologically mean *boni animi, hoc est boni daemones.*

CHAPTER XII.

Of the three opposite qualities by which the nature of daemons is, according to the Platonists, distinguished from the nature of men.

1. mente rationalia. See note on ix. 8 1.

* "De Deo Socrat.," 12.

naturae dignitate secerneret, ita conclusit: *"Habetis," inquit, "interim bina animalia: deos ab hominibus plurimum differentes loci sublimitate, uitae perpetuitate, naturae perfectione, nullo inter se propinquo communicatu, cum et habitacula summa ab infimis tanta intercapedo fastigii [2]dispescat, et uiuacitas illic aeterna et indefecta sit, hic caduca et [3]subsiciua, et ingenia illa ad beatitudinem sublimata, haec ad miserias infimata."

(B) Hic terna uideo commemorata contraria de duabus naturae partibus ultimis, id est summis adque infimis. Nam tria quae proposuit de dis laudabilia, eadem repetiuit, aliis quidem uerbis, ut eis aduersa alia tria ex hominibus redderet. Tria deorum haec sunt: loci sublimitas, uitae perpetuitas, perfectio naturae. Haec aliis uerbis ita repetiuit, ut eis tria contraria humanae condicionis obponeret. "Cum et habitacula," inquit, "summa ab infimis tanta intercapedo fastigii dispescat," quia dixerat loci sublimitatem; "et uiuacitas, inquit, illic aeterna et indefecta sit, hic caduca et subsiciua," quia dixerat uitae perpetuitatem; "et ingenia illa, inquit, ad beatitudinem sublimata, haec ad miserias infimata," quia dixerat naturae perfectionem. Tria igitur ab eo posita sunt deorum, id est locus sublimis, aeternitas, beatitudo; et his contraria tria hominum, id est locus infimus, mortalitas, miseria.

CAPUT XIII.

QUO MODO DAEMONES, SI NEC CUM DIS BEATI NEC CUM HOMINIBUS SUNT MISERI, INTER UTRAMQUE PARTEM SINE UTRIUSQUE COMMUNIONE SINT MEDII.

(A) Inter haec terna deorum et hominum quoniam daemones medios posuit, de loco nulla est controuersia; inter sublimem quippe et infimum medius locus aptissime habetur et dicitur. Cetera bina restant, quibus cura adtentior adhibenda est, quem ad modum uel aliena esse a daemonibus ostendantur, uel sic eis distribuantur, [1]ut medietas uidetur exposcere. Sed ab eis aliena

2. dispescat = "separates"—a post-Augustine word not uncommon in Pliny's "Natural History"—*e.g.*, ii. 68, 173, but always, I think, used in a transitive sense. Hence Buckley's *intercapedine . . . dispescant* in the text of Apuleius is improbable.

3. subsiciua = "accidental," "precarious," far better than Buckley's *succidua* = "successive."

CHAPTER XIII.

How the daemons, if they are neither blessed like the gods nor wretched like men, can be intermediaries between both, when they have nothing in common with either.

1. ut medietas, etc. A.'s meaning is that, whatever may be the character of daemons, in regard either to the duration of their life or to its blessedness or

* "De Deo Socrat.," 4.

esse non possunt. Non enim sicut dicimus locum medium nec summum esse nec infimum, ita daemones, cum sint animalia rationalia, nec beatos esse nec miseros, sicuti sunt arbusta uel pecora, quae sunt sensus uel rationis expertia, recte possumus dicere.

(B) Quorum ergo ratio mentibus inest, aut miseros esse aut beatos necesse est. Item non possumus recte dicere nec mortales esse daemones nec aeternos. Omnia namque uiuentia aut in aeternum uiuunt, aut finiunt morte quod uiuunt. Iam uero [2]iste tempore aeternos daemones dixit. Quid igitur restat, nisi ut hi medii de duobus summis unum habeant et de duobus infimis alterum ? Nam si utraque de imis habebunt aut utraque de summis, medii non erunt, sed in alterutram partem uel resiliunt uel recumbunt. Quia ergo his binis, sicut demonstratum est, carere utrisque non possunt, acceptis ex utraque parte singulis mediabuntur. Ac per hoc quia de infimis habere non possunt aeternitatem, quae ibi non est, unum hoc de summis habent; et ideo non est alterum ad conplendam medietatem suam, quod de infimis habeant, nisi miseriam.

(C) Est itaque secundum Platonicos sublimium deorum uel beata aeternitas uel aeterna beatitudo; hominum uero infimorum uel miseria mortalis uel mortalitas misera; daemonum autem mediorum uel misera aeternitas uel aeterna miseria. Nam [3]et quinque illis, quae in definitione daemonum posuit, non eos medios, sicut promittebat, ostendit; quoniam tria dixit eos habere nobiscum, quod genere animalia, quod mente rationalia, quod animo passiua sunt; cum dis autem unum, quod tempore aeterna; et unum proprium, quod corpore aeria.

(D) Quo modo ergo medii, quando unum habent cum summis, tria cum infimis ? Quis non uideat relicta medietate quantum inclinentur et deprimantur ad infima ? Sed plane etiam ibi medii possunt ita inueniri, ut unum habeant proprium, quod est corpus aerium, sicut et illi de summis adque infimis singula propria, [4]di corpus aetherium hominesque terrenum; duo uero communia sint omnibus, quod genere sunt animalia et mente rationalia. Nam et ipse cum de dis et hominibus loqueretur: *"Habetis, inquit,

misery, it must not be inconsistent with their intermediate locality, between gods and men, in the air.

2. iste—*sc.* Apuleius.

3. et quinque illis—the five points specified in ix. 8 A.

4. di corpus aetherium. A. speaks often of the *di aetherii*—*e.g.*, viii. 21 A; x. 27 C. But that the *di aetherii* possessed *corpora aetheria* he does not often clearly state, although it is implied in Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 8).

* "De Deo Socrat.," 4.

"bina animalia," et non solent isti deos nisi rationales mente perhibere.

(E) Duo sunt residua, quod sunt animo passiua et tempore aeterna; quorum habent unum cum infimis, cum summis alterum, ut proportionali ratione librata medietas neque sustollatur in summa, neque in infima deprimatur. Ipsa est autem illa daemonum misera aeternitas uel aeterna miseria. Qui enim ait "animo passiua," etiam "misera" dixisset, nisi eorum cultoribus erubuisset. Porro quia prouidentia summi Dei, sicut etiam ipsi fatentur, non fortuita temeritate regitur mundus, numquam esset istorum aeterna miseria, nisi esset magna malitia.

(F) Si igitur beati recte dicuntur eudaemones, non sunt eudaemones daemones, quos inter homines et deos isti in medio locauerunt. Quis ergo est locus bonorum daemonum, qui supra homines, infra deos istis praebeant adiutorium, illis ministerium? Si enim boni aeternique sunt, profecto et beati sunt. Aeterna autem beatitudo medios eos esse non sinit, quia multum cum dis conparat multumque ab hominibus separat.

(G) Unde frustra isti conabuntur ostendere, quo modo daemones boni, si et inmortales sunt et beati, recte medii constituantur inter deos inmortales ac beatos et homines mortales ac miseros. Cum enim utrumque habeant cum dis, et beatitudinem scilicet et inmortalitatem, nihil autem horum cum hominibus et miseris et mortalibus; quo modo non potius remoti sunt ab hominibus disque conniuncti, quam inter utrosque medii constituti?

(H) Tunc enim medii essent, si haberent et ipsi duo quaedam, sua, non cum binis alterutrorum, sed cum singulis utrorumque communia; sicut homo medium quiddam est, sed inter pecora et angelos, ut, quia pecus est animal inrationale adque mortale, angelus autem rationale et inmortale, medius homo est, sed inferior angelis, superior pecoribus, habens cum pecoribus mortalitatem, rationem cum angelis, animal rationale mortale. Ita ergo cum quaerimus medium inter beatos inmortales miserosque mortales, hoc inuenire debemus, quod aut mortale sit beatum, aut inmortale sit miserum.

CAPUT XIV.

AN HOMINES, CUM SINT MORTALES, POSSINT VERA BEATITUDINE ESSE FELICES.

(A) Utrum et beatus et mortalis homo esse possit, magna est inter homines quaestio. Quidam enim condicionem suam humilius inspexerunt negaueruntque hominem capacem esse posse beatitu-

dinis, quamdiu mortaliter uiuit. Quidam uero extulerunt se et ausi sunt dicere [1]sapientiae compotes beatos esse posse mortales.

(B) Quod si ita est, quur non ipsi potius medii constituuntur inter mortales miseros et inmortales beatos, beatitudinem habentes cum inmortalibus beatis, mortalitatem cum mortalibus miseris? Profecto enim, si beati sunt, inuident nemini (nam quid miserius inuidentia?) et ideo mortalibus miseris, quantum possunt, ad consequendam beatitudinem consulunt, ut etiam inmortales ualeant esse post mortem et angelis inmortalibus beatisque coniungi.

CAPUT XV.

DE MEDIATORE DEI ET HOMINUM, HOMINE CHRISTO IESU.

(A) Si autem, quod multo credibilius et probabilius disputatur, omnes homines, quamdiu mortales sunt, etiam miseri sint necesse est, quaerendus est medius, qui non solum homo, uerum etiam deus sit, ut homines ex mortali miseria ad beatam inmortalitatem huius medii beata mortalitas interueniendo perducat; quem neque non fieri mortalem oportebat, neque permanere mortalem. Mortalis quippe factus est non infirmata Verbi diuinitate, sed carnis infirmitate suscepta; non autem permansit in ipsa carne mortalis, quam resuscitauit a mortuis; quoniam ipse est fructus mediationis eius, ut nec ipsi, propter quos liberandos mediator effectus est, [1]in perpetua uel carnis morte remanerent.

(B) Proinde mediatorem inter nos et Deum et mortalitatem habere oportuit transeuntem et beatitudinem permanentem, ut per id, quod transit, congrueret morituris, et ad id, quod permanet, transferret ex mortuis. Boni igitur angeli inter miseros mortales et beatos inmortales medii esse non possunt, quia ipsi quoque et beati et inmortales sunt; possunt autem medii esse angeli mali, quia inmortales sunt cum illis, miseri cum istis.

(C) His contrarius est mediator bonus, qui aduersus eorum inmortalitatem et miseriam et mortalis esse ad tempus uoluit, et beatus

CHAPTER XIV.

Whether human beings, although they are mortal, can enjoy the felicity of true blessedness.

1. sapientiae compotes, etc. This is the doctrine of the Stoics. Seneca expresses it in the following language: *Habes ergo quare uelis sapiens esse, quia numquam sine gaudio est* ("Epist.," 59 *ad fin.*).

CHAPTER XV.

Of the mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.

1. in perpetua uel carnis morte remanerent = "should remain for ever subject to the death even of the flesh."

in aeternitate persistere potuit; ac sic eos et inmortales superbos et miseros noxios, ne inmortalitatis iactantia seducerent ad miseriam, et suae mortis humilitate et suae beatitudinis benignitate destruxit in eis, quorum corda per suam fidem mundans ab illorum inmundissima dominatione liberauit.

(D) Homo itaque mortalis et miser longe seiunctus ab inmortalibus et beatis quid eligat medium, per quod inmortalitati et beatitudini copuletur? Quod possit delectare in daemonum inmortalitate, miserum est; quod possit offendere in Christi mortalitate, iam non est. Ibi ergo cauenda est miseria sempiterna; hic mors timenda non est, quae non esse potuit sempiterna, et beatitudo amanda est sempiterna. Ad hoc se quippe interponit medius inmortalis et miser, ut ad inmortalitatem beatam transire non sinat, quoniam persistit quod inpedit, id est ipsa miseria; ad hoc se autem interposuit mortalis et beatus, ut mortalitate transacta et ex mortuis faceret inmortales, quod in se resurgendo monstrauit, et ex miseris beatos, unde numquam ipse discessit.

(E) Alius est ergo medius malus, qui separat amicos; alius bonus, qui reconciliat inimicos. Et ideo multi sunt medii separatores, quia multitudo, quae beata est, unius Dei participatione fit beata; cuius participationis priuatione misera multitudo malorum angelorum, quae se obponit potius ad inpedimentum, quam interponit ad beatitudinis adiutorium, etiam ipsa multitudine [2]obstrepit quodam modo, ne possit ad illud unum beatificum peruenire, ad quod ut perduceremur, non multis, sed uno mediatore opus erat, et hoc eo ipso, cuius participatione simus beati, hoc est Verbo Dei non facto, [3]per quod facta sunt omnia.

(F) Nec tamen ob hoc mediator est, quia Verbum: maxime quippe inmortale et maxime beatum Verbum longe est a mortalibus miseris; sed mediator, per quod homo, eo ipso utique ostendens ad illud non solum beatum, uerum etiam beatificum bonum [4]non oportere quaeri alios mediatores, per quos arbitremur nobis peruentionis gradus esse moliendos, quia beatus et beatificus Deus factus particeps humanitatis nostrae [5]compendium praebuit participandae

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2. **obstrepit** = "is an obstacle" as in post-Augustine and ecclesiastical Latin elsewhere.

3. **per quod facta sunt omnia.** Cp. John i. 3 (*πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*).

4. **non oportere quaeri alios mediatores.** A.'s statement depends originally upon such passages as 1 Cor. viii. 5 and 6; 1 Tim. ii. 5. They practically forbid the invocation of saints or of any other intermediaries between the soul and God. For in theology whatever is superfluous is erroneous.

5. **compendium** = "a direct means," lit., "a short cut." The participation of man through Christ in the Divine Nature is no less a Christian doctrine than the participation of God through Christ in human nature. See 2 Pet. i. 4. Athanasius says boldly *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν* ("De Incarn.," 54).

diuinitatis suae. Neque enim nos a mortalitate et miseria liberans ad angelos inmortales beatosque ita perducit, ut eorum participatione etiam nos inmortales et beati simus; sed ad illam Trinitatem, [6]cuius et angeli participatione beati sunt. Ideo quando "in *forma serui," ut mediator esset, †infra angelos esse uoluit, in forma Dei supra angelos mansit; idem in inferioribus uia uitae, qui in superioribus uita.

CAPUT XVI.

AN RATIONABILITER PLATONICI DEFINIERINT DEOS CAELESTES DECLINANTES TERRENA CONTAGIA HOMINIBUS NON MISCERI, QUIBUS AD AMICITIAM DEORUM DAEMONES SUFFRAGENTUR.

(A) Non enim uerum est, [1]quod idem Platonicus ‡ait Platonem dixisse: "Nullus Deus miscetur homini"; et "hoc praecipuum eorum sublimitatis" ait esse "specimen, quod nulla adtrectatione" hominum "contaminantur." Ergo daemones contaminari fatetur, et ideo eos, a quibus contaminantur, mundare non possunt, omnesque inmundi pariter fiunt, et daemones contrectatione hominum et homines cultu daemonum. Aut si et contrectari miscerique hominibus, nec tamen contaminari, daemones possunt, dis profecto meliores sunt, quia illi, si miscerentur, contaminarentur.

(B) Nam hoc deorum dicitur esse praecipuum, ut eos sublimiter separatos humana contrectatio contaminare non possit. Deum quidem summum omnium creatorem, quem nos uerum Deum dicimus, [2]sic a Platone praedicari adseuerat, quod ipse sit solus qui non possit penuria sermonis humani quauis oratione uel modice conprehendi; uix autem sapientibus uiris, cum se uigore animi quantum licuit a corpore remouerunt, intellectum huius Dei, [3]id

6. cuius et angeli participatione, etc. Cp. *Bonum, quo beati sunt, Deus illis* (sc. *angelis*) *est* (ix. 22 C). In ix. 21 A it is said that the angels *participata aeternitate* (*Domini* sc. *Christi*) *perfruuntur.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Whether it is reasonable in the Platonists to define the gods of heaven as refusing all contact with the earth, and therefore all intercourse with human beings, and to suppose that human beings are recommended by the daemons to the friendship of the gods.

1. quod idem Platonicus ait. See note on viii. 18 A.

2. sic a Platone praedicari. τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν ("Tim.," p. 28 C)—words quoted (not quite accurately) by Apuleius ("De Dogm. Plat.," i. 5).

3. id quoque interdum, etc. *id* = *intellectum*, but it agrees with *lumen*.

* Philip. ii. 7. † Heb. ii. 7, 9.

‡ Apuleius, "De Deo Socrat.," 4.

quoque interdum uelut [4]in *altissimis tenebris rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum, "intermicare."

(C) Si ergo supra omnia uere summus Deus intellegibili et ineffabili quadam praesentia, etsi interdum, etsi tamquam rapidissimo coruscamine lumen candidum intermicans, adest tamen sapientium mentibus, cum se quantum licuit a corpore remouerunt, nec ab eis contaminari potest: quid est quod isti di propterea constituuntur longe in sublimi loco, ne contrectatione contaminentur humana? [5]Quasi uero aliud corpora illa aetheria quam uidere sufficiat, quorum luce terra, quantum sufficit, inlustratur.

(D) Porro si non contaminantur sidera, cum uidentur, [6]quos deos omnes uisibiles dicit: nec daemones hominum contaminantur aspectu, [7]quamuis de proximo uideantur. An forte uocibus humanis contaminarentur, qui acie non contaminantur oculorum, et ideo daemones medios habent, per quos eis uoces hominum nuntientur, a quibus longe absunt, ut incontaminatissimi perseuerent? Quid iam de ceteris sensibus dicam?

(E) Non enim olfaciendo contaminari uel di possent, si adessent, uel cum adsunt daemones possunt uiuorum corporum uaporibus humanorum, si tantis sacrificiorum cadauerinis non contaminantur nidoribus. In gustandi autem sensu nulla necessitate reficiendae mortalitatis urgentur, ut fame adacti cibos ab hominibus quaerant. [8]Tactus uero in potestate est. Nam licet ab eo potissimum sensu contrectatio dicta uideatur, hactenus tamen, si uellent, miscerentur hominibus, ut uiderent et uiderentur, audirent et audirentur. Tangendi autem quae necessitas? Nam neque homines id concupiscere auderent, cum deorum uel daemonum bonorum conspectu uel conloquio fruerentur; et si in tantum curiositas progrederetur, ut uellet, quonam pacto quispiam inuitum tangere deum uel daemonem, qui nisi captum non potest passerem?

(F) Videndo igitur uisibusque se praebendo et loquendo et audiendo di corporaliter misceri hominibus possent. Hoc autem modo daemones si miscentur, ut dixi, et non contaminantur,

4. **in altissimis tenebris.** The reading in Apuleius is *artissimis*.

5. **quasi uero aliud,** etc.="as if forsooth it were not in itself enough to see these ethereal bodies."

6. **quos deos omnes uisibiles dicit.** A. again draws his statement from Apuleius: *Pars eorum* (sc. *deorum*) *tantummodo obtutu hebeti uisuntur, ut sidera* ("De Deo Socrat.," 4; cp. *ibid.*, 1).

7. **quamuis de proximo uideantur**="however close men's view of the daemons may be."

8. **Tactus . . . in potestate est**—*i.e.*, they may come or not come into contact with human beings, as they choose.

* Apuleius, "De Deo Socrat.," 3.

di autem contaminarentur, si miscerentur: incontaminabiles dicunt daemones et contaminabiles deos. Si autem contaminantur et daemones, quid conferunt hominibus ad uitam post mortem beatam, quos contaminati mundare non possunt, ut eos mundos dis incontaminatis possint adiungere, inter quos et illos medii constituti sunt? Aut si hoc eis beneficii non conferunt, quid prodest hominibus daemonum amica mediatio?

(G) An ut post mortem non ad deos homines per daemones transeant, sed simul uiuant [9] utrique contaminati ac per hoc neutri beati? Nisi forte quis dicat more spongiarum uel huiusce modi rerum mundare daemones amicos suos, ut tanto ipsi sordidiores fiant, quanto fiunt homines eis uelut tergentibus mundiores. Quod si ita est, contaminatioribus di miscentur daemonibus, qui, ne contaminarentur, hominum propinquitatem contrectationemque uitarunt. An forte di possunt ab hominibus contaminatos mundare daemones, nec ab eis contaminari, et eo modo non possent et homines? Quis talia sentiat, nisi quem fallacissimi daemones deceperunt?

(H) Quid quod, si uideri et uidere contaminat, uidentur ab hominibus di, quos uisibiles dicit, *[10] "clarissima mundi lumina" et cetera sidera, tutioresque sunt daemones ab ista hominum contaminatione, qui non possunt uideri, nisi uelint? Aut si non uideri, sed uidere contaminat, negent ab istis clarissimis mundi luminibus, quos deos opinantur, uideri homines, cum radios suos terras usque pertendant. Qui tamen eorum radii per quaeque inmunda diffusi non contaminantur, et di contaminarentur, si hominibus miscerentur, etiamsi esset necessarius in subueniendo contactus? Nam radiis solis et lunae terra contingitur, nec istam contaminat lucem.

CAPUT XVII.

AD CONSEQUENDAM VITAM BEATAM, QUAE IN PARTICIPATIONE EST SUMMI BONI, NON TALI MEDIATORE INDIGERE HOMINEM QUALIS EST DAEMON, SED TALI QUALIS EST UNUS CHRISTUS.

(A) Miror autem plurimum tam doctos homines, qui cuncta corporalia et sensibilia prae incorporalibus et intellegibilibus postponenda iudicauerunt, cum agitur de beata uita, corporalium con-

9. utrique—*sc.* daemons and men.

10. clarissima mundi lumina—*sc.* the sun and moon, which the Neo-Platonists regarded as gods (*quos deos opinantur*). Apuleius quotes the lines of Virgil in which this phrase occurs ("De Deo Socrat.," 1).

* Virg., "Georg.," i. 5, 6.

trectationum facere mentionem. Ubi est [1]illud Plotini, ubi ait: "Fugiendum est igitur ad carissimam patriam, et ibi pater, et ibi omnia. Quae igitur," inquit, "classis aut fuga? Similem Deo fieri." Si ergo deo quanto similior, tanto fit quisque propinquior, nulla est ab illo alia longinquitas quam eius dissimilitudo. Incorporali uero illi aeterno et incommutabili tanto est anima hominis dissimilior, quanto rerum temporalium mutabiliumque cupidior.

(B) Hoc ut sanetur, quoniam inmortali puritati, quae in summo est, ea quae in imo sunt mortalia et inmunda conuenire non possunt, opus est quidem mediatore; non tamen tali, qui corpus quidem habeat inmortale propinquum summis, animum autem morbidum similem infimis (quo morbo nobis inuideat potius ne sanemur, quam adiuuet ut sanemur); sed tali, qui nobis infimis ex corporis mortalitate coaptatus inmortali spiritus iustitia, per quam non locorum distantia, sed similitudinis excellentia mansit in summis, mundandis liberandisque nobis uere diuinum praebeat adiutorium.

(C) Qui profecto incontaminabilis Deus absit ut contaminationem timeret [2]ex homine quo indutus est, aut ex hominibus inter quos [3]in homine conuersatus est. Non enim parua sunt [4]haec interim duo, quae salubriter sua incarnatione monstrauit, nec carne posse contaminari ueram diuinitatem, nec ideo putandos daemones nobis esse meliores, [5]quia non habent carmen. Hic est, sicut eum sancta scriptura praedicat, **mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus*, de cuius et diuinitate, qua patri est semper aequalis, et humanitate, qua nobis factus est similis, non hic locus est ut competenter pro nostra facultate dicamus.

CHAPTER XVII.

That in order to gain the blessed life which consists in the participation of the Supreme Good, man needs not such a mediator as a daemon, but a mediator such as is Christ alone.

1. illud Plotini. A. has apparently fused together (with considerable liberty) two passages of Plotinus: (1) *φεύγωμεν δὴ φίλην εἰς πατρίδα· τίς οὖν ἡ φυγή; . . . πατρὶς δὲ ἡμῖν ὅθεν παρήλθομεν καὶ πατὴρ ἐκεῖ; τίς οὖν ὁ στόλος καὶ ἡ φυγή* ("Ennead.," i. 6, 8); and (2) *τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φυγὴν τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι* (*ibid.*, i. 2, 3).

2. ex homine quo indutus est. One of A.'s numerous phrases expressive of our Lord's Incarnation. Very close to it is *hominem indui* (x. 29 C); also *infirmitate carnis induto* (ix. 21 A). Cp. *indumentum carnis* (xvi. 29 A). See Appendix E. *Homine* here = "humanity." Cp. *hominem quem gerebat* (ix. 21 C).

3. in homine = "in fashion as a man."

4. haec interim duo = "these two facts by themselves." *interim*—*sc.* without entering upon a discussion of the whole subject; cp. note on vii. 5 C. Dods gives the sense correctly but rather elaborately in his translation: "though His Incarnation should be nothing else."

5. quia non habent carmen. Cp. "De Trin.," xiii. 22.

* 1 Tim. ii. 5.

CAPUT XVIII.

QUOD FALLACIA DAEMONUM, DUM SUA INTERCESSIONE VIAM SPONDET AD DEUM, HOC ADNITATUR, UT HOMINES A VIA VERITATIS AVERTAT.

(A) Falsi autem illi fallacesque mediatores daemones, qui, cum per spiritus inmunditiam miseri ac maligni multis effectibus clareant, [1] per corporalium tamen locorum interualla et per aeriorum corporum leuitatem a prouectu animorum nos auocare adque auertere moliuntur, non uiam praebent ad Deum, sed, ne uia teneatur, inpediunt.

(B) Quando quidem et in ipsa uia corporali (quae falsissima est et plenissima erroris, qua non iter agit iustitia; quoniam non per coporalem altitudinem, sed per spiritalem, hoc est incorporalem, similitudinem ad Deum debemus ascendere)—in ipsa tamen uia corporali, quam daemonum amici [2] per elementorum gradus ordinant inter aetherios deos et terrenos homines aeriis daemonibus mediis constitutis, hoc deos opinantur habere praecipuum, ut propter hoc interuallum locorum contrectatione non contaminentur humana. Ita daemones contaminari potius ab hominibus, quam homines mundari a daemonibus credunt, et deos ipsos contaminari potuisse, nisi loci altitudine munirentur.

(C) Quis tam infelix est, ut ista uia mundari se existimet, ubi homines contaminantes, daemones contaminati, di contaminabiles praedicantur, et non potius eligat uiam, ubi contaminantes magis daemones euitentur et ab incontaminabili Deo ad ineundam societatem incontaminatorum angelorum homines a contaminatione mundentur ?

CAPUT XIX.

QUOD APPELLATIO DAEMONUM IAM NEC APUT CULTORES EORUM ADSUMATUR IN SIGNIFICATIONEM ALICUIUS BONI.

(A) Sed ne de uerbis etiam nos certare uideamur, quoniam nonnulli istorum, ut ita dixerim, [1] daemonicolarum, in quibus

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CHAPTER XVIII.

That the treachery of the daemons, while promising men a way to God through their intercession, has no other object than to turn them aside from the way of truth.

1. per corporalium . . . locorum interualla = "through the material spaces which separate them from us." The phrase *interuallum locorum* (B below) is simpler; but its meaning is the same.

2. per elementorum gradus. Cp. viii. 15 E.

CHAPTER XXIX.

That the title of "daemons" is no longer adopted even among their worshippers to signify anything good.

1. daemonicolarum—a word probably coined, and certainly used elsewhere as here, by A. Cp. "Confess.," viii. 2, 4.

[2]et Labeo est, eosdem perhibent ab aliis angelos dici, quos ipsi daemones nuncupant, iam mihi de bonis angelis aliquid uideo disserendum, quos [3]isti esse non negant, sed eos bonos daemones uocare quam angelos malunt.

(B) Nos autem, sicut scriptura loquitur, secundum quam Christiani sumus, angelos quidem partim bonos, [4]partim malos, numquam uero bonos daemones legimus; sed ubicumque illarum litterarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, siue daemones, siue daemonia dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus. Et hanc loquendi consuetudinem in tantum populi usquequaque secuti sunt, ut eorum etiam, qui [5]pagani appellantur et deos multos ac daemones colendos esse contendunt, nullus fere sit tam litteratus et doctus, qui audeat in laude uel seruo suo dicere: [6]"Daemonem habes"; sed quilibet hoc dicere uoluerit, non se aliter accipi, quam maledicere uoluisse, dubitare non possit.

(C) Quae igitur nos causa conpellit, ut post offensionem aurium tam multarum, ut iam paene sint omnium, quae hoc uerbum non nisi in malam partem audire consuerunt, quod diximus cogamur exponere, cum possimus angelorum nomine adhibito eandem offensionem, quae nomine daemonum fieri poterat, euitare?

CAPUT XX.

DE QUALITATE SCIENTIAE, QUAE DAEMONES SUPERBOS FACIT.

(A) Quamquam etiam ipsa origo huius nominis, si diuinos intueamur libros, aliquid adfert cognitione dignissimum. Daemones enim dicuntur (quoniam uocabulum Graecum est) [1]ob scientiam nominati. Apostolus autem spiritu sancto locutus ait: **Scientia*

2. et Labeo est. Cp. ii. 11 c.

3. Isti—*sc.* the Platonists.

4. partim malos. See, *e.g.*, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6.

5. pagani. A.'s writings exhibit the sinister origin of paganism, as dating from a time when the cities of the Roman Empire, but not the country districts, had been generally converted to Christianity. See, *e.g.*, "Retract.," ii. 43, 1: *deorum falsorum multorumque cultores quos usitato nomine paganos uocarmus.* Orosius, whose history was written at A.'s instance and dedicated to him, says, with reference to *D.C.D., alieni a ciuitate Dei ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani uocantur siue gentiles* ("Hist. Praef.," 3).

6. "Daemonem habes." Cp. *δαιμόνιον ἔχεις* (John vii. 20; viii. 48).

CHAPTER XX.

Of the quality of the knowledge which makes the daemons proud.

1. ob scientiam nominati. Plato, referring to Hesiod ("Works and Days," 120-125) says *ὅτι φρόνιμοι καὶ δαίμονες ἦσαν, δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασε* ("Cratyl.," p. 398 B). Other writers seem to have accepted the derivation as quite natural, *e.g.*, Martianus Capella (ii., § 154).

* 1 Cor. viii. 1.

inflat, caritas uero aedificat; quod recte aliter non intellegitur, nisi scientiam tunc prodesse, cum caritas inest; sine hac autem inflare, id est in superbiam inanissimae quasi uentositatis extollere.

(B) Est ergo in daemonibus scientia sine caritate, et ideo tam inflati, hoc est tam superbi sunt, ut honores diuinos et [2]religionis seruitutem, quam uero Deo deberi sciunt, sibi [3]satis egerint exhiberi, et quantum possunt aput quos possunt adhuc agant. [4]Contra superbiam porro daemonum, [5]qua pro meritis possidebatur genus humanum, Dei humilitas, quae in Christo apparuit, quantam uirtutem habeat, animae hominum nesciunt inmunditia elationis inflatae, daemonibus similes, non scientia sed superbia.

CAPUT XXI.

AD QUEM MODUM DOMINUS VOLUERIT DAEMONIBUS INNOTESCERE.

(A) Ipsi autem daemones etiam hoc ita sciunt, ut eidem Domino [1]infirmitate carnis induto dixerint: **Quid nobis et tibi, Iesu Nazarene? Venisti perdere nos?* Clarum est in his uerbis, quod in eis et tanta scientia erat, et caritas non erat. Poenam suam quippe formidabant ab illo, non in illo iustitiam diligebant. Tantum uero eis innotuit, quantum uoluit; tantum autem uoluit, quantum oportuit. Sed innotuit [2]non sicut angelis sanctis, qui eius, secundum id quod Dei Verbum est, participata aeternitate perfruuntur, sed sicut eis terrendis innotescendum fuit, ex quorum tyrannica quodam modo potestate fuerat liberaturus praedestinatos in suum regnum et gloriam semper ueracem et ueraciter sempiternam.

(B) Innotuit ergo daemonibus non per id, [3]quod est uita aeterna

2. religionis seruitutem=λατρείαν. See vii. 32 B.

3. satis egerint exhiberi="have exacted the performance of."

4. Contra superbiam . . . daemonum. The arrogance and the humility which A. regards as characteristic of citizens of the earthly city and citizens of the City of God respectively (1 Praef.) find their complete manifestation in the daemons on the one hand and in the Incarnate Christ on the other.

5. qua pro meritis, etc.="by which the human race was held, as it deserved to be, in thraldom."

CHAPTER XXI.

How far the Lord willed to become known to the daemons.

1. infirmitate carnis induto. See Appendix E. The expression which A. here uses to signify the Incarnation is illustrated in the note on ix. 17 C. There is another of A.'s expressions for the Incarnation *hominem quem gerebat* (C below).

2. non sicut angelis sanctis. Upon the nature of angelic knowledge cp. "De Gen. ad Litt.," iv. 49 and 50.

3. quod est uita aeterna, etc. Cp. John i. 4, although A. enlarges the Fourth Evangelist's phrase.

* Mark i. 24.

et lumen incommutabile, quod inluminat pios, cui uidendo per fidem, quae in illo est, corda mundantur, sed per quaedam temporalia suae [4]uirtutis effecta et occultissimae signa praesentiae, quae angelicis sensibus etiam malignorum spirituum potius quam infirmitati hominum possint esse conspicua.

(C) Denique quando ea paululum subprimenda iudicauit et aliquanto altius latuit, dubitauit de illo daemonum princeps eumque tentauit, an Christus esset explorans, quantum se tentari ipse permisti, ut hominem, quem gerebat, [5]ad nostrae imitationis temperaret exemplum. Post illam uero tentationem, cum **angeli*, sicut scriptum est, *ministrarent ei*, boni utique et sancti ac per hoc spiritibus inmundis metuendi et tremendi, magis magisque innotescebat daemonibus quantus esset, ut ei iubenti, quamuis in illo contemtibilis uideretur carnis infirmitas, resistere nullus auderet.

CAPUT XXII.

QUID INTERSIT INTER SCIENTIAM SANCTORUM ANGELORUM ET SCIENTIAM DAEMONUM.

(A) His igitur angelis bonis omnis corporalium temporaliumque rerum scientia, qua inflantur daemones, uilis est; non quod earum ignari sint, sed quod illis Dei, qua sanctificantur, caritas cara est, prae cuius non tantum incorporali, uerum etiam incommutabili et ineffabili pulchritudine, cuius sancto amore inardescunt [1]omnia, quae infra sunt et quod illud est non sunt seque ipsos inter illa contemnunt, [2]ut ex toto, quod boni sunt, eo bono, ex quo boni sunt, perfruantur.

(B) Et ideo certius etiam temporalia et mutabilia ista nouerunt, quia eorum principales causas in Verbo Dei conspiciunt, per quod factus est mundus; quibus causis quaedam probantur, quaedam

4. uirtutis="power" as so often in *D.C.D.*

5. ad nostrae imitationis . . . exemplum. Cp. Heb. iv. 15. Translate "that he might so subdue the human nature which he wore as to afford an example for our imitation."

CHAPTER XXII.

What is the difference between the knowledge of the holy angels and the knowledge of the daemons.

1. omnia, quae infra sunt, etc.="all things which are beneath it and which are not what it is," *illud* being the *inconmutabilis et ineffabilis pulchritudo.*

2. ut ex toto, etc.="that with all the power of their goodness they may to the full enjoy the good which is in itself the source of their goodness." The words *eo bono, ex quo boni sunt,* are interpreted by *Bonum . . . quo beati sunt, Deus illis est* (C below).

* Matt. iv. 11.

reprobantur, cuncta ordinantur. Daemones autem non aeternas temporum causas et quodam modo cardinales in Dei sapientia contemplantur, sed quorundam signorum nobis occultorum maiore experientia multo plura quam homines futura prospiciunt; [3]dispositiones quoque suas aliquando praenuntiant.

(c) Denique saepe [4]isti, numquam [5]illi omnino falluntur. Aliud est enim temporalibus temporalia et mutabilibus mutabilia coniectare eisque temporalem et mutabilem modum suae uoluntatis et facultatis inserere, quod daemonibus certa ratione permissum est; aliud autem in aeternis adque incommutabilibus Dei legibus, quae in eius sapientia uiuunt, mutationes temporum praeuidere Deique uoluntatem, quae tam certissima quam potentissima est omnium, spiritus eius participatione cognoscere; quod sanctis angelis [6]recta discretione donatum est. Itaque non solum aeterni, uerum etiam beati sunt. Bonum autem, quo beati sunt, Deus illis est, a quo creati sunt. Illius quippe indeclinabiliter participatione et contemplatione perfruuntur.

CAPUT XXIII.

NOMEN DEORUM FALSO ADSCRIBI DIS GENTIUM, QUOD TAMEN ET ANGELIS SANCTIS ET HOMINIBUS IUSTIS EX DIVINARUM SCRIPTURARUM AUCTORITATE COMMUNE EST.

(a) Hos si Platonici malunt deos quam daemones dicere eisque adnumerare, quos a summo Deo conditos deos *[1]scribit eorum auctor et magister Plato: dicant quod uolunt; non enim cum eis de uerborum controuersia laborandum est. Si enim sic inmortales, ut tamen a summo Deo factos, et si non per se ipsos, sed ei, a quo facti sunt, adhaerendo beatos esse dicunt: hoc dicunt quod dicimus, quolibet eos nomine appellent.

3. dispositiones quoque suas, etc. The phrase is a little obscure; but it is elucidated by x. 32 Q: *inmundi daemones sua disposita facta praenuntiant. Dispositiones* then must mean "intentions." A. uses *dispositio* elsewhere for "Providence"—*e.g.*, x. 12 C.

4. isti—sc. *daemones.*

5. illi—sc. *angeli.*

6. recta discretione="by a just distinction."

CHAPTER XXIII.

That the name of "gods" is falsely attributed to the gods of the heathen; although upon the authority of the Divine Scriptures it is applicable both to the holy angels and to just men.

1. scribit . . . Plato. A. has probably in view "Tim.," pp. 40 D-41 B, where "the Author of the Universe" is represented as addressing the gods in the words, *θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων.*

* "Tim.," p. 41 A.

(B) Hanc autem Platonicorum esse sententiam, siue omnium siue meliorum, in eorum litteris inueniri potest. Nam et de ipso nomine, quod huius modi inmortalem beatamque creaturam deos appellant, ideo inter nos et ipsos paene nulla dissensio est, quia et in nostris sacris litteris legitur: *[2]*Deus deorum dominus locutus est*, et alibi: †*Confitemini deo deorum*, et alibi: ‡*Rex magnus super omnes deos.* Illud autem ubi scriptum est: §*Terribilis est super omnes deos*, quur dictum sit, deinceps ostenditur.

(C) Sequitur enim: *Quoniam omnes di gentium daemonia, Dominus autem caelos fecit. Super omnes* ergo *deos* dixit, sed *gentium*, id est quos gentes pro dis habent, quae sunt *daemonia;* ideo *terribilis*, sub quo terrore Domino dicebant: ‖*Venisti perdere nos?* Illud uero, ubi dicitur: *Deus deorum*, non potest intellegi deus daemoniorum; et *rex magnus super omnes deos* absit ut dicatur rex magnus super omnia daemonia. Sed [3]homines quoque in populo Dei eadem scriptura deos appellat. ¶*Ego*, inquit, *dixi, di estis et filii* [4]*Excelsi omnes.* Potest itaque intellegi horum deorum deus, qui dictus est *deus deorum*, et super hos deos rex magnus, qui dictus est *rex magnus super omnes deos.*

(D) Verum tamen cum a nobis quaeritur: si homines dicti sunt di, quod in populo Dei sunt, quem per angelos uel per homines adloquitur Deus, quanto magis inmortales eo nomine digni sunt, qui ea fruuntur beatitudine, ad quam Deum colendo cupiunt homines peruenire! quid respondebimus nisi non frustra in scripturis sanctis expressius homines nuncupatos deos, quam illos inmortales et, beatos, [5]quibus nos aequales futuros in resurrectione promittitur ne scilicet propter illorum excellentiam aliquem eorum nobis constituere deum infidelis auderet infirmitas?

(E) Quod in homine facile est euitare. Et euidentius dici debuerunt homines di in populo Dei, ut certi ac fidentes fierent eum esse Deum suum, qui dictus est *deus deorum;* quia etsi appellentur

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2. Deus deorum. *θεὸς θεῶν* (LXX). The original אֵל אֱלֹהִים, which is rendered "the mighty God" (A.V.) means literally "God of gods" or, as in R.V., "God, *even* God."

3. homines . . . in populo Dei. A. insists more than once upon the limitation *in populo Dei*—*e.g.*, D and E below.

4. Excelsi=Ὑψίστου (LXX). The phrase here quoted is quoted in part also by our Lord (John x. 34). It seems clear that judges as God's representatives upon earth were sometimes addressed as "gods." But A.'s point is that the name "gods," if given to just men, was never given to daemons. He interprets the phrase "God of gods" as meaning "God of the just." (E below.)

5. quibus nos aequales, etc.—*sc.* the angels. Cp. Luke xx. 36.

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* Ps. l. 1. † Ps. cxxxvi. 2. ‡ Ps. xcv. 3.
§ Ps. xcvi. 4, 5. ‖ Mark i. 24. ¶ Ps. lxxxii. 6.

di inmortales illi et beati, qui in caelis sunt, non tamen dicti sunt [6]di deorum, id est di hominum in populo Dei constitutorum, quibus dictum est: *Ego dixi, di estis et filii Excelsi omnes.* Hinc est quod ait apostolus: **Etsi sunt qui dicuntur di, siue in caelo siue in terra, sicuti sunt di multi et domini multi; nobis tamen unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et* [7]*nos in ipso, et unus Dominus Iesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum.*

(F) Non multum ergo de nomine disceptandum est, cum res ipsa ita clareat, ut ab scrupulo dubitationis aliena sit. Illud uero, quod nos ex eorum inmortalium beatorum numero missos esse angelos dicimus, qui Dei uoluntatem hominibus adnuntiarent, illis autem non placet, quia hoc ministerium non per illos, quos deos appellant, id est inmortales et beatos, sed per daemones fieri credunt, quos inmortales tantum, non etiam beatos audent dicere, aut certe ita inmortales et beatos, ut tamen daemones bonos, non deos sublimiter conlocatos et ab humana contrectatione semotos, quamuis nominis controuersia uideatur, tamen ita detestabile est nomen daemonum, ut hoc modis omnibus a sanctis angelis nos remouere debeamus.

(G) Nunc ergo ita liber iste claudatur, ut sciamus inmortales et beatos, quodlibet uocentur, qui tamen facti et creati sunt, medios non esse ad inmortalem beatitudinem perducendis mortalibus miseris, a quibus [8]utraque differentia separantur. Qui autem medii sunt communem habendo inmortalitatem cum superioribus, miseriam cum inferioribus, quoniam merito malitiae miseri sunt, beatitudinem, quam non habent, inuidere nobis possunt potius quam praebere. Unde nihil habent amici daemonum quod nobis dignum adferant, quur eos tamquam adiutores colere debeamus, quos potius ut deceptores uitare debemus.

(H) Quos autem bonos et ideo non solum inmortales, uerum etiam beatos deorum nomine sacris et sacrificiis propter uitam beatam post mortem adipiscendam colendos putant, qualescumque illi sint et quolibet uocabulo digni sint, non eos uelle per tale religionis obsequium nisi unum Deum coli, a quo creati et cuius participatione beati sunt, adiuuante ipso in sequenti libro diligentius disseremus.

6. **di deorum, id est di hominum,** etc. It is difficult to think that A. can have seriously interpreted the striking phrase "God of gods" in this sense.

7. **nos in ipso**=ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν.

8. **utraque differentia**—*sc.* as being both blessed and immortal.

* 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

LIBER X

CAPUT I.

VERAM BEATITUDINEM SIVE ANGELIS SIVE HOMINIBUS PER UNUM DEUM TRIBUI ETIAM PLATONICOS DEFINISSE; SED UTRUM HI, QUOS OB HOC IPSUM COLENDOS PUTANT, UNI TANTUM DEO, AN ETIAM SIBI SACRIFICARI VELINT, ESSE QUAERENDUM.

(A) Omnium certa sententia est, qui ratione quoquo modo uti possunt, beatos esse omnes homines uelle. [1]Qui autem sint uel unde fiant dum mortalium quaerit infirmitas, multae magnaeque controuersiae concitatae sunt, in quibus philosophi sua studia et otia contriuerunt, quas in medium adducere adque discutere et longum est et non necessarium. Si enim recolit qui haec legit, quid in *libro egerimus octauo in eligendis philosophis, cum quibus haec de beata uita, quae post mortem futura est, quaestio tractaretur, utrum ad eam uni Deo uero, qui etiam [2]effector est deorum, an plurimis dis religione sacrisque seruiendo peruenire possimus: non etiam hic eadem repeti expectat, praesertim cum possit relegendo, si forte oblitus est, adminiculari memoriam.

(B) Elegimus enim Platonicos omnium philosophorum merito nobilissimos, propterea quia sapere potuerunt licet inmortalem ac rationalem uel intellectualem hominis animam [3]nisi participato lumine illius Dei, a quo et ipsa et mundus factus est, beatam esse non posse; ita illud, quod omnes homines adpetunt, id est uitam beatam, quemquam isti adsecuturum negant, qui non illi uni optimo, quod est incommutabilis Deus, puritate casti amoris adhaeserit.

(C) Sed quia ipsi quoque siue cedentes uanitati errorique populorum siue, ut ait apostolus, †[4]*euanescentes in cogitationibus suis* multos deos colendos ita putauerunt uel putari uoluerunt, ut quidam

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CHAPTER I.

That according to the definition of the Platonists themselves it is God alone through whom true blessedness is conferred whether upon angels or upon mankind; but whether the beings who ought, as the Platonists think, to be worshipped for the sake of blessedness itself, desire sacrifices to be offered to the one God only or to themselves also, is a question which needs to be considered.

1. **Qui autem sint**—sc. *beati.*
2. **effector est deorum**—an expression which ix. 23 B-E makes clear.
3. **nisi participato lumine illius Dei.** Cp. viii. 7 B; viii. 11 F.
4. **euanescentes,** etc. = ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν.

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* viii. 5. † Rom. i. 21.

eorum etiam daemonibus diuinos honores sacrorum et sacrificiorum deferendos esse censerent, quibus iam non parua ex parte respondimus: nunc uidendum ac disserendum est, quantum Deus donat, inmortales ac beati [5]in caelestibus sedibus, dominationibus, principatibus, potestatibus constituti, quos isti deos et ex quibus quosdam uel bonos daemones uel nobiscum angelos nominant, quo modo credendi sint uelle a nobis religionem pietatemque seruari; hoc est, ut apertius dicam, utrum etiam sibi an tantum Deo suo, qui etiam noster est, placeat eis ut sacra faciamus et sacrificemus, uel aliqua nostra seu nos ipsos religionis ritibus consecremus.

(D) Hic est enim [6]diuinitati uel, si expressius dicendum est, deitati debitus cultus, propter quem uno uerbo significandum, quoniam mihi satis idoneum non occurrit Latinum, Graeco ubi necesse est [7]insinuo quid uelim dicere. Λατρείαν quippe nostri, ubicumque sanctarum scripturarum positum est, interpretati sunt seruitutem. Sed ea seruitus, quae debetur hominibus, secundum quam * praecipit apostolus seruos dominis suis subditos esse debere, [8]alio nomine Graece nuncupari solet; λατρεία uero secundum consuetudinem, qua locuti sunt qui nobis [9]diuina eloquia condiderunt, aut semper aut tam frequenter ut paene semper ea dicitur seruitus, quae pertinet ad colendum Deum.

(E) Proinde [10]si tantummodo cultus ipse dicatur, non soli Deo deberi uidetur. Dicimur enim [11]colere etiam homines, quos honorifica uel recordatione uel [12]praesentia frequentamus. Nec solum ea, quibus nos religiosa humilitate subicimus, sed quaedam etiam,

5. in caelestibus sedibus, etc. See note on viii. 24 D.

6. diuinitati uel . . . deitati. See note on vii. 1 A.

7. insinuo = "suggest." A.'s use of *insinuo* is examined in the note on ii. 28 B.

8. alio nomine. A. draws a distinction between λατρεία as the service of God, and δουλεία as the service of men; not indeed that the distinction is either proper to the two words themselves or scripturally valid; for λατρεία was originally hired service of any kind, and St. Paul habitually speaks of himself as the δοῦλος of God or of Christ. In fact, A. himself says *δουλεία debetur Deo tamquam Domino; λατρεία uero non nisi Deo tamquam Deo* ("Quaest. in Exod.," 94). But cp. "Con. Faust. Manich.," xv. 9; xx. 21; "Epist.," ii. 102, 20. For λατρεία see note on v. 15 A. The distinction between λατρεία and δουλεία is drawn out by Trench ("Synonyms of the New Testament," § 35).

9. diuina eloquia = "the divine oracles"—a phrase corresponding with τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom. iii. 2). For A.'s different uses of *eloquium* see note on ii. 18 F. It means "style" or perhaps "language" (E below).

10. si tantummodo cultus ipse dicatur = "if this service is called simply a cult."

11. colere—a verb of wider or more various significance than any one English verb. It contains in itself the ideas of cult, culture, and cultivation.

12. praesentia—with probable reference to the Roman *clientela*. Translate "by paying them the honour of remembering or visiting them." There is or may be a cult of human beings.

* Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22.

quae subiecta sunt nobis, perhibentur coli. Nam ex hoc uerbo et agricolae et coloni et incolae uocantur, et ipsos deos non ob aliud appellant caelicolas, nisi quod caelum colant, non utique uenerando, sed inhabitando, tamquam caeli quosdam colonos; non sicut appellantur coloni, qui condicionem debent genitali solo propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum, sed, sicut ait quidam Latini eloquii magnus auctor:

*Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni.

(F) Ab incolendo enim colonos uocauit, non ab agricultura. Hinc et ciuitates a maioribus ciuitatibus uelut populorum examinibus conditae coloniae nuncupantur. Ac per hoc cultum quidem non deberi nisi Deo propria quadam notione uerbi huius omnino uerissimum est; sed quia et aliarum rerum dicitur cultus, ideo Latine uno uerbo significari cultus Deo debitus non potest.

(G) Nam et ipsa religio quamuis distinctius non quemlibet, sed Dei cultum significare uideatur (unde isto nomine interpretati sunt nostri eam, quae Graece [13]θρησκεία dicitur): tamen quia Latina loquendi consuetudine, non inperitorum, uerum etiam doctissimorum, et cognationibus humanis adque adfinitatibus et quibusque necessitudinibus dicitur exhibenda religio, non eo uocabulo uitatur ambiguum, cum de cultu deitatis uertitur quaestio, ut fidenter dicere ualeamus religionem non esse nisi cultum Dei, quoniam uidetur hoc uerbum a significanda obseruantia propinquitatis humanae insolenter auferri. Pietas quoque proprie Dei cultus intellegi solet, quam Graeci εὐσέβειαν uocant.

(H) Haec tamen [14]et erga parentes [15]officiose haberi dicitur. More autem uulgi hoc nomen etiam [16]in operibus misericordiae frequentatur; quod ideo arbitror euenisse, quia haec fieri praecipue mandat Deus eaque sibi[17]uel pro sacrificiis uel prae sacrificiis placere

13. θρησκεία—is "predominantly the ceremonial service of religion, the external forms or body of which εὐσέβεια is the informing soul." (Trench, "Synonyms of the New Testament," § 48.) But A. makes too much of the use of *religio* as a word appropriate to the domestic affections. It is true that Cicero, in a passage cited by the Benedictine editors, says: *Magnam uim, magnam necessitatem, magnam possidet religionem paternus maternusque sanguis* ("Pro Rosc. Amer.," 24, 66); but even there he is clearly working up to an exceptional sense of *religio*.

14. et erga parentes—as in the *pietas* of Aeneas.

15. officiose="in a dutiful spirit."

16. in operibus misericordiae. *Pietas* in the sense of "compassion" or "pity" is a late usage. It may be illustrated by an interesting passage in a letter of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius to Faustina about the conspiracy of Avidius Cassius: *Non enim quicquam est quod inperatorem Romanum melius commendat gentibus quam clementia. Haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum consecrauit, haec patrem tuum inprimis Pii nomine ornauit.*

17. uel pro sacrificiis uel prae sacrificiis. The thought is an expansion of the

* Virg., "Aen.," i. 12.

testatur. Ex qua loquendi consuetudine factum est, ut [18]et Deus ipse dicatur pius; quem sane Graeci nullo suo sermonis usu [19]εὐσεβῆν uocant, [20]quamuis εὐσέβειαν pro misericordia illorum etiam uulgus usurpet. Unde in quibusdam scripturarum locis, ut distinctio certior appareret, non εὐσέβειαν, quod ex bono cultu, sed [21]θεοσέβειαν, quod ex Dei cultu conpositum resonat, dicere maluerunt. Utrumlibet autem horum nos uno uerbo enuntiare non possumus.

(1) Quae itaque λατρεία Graece nuncupatur et Latine interpretatur seruitus, sed ea qua colimus Deum; uel quae θρησκεία Graece, Latine autem religio dicitur, sed ea quae nobis est erga Deum; uel quam illi εὐσέβειαν, nos uero non uno uerbo exprimere, sed Dei cultum possumus appellare: hanc ei tantum Deo deberi dicimus, qui uerus est Deus [22]facitque suos cultores deos. Quicumque igitur sunt in caelestibus habitationibus inmortales et beati, si nos non amant nec beatos esse nos uolunt, colendi utique non sunt. Si autem amant et beatos uolunt, profecto [23]inde uolunt, unde et ipsi sunt; an aliunde ipsi beati, aliunde nos ?

CAPUT II.

DE SUPERNA INLUMINATIONE QUID PLOTINUS PLATONICUS SENSERIT.

(A) Sed non est nobis ullus cum his excellentioribus philosophis in hac quaestione conflictus. Viderunt enim suisque litteris multis

well-known verse (Jas. i. 26) which depends itself for its effect on the original and ordinary meaning of θρησκεία. Cp. also 1 Sam. xv. 22; Hos. vi. 6; Mark xii. 33.

18. et Deus ipse dicatur pius. The Vulgate affords examples of such use—*e.g.*, 2 Chron. xxx. 9: *pius et clemens est Dominus Deus uester*, or in the Apocrypha; Ecclus. ii. 13: *pius et misericors est Deus ;* and Judith vii. 20: *Tu, quia pius es, miserere nostri*, where the equivalents of *pius* in LXX are (1) ἐλεήμων; (2) οἰκτίρμων.

19. εὐσεβῆν. This—or *euseben*—is the reading of the MSS. It is almost certainly right. In the MSS. of the New Testament we find several examples of the ν appended to the Accusative Singular in α and η (ἐλπίδαν συγγενῆν). See Moulton's edition of Winer's "Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek," Sect. ix., Rem. 3.

20. quamuis εὐσέβειαν etc. In classical Greek εὐσέβεια signifies dutifulness to parents as well as to the gods. So εἰς δὲ θεοὺς ἀσεβείας τε καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ γονέας (Plato, "Republ.," x., p. 615 c). A. speaks elsewhere of εὐσέβεια (or its equivalent *pietas*) as signifying *bonus cultus* generally, but with special reference to the worship of God ("Enchir.," i. 2).

21. θεοσέβειαν—occurs once only in the New Testament (1 Tim. ii. 10), as θεοσεβής also once only (John ix. 31). But in LXX the words are common, being applied, *e.g.*, several times to Job (i. 8; ii. 3; xxviii. 2).

22. facitque suos cultores deos. The reference is probably to Psalm lxxxii. 6. Cp. ix. 23 c.

23. inde uolunt, etc.="It is certain that they wish the source of our happiness to be the same as that of their own."

modis copiosissime mandauerunt hinc illos, unde et nos, fieri beatos, obiecto quodam [1]lumine intellegibili, quod Deus est illis est aliud est quam illi, a quo inlustrantur, ut clareant adque eius participatione perfecti beatique subsistant.

(B) Saepe multumque [2]Plotinus adserit sensum Platonis explanans, ne illam quidem, quam credunt esse [3]uniuersitatis animam, aliunde beatam esse quam nostram, idque esse lumen quod ipsa non est, sed a quo creata est et quo intellegibiliter inluminante intellegibiliter lucet. Dat etiam similitudinem ad illa incorporea de his caelestibus conspicuis amplisque corporibus, tamquam [4]ille sit sol et [5]ipsa sit luna. Lunam quippe solis obiectu inluminari putant.

(C) Dicit ergo ille magnus Platonicus animam rationalem, siue potius intellectualis dicenda sit, ex quo genere etiam inmortalium beatorumque animas esse intellegit, quos in caelestibus sedibus habitare non dubitat, non habere supra se naturam nisi Dei, qui fabricatus est mundum, a quo et ipsa facta est; nec aliunde illis supernis praeberi uitam beatam et lumen intellegentiae ueritatis, quam unde praebetur et nobis, consonans euangelio, ubi legitur: *[6]*Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Iohannes; hic uenit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per eum. Non erat ille lumen, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lumen uerum, quod inluminat omnem hominem [7]uenientem in hunc mundum.*

(D) In qua differentia satis ostenditur animam rationalem uel intellectualem, [8]qualis erat in Iohanne, sibi lumen esse non posse, sed alterius ueri luminis participatione lucere. Hoc et [9]ipse Iohannes fatetur, ubi ei perhibens testimonium dicit: † *Nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus.*

CHAPTER II.

What was the opinion of Plotinus the Platonist about the illumination from on high.

1. **lumine intellegibili**=*φῶς νοητόν*.
2. **Plotinus adserit**—*e.g.*, in "Ennead.," ii. 9, 2 and 3; v. 1, 3.
3. **uniuersitatis.** Cp. the ampler phrase *hac creaturae uniuersitate* (xii. 1 F).
4. **ille sit sol**—*ille*—*sc.* God.
5. **ipsa sit luna**—*ipsa*—*sc* the soul.
6. **Fuit**=*ἐγένετο*.
7. **uenientem.** *ἐρχόμενον* in the original A. takes as agreeing with *ἄνθρωπον*, not with *φῶς*; so too the Vulgate.
8. **qualis erat in Iohanne**—John the Baptist.
9. **ipse Iohannes**—John the Evangelist.

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* John i. 6-9. † John i. 16.

CAPUT III.

DE VERO DEI CULTU, A QUO PLATONICI, QUAMVIS CREATOREM UNIVERSITATIS INTELLEXERINT, DEVIARUNT COLENDO ANGELOS SEU BONOS SEU MALOS HONORE DIVINO.

(A) Quae cum ita sint, si Platonici uel quicumque alii ista senserunt [1]cognoscentes Deum sicut Deum glorificarent et gratias agerent nec euanescerent in cogitationibus suis nec populorum erroribus partim auctores fierent, partim resistere non auderent; profecto confiterentur et illis inmortalibus ac beatis et nobis mortalibus ac miseris, ut inmortales ac beati esse possimus, unum Deum deorum colendum, qui et noster est et illorum.

(B) Huic nos seruitutem, quae [2]λατρεία Graece dicitur, siue in quibusque sacramentis siue in nobis ipsis debemus. [4]Huius enim templum simul omnes et singuli templa sumus, quia et omnium concordiam et singulos inhabitare dignatur; non in omnibus quam in singulis maior, quoniam nec mole distenditur nec partitione minuitur. [5]Cum ad illum sursum est, eius est altare cor nostrum; eum [6]Unigenito eius sacerdote placamus; ei cruentas uictimas caedimus, quando [7]" usque ad sanguinem " pro eius ueritate certamus; eum suauissimo adolemus incenso, cum in eius conspectu pio sanctoque amore flagramus; ei dona eius in nobis nosque ipsos uouemus et reddimus; ei beneficiorum eius sollemnitatibus festis et diebus statutis dicamus sacramusque memoriam, ne uolumine temporum ingrata subrepat obliuio; ei [8]sacrificamus hostiam humilitatis et laudis in ara cordis igne feruidam caritatis.

CHAPTER III.

Of the true worship of God from which the Platonists, although they have understood God to be the Creator of the Universe, yet have departed by paying the honour of divine worship to angels whether good or bad.

1. cognoscentes Deum, etc. The words are derived from Romans i. 21, as also the words which follow. See viii. 23 F.

2. λατρεία—as explained X. 1 D.

3. in quibusque sacramentis. *Sacramentum*—a word discussed in the note on iv. 33 B—must here mean " sacred rite." " Service," in fact, may be Divine Service (as it is commonly called) or public worship; but it may also be personal service or the service of the life (*in nobis ipsis*); cp. *nos ipsos uouemus* below.

4. Huius enim templum, etc. A. adopts and combines the language of St. Paul in such passages as 1 Cor. iii. 16; Eph. ii. 21 and 22.

5. Cum ad illum sursum est. Cp. *Sursum corda :* " Lift up your hearts."

6. Unigenito eius sacerdote. Cp. Heb. iv. 14. The Ablative is strictly absolute, but not without the implication of agency.

7. usque ad sanguinem. Cp. Heb. xii. 4.

8. sacrificamus. For A.'s conception of Christian sacrifice see Appendix D. It appears from his general language that he would or might attach a metaphorical sense to the most explicit sacrificial terminology.

(C) Ad hunc uidendum, sicut uideri poterit, eique cohaerendum ab omni peccatorum et cupiditatum malarum labe mundamur et eius nomine consecramur. Ipse enim fons nostrae beatitudinis, ipse omnis adpetitionis est finis. Hunc eligentes uel potius[9] religentes (amiseramus enim neglegentes)—hunc ergo religentes, unde et religio dicta perhibetur, ad eum dilectione tendimus, ut perueniendo quiescamus, ideo beati, quia illo fine perfecti. Bonum enim nostrum, de cuius fine inter philosophos magna contentio est, nullum est aliud quam illi cohaerere, [10]cuius unius anima intellectualis incorporeo, si dici potest, amplexu ueris inpletur fecundaturque uirtutibus.

(D) Hoc bonum diligere in toto corde, [11]in tota anima et in tota uirtute praecipimus; ad hoc bonum debemus et a quibus diligimur duci, et quos diligimus ducere. Sic conplentur duo illa praecepta, " in quibus tota lex pendet et prophetae:" **Diliges Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua;* et *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum.* Ut enim homo se diligere nosset, constitutus est ei finis, quo referret omnia quae ageret, ut beatus esset; non enim qui se diligit aliud uult esse quam beatus. Hic autem finis est adhaerere Deo. Iam igitur scienti diligere se ipsum, cum mandatur de proximo diligendo sicut se ipsum, quid aliud mandatur, nisi ut ei, quantum potest, commendet diligendum Deum ?

(E) Hic est Dei cultus, haec uera religio, haec recta pietas, haec tantum Deo debita seruitus. Quaecumque igitur inmortalis potestas quantalibet uirtute praedita si nos diligit sicut se ipsam, ei uult esse subditos, ut beati simus, cui et ipsa subdita beata est. Si ergo non colit Deum, misera est, quia priuatur Deo; si autem colit Deum, non uult se coli pro Deo. Illi enim potius diuinae sententiae suffragatur et dilectionis uiribus fauet, qua scriptum est: †*Sacrificans dis*[12] *eradicabitur, nisi Domino soli.*

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9. religentes. *Religio* is more probably derived from *religere* (as Cicero says, " De Nat. Deor.," ii. 28, 72) than from *religare*, but from *religere* in the sense of " reflexion " or " meditation " rather than of " re-election " which A. assigns to it here. See Munro's note on Lucret., i. 109. It is curious that A. himself argues elsewhere for the derivation of *religio* from *religare* (" Retract.," i. 13, 9), while admitting that he had at one time thought it was derived from *religere*. Cp. " De Ver. Relig.," 111 and 112. Lactantius expressly discards *religere* as the origin of *religio* and asserts *nomen religionis a uinculo pietatis esse deductum quod homines sibi Deus religauerit* (" Diuin. Instit.," iv. 28). Elect . . . recollect . . . neglect would more or less represent the threefold assonance here.

10. cuius unius—to be taken with *incorporeo amplexu.*

11. in tota . . . uirtute—*Virtus* here = *ἰσχύς* (Mark xii. 30; Luke x. 27).

12. eradicabitur = *θανάτῳ ἐξολοθρευθήσεται* (LXX).

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* Matt. xxii. 37, 39. † Exod. xxii. 20.

CAPUT IV.

QUOD UNI VERO DEO SACRIFICIUM DEBEATUR.

Nam, ut alia nunc taceam, quae pertinent ad religionis obsequium, quo colitur Deus, sacrificium certe nullus hominum est qui audeat dicere deberi nisi Deo. Multa denique de cultu diuino usurpata sunt, quae honoribus deferrentur humanis, siue humilitate nimia siue adulatione pestifera; ita tamen, ut, quibus ea deferrentur, homines haberentur, qui dicuntur colendi et uenerandi, si autem multum eis additur, [1] et adorandi: quis uero sacrificandum censuit nisi ei, quem deum aut sciuit aut putauit aut finxit? Quam porro antiquus sit in sacrificando Dei cultus, duo illi fratres Cain et Abel satis indicant, quorum maioris Deus reprobauit sacrificium, minoris aspexit.

CAPUT V.

DE SACRIFICIIS, QUAE DEUS NON REQUIRIT, SED AD SIGNIFICATIONEM EORUM OFFERRI VOLUIT, QUAE REQUIRIT.

(A) Quis autem ita desipiat, ut existimet aliquibus usibus Dei esse necessaria, quae in sacrificiis offeruntur? Quod cum multis locis diuina scriptura testetur, ne longum faciamus, breue illud de psalmo commemorare suffecerit: **Dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu,* [1] *quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.* Non solum igitur pecore uel qualibet alia re corruptibili adque terrena, sed ne ipsa quidem iustitia hominis Deus egere credendus est, [2] totumque quod recte colitur Deus homini prodesse, non Deo.

(B) Neque enim fonti se quisquam dixerit consuluisse, si biberit; aut luci, si uiderit. Nec quod ab antiquis patribus alia sacrificia factà sunt in uictimis pecorum, quae nunc Dei populus legit, non facit, aliud intellegendum est, nisi rebus illis eas res fuisse signi-

CHAPTER IV.

That sacrifice is due to the true God and to Him alone.

1. et adorandi. *Adoratio* would seem, in spite of A., to connote the apotheosis (probable if not actual) of the object to whom it is paid—e.g., *C. Caesarem adorare ut deum constituit* (Suet. "Vitell.," 2).

CHAPTER V.

Of the sacrifices which God does not require but has asked to be offered as symbols of the things which he does require.

1. Quoniam bonorum meorum, etc. A. follows some MSS. of LXX which give ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου οὐ χρίαν (χρείαν) ἔχεις. But it is probable that the meaning of the Hebrew is "My good is not beyond thee"—*i.e.*, I have no good but thee.

2. totum quod recte colitur Deus = "all the right worship of God."

* Ps. xvi. 2.

ficatas, quae aguntur in nobis, ad hoc ut inhaereamus Deo et [3]ad eundem finem proximo consulamus. Sacrificium ergo uisibile inuisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est. Unde ille paenitens aput prophetam uel ipse [4]propheta quaerens Deum peccatis suis habere propitium: **Si uoluisses*, inquit, *sacrificium, [5]dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus; cor contritum et humiliatum Deus [6]non spernet.*

(C) Intueamur quem ad modum, ubi Deum dixit nolle sacrificium, ibi Deum ostendit uelle sacrificium. Non uult ergo sacrificium trucidati pecoris, sed uult sacrificium contriti cordis. [7]Illo igitur quod eum nolle dixit, hoc significatur, quod eum uelle subiecit. Sic itaque illa Deum nolle dixit, quo modo ab stultis ea uelle creditur, uelut suae gratia uoluptatis. Nam si ea sacrificia quae uult (quorum hoc unum est, cor contritum et humiliatum dolore paenitendi) nollet eis sacrificiis significari, quae uelut sibi delectabilia desiderare putatus est: non utique de his offerendis in lege uetere praecepisset.

(D) Et ideo mutanda erant opportuno certoque iam tempore, ne ipsi Deo desiderabilia uel certe in nobis acceptabilia, ac non potius quae his significata sunt crederentur. Hinc et alio loco psalmi alterius: †*Si esuriero*, inquit, *non dicam tibi; meus est enim [8]orbis terrae et plenitudo eius. Numquid manducabo carnes taurorum aut sanguinem hircorum potabo?* Tamquam diceret: Utique si mihi essent necessaria, non a te peterem, quae habeo in potestate. Deinde subiungens quid illa significent: ‡*Immola*, inquit, *Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo uota tua et inuoca me in die tribulationis, et eripiam te et magnificabis me.*

(E) Item [9]aput alium prophetam: §*In quo*, inquit, *adprehendam Dominum, adsumam Deum meum excelsum? Si adprehendam illum in holocaustis, in uitulis anniculis? [10]Si acceptauerit Dominus*

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3. **ad eundem finem**="may help our neighbour also to cleave to God."

4. **propheta.**—*sc.* the Psalmist. See note on viii. 24 L, where A.'s use of *propheta* is examined and illustrated.

5. **dedissem utique**=ἔδωκα ἄν (LXX).

6. **non spernet**=οὐκ ἐξουθενώσει (LXX).

7. **Illo igitur quod eum nolle dixit,** etc.="By the very thing which God, as he said, does not wish is symbolized the thing which God, as he said afterwards, does wish."

8. **orbis terrae**=ἡ οἰκουμένη (LXX).

9. **aput alium prophetam.** A. follows LXX ἐν τίνι καταλάβω τὸν Κύριον; ἀντιλήμψομαι Θεοῦ μου ὑψίστου; εἰ καταλήμψομαι κ.τ.λ.

10. **si acceptauerit**=εἰ προσδέξεται (LXX).

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* Ps. li. 16, 17.
† Ps. l. 12, 13.
‡ Ps. l. 14, 15.
§ Micah vi. 6-8.

in milibus arietum aut in denis milibus hircorum pinguium? [11] *Si dedero primogenita mea inpietatis, fructum uentris mei pro peccato animae meae? Si adnuntiatum est tibi, homo,* [12] *bonum? Aut quid Dominus* [13] *exquirat a te nisi facere iudicium et diligere misericordiam et paratum esse ire cum Domino Deo tuo?*

(F) Et in huius prophetae uerbis utrumque distinctum est satisque declaratum illa sacrificia per se ipsa non requirere Deum, quibus significantur haec sacrificia, quae requirit Deus. In [14] epistula, quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos: *[15] *Bene facere*, inquit, *et communicatores esse nolite obliuisci; talibus enim sacrificiis placetur Deo.* Ac per hoc ubi scriptum est: †*Misericordiam* [16] *uolo quam sacrificium* nihil aliud quam sacrificium sacrificio praelatum oportet intellegi; quoniam illud, quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est ueri sacrificii.

(G) Porro autem misericordia uerum sacrificium est; unde dictum est, quod paulo ante commemoraui: *Talibus enim sacrificiis placetur Deo.* Quaecumque igitur in ministerio tabernaculi siue templi multis modis de sacrificiis leguntur diuinitus esse praecepta, ad dilectionem Dei et proximi significando referuntur. ‡*In his* enim *duobus praeceptis*, ut scriptum est, *tota lex pendet et prophetae.*

CAPUT VI.

DE VERO PERFECTOQUE SACRIFICIO.

(A) Proinde [1] uerum sacrificium est omne opus, quod agitur ut sancta societate inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum

11. Si dedero = *εἰ δῶ* (LXX). *Primogenita mea inpietatis*—a variant of *primogenitum.*

12. bonum = *τί καλόν* (LXX). *κον* (LXX). *Genitum meum pro scelere meo* (Vulg.) = *πρωτότόιε μου ὑπὲρ ασεβείας* (LXX).

13. exquirat (v. 1 *exquirit*) = *ἐκζητεῖ* (LXX). The Vulgate is much nearer to the original Hebrew.

14. epistula, quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos. Of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews A. says elsewhere *epistola quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos, quam plures Pauli apostoli esse dicunt, quidam uero negant* (xvi. 22 A). Elsewhere he ranks it tacitly among St. Paul's epistles ("De Doctr. Christ.," ii. 13).

15. Bene facere . . . et communicatores esse = *τῆς δὲ εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας.*

16. uolo quam = *θέλω ἢ* (LXX).

CHAPTER VI.

Of the true and perfect sacrifice.

1. uerum sacrificium est, etc. For A.'s conception of sacrifice see Appendix D. It is broadly and clearly stated here. In spite of all the attempts made by certain commentators—*e.g.*, by Coques—there is no getting over it or away from it. Dods refers to Waterland ("The Christian Sacrifice Explained," "Works," v., pp. 124-125) as emphasising its significance in the history of the Church. A. "spoke," says Waterland, "the sense of the Churches before him; and the Schools after him followed in the same." *Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum* (E below). It would be

* Heb. xiii. 16. † Hosea vi. 6. ‡ Matt. xxii. 40.

finem boni, quo ueraciter beati esse possimus. Unde et ipsa misericordia, qua homini subuenitur, si non propter Deum fit, non est sacrificium. Etsi enim ab homine fit uel offertur, tamen sacrificium res diuina est, ita ut [2]hoc quoque uocabulo id Latini ueteres appellauerint. Unde ipse homo Dei nomine consecratus et Deo deuotus, in quantum [3]mundo moritur ut Deo uiuat, sacrificium est. Nam et hoc ad misericordiam pertinet, quam quisque in se ipsum facit.

(B) Propterea scriptum est: *[4]*Miserere animae tuae placens Deo.* Corpus etiam nostrum cum temperantia castigamus, si hoc, quem ad modum debemus, propter Deum facimus, ut †"non exhibeamus membra nostra arma iniquitatis peccato, sed arma iustitiae Deo," sacrificium est. Ad quod exhortans apostolus ait: ‡*Obsecro itaque uos, fratres,* [5]*per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem,* [6]*rationabile obsequium uestrum.* Si ergo corpus, quo inferiore tamquam famulo uel tamquam instrumento utitur anima, cum eius bonus et rectus usus ad Deum refertur, sacrificium est: quanto magic anima ipsa cum se refert ad Deum, ut igne amoris eius accensa formam concupiscentiae saecularis amittat eique tamquam incommutabili formae subdita reformetur, hinc ei placens, quod ex eius pulchritudine acceperit, fit sacrificium!

(C) Quod idem apostolus consequentur adiungens: §[7]*Et nolite,* inquit, *conformari huic saeculo; sed reformamini in nouitate mentis uestrae ad probandum uos* [8]*quae sit uoluntas Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et perfectum.* Cum igitur uera sacrificia opera sint misericordiae siue in nos ipsos siue in proximos, quae referuntur ad Deum, opera uero misericordiae non ob aliud fiant, nisi ut a miseria libere-

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easy to support A.'s conception by passages of ancient patristic literature; one of the most striking among them is perhaps Origen's ("Homil. in Leuit.," ix.*a*, § 243) *Unusquisque nostrum habet in se holocaustum suum et holocausti sui ipse succendit altare ut semper ardeat.*

2. **hoc quoque uocabulo**—sc. *sacrificium*, which obviously denotes a sacred or religious act.

3. **mundo moritur ut Deo uiuat**—an echo of Gal. ii. 19; vi. 14.

4. **Miserere animae tuae,** etc. A. follows Vulg.; but LXX is very different: ἀγάπα τὴν ψυχήν σου καὶ παρακάλει τὴν καρδίαν σου κ.τ.λ.

5. **per misericordiam**=διὰ τῶν οἰκιρμῶν.

6. **rationabile obsequium**=τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν.

7. **Et nolite . . . conformari,** etc.=καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός. A., like the Vulgate, misses the distinction between σχῆμα and μορφή. See Lightfoot ("Philippians," Note appended to Ch. ii. 1), Trench ("Synonyms of the New Testament," § 70).

8. **quae sit uoluntas Dei,** etc.=τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον.

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* Ecclus. xxx. 24.
‡ Rom. xii. 1.
† Rom. vi. 13.
§ Rom. xii. 2.

mur ac per hoc ut beati simus (quod non fit nisi bono illo, de quo dictum est: **Mihi autem*[9] *adhaerere Deo bonum est*): profecto efficitur, ut tota ipsa redemta ciuitas, hoc est congregatio societasque sanctorum, uniuersale sacrificium offeratur Deo per sacerdotem magnum, qui etiam se ipsum obtulit in passione pro nobis, [10]ut tanti capitis corpus essemus, secundum †formam serui.

(D) [11]Hanc enim obtulit, in hac oblatus est, quia secundum hanc mediator est, [12]in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est. Cum itaque nos hortatus esset apostolus, ut exhibeamus corpora nostra hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium nostrum, et non conformemur huic saeculo, sed reformemur in nouitate mentis nostrae: ad probandum quae sit uoluntas Dei, quod bonum et bene placitum et perfectum, quod totum sacrificium nos ipsi sumus:

(E) ‡*Dico enim*, inquit, [13]*per gratiam Dei, quae data est mihi, omnibus, qui sunt in uobis, non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere, sed*[14] *sapere ad temperantiam; sicut unicuique Deus partitus est mensuram fidei. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non* [15]*eosdem actus havent: ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo; singuli autem alter alterius membra,* [16]*habentes dona diuersa secundum gratiam, quae data est nobis.* [17]Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum: *multi unum corpus in Christo.* Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in ea re, quam offert, ipsa offeratur.

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9. adhaerere Deo = τὸ προσκολλᾶσθαι τῷ κυρίῳ (LXX).

10. ut tanti capitis corpus essemus. Cp. Rom. xii. 4 and 5; Eph. ii. 15 and 16; Col. i. 18.

11. Hanc enim obtulit—*Hanc* = *formam serui.*

12. in hac sacerdos, in hac sacrificium est. By "*hac*" is meant *forma serui.* For the twofold representation of Our Lord cp. x. 20 A; also "Enarr. in Psalm," xxvi., 22: *Solus ille sacerdos talis exstitit ut ipse etiam esset sacrificium.*

13. per gratiam Dei, etc. = διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι (LXX).

14. sapere ad temperantiam = φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν (LXX).

15. eosdem actus = τὴν αὐτὴν πρᾶξιν (LXX).

16. habentes dona = ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα (LXX).

17. Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum. A. regards the Christian Church as a body consisting of many members and those members endowed with various gifts or faculties, but offering collectively as well as individually a sacrifice of duty and worship through Christ to God: *cuius nos ipsi esse sacrificium debemus* (x. 16 1). It is so that angels, too, in a still higher sense, not only offer, but are, a sacrifice to God (x. 7 A; 25 H). See Appendix D.

* Ps. lxxiii. 28. † Philip. ii. 7. ‡ Rom. xii. 3-6.

CAPUT VII.

QUOD SANCTORUM ANGELORUM EA SIT IN NOS DILECTIO, UT NOS NON SUOS, SED UNIUS VERI DEI VELINT ESSE CULTORES.

(A) Merito illi in caelestibus sedibus constituti inmortales et beati, qui creatoris sui participatione congaudent, cuius aeternitate firmi, cuius ueritate certi, cuius munere sancti sunt, quoniam nos mortales et miseros, ut inmortales beatique simus, misericorditer diligunt, nolunt nos sibi sacrificari, sed ei, cuius et ipsi nobiscum sacrificium se esse nouerunt. [1]Cum ipsis enim sumus una ciuitas Dei, cui dicitur in psalmo: *[2]*Gloriosissima dicta sunt de te, ciuitas Dei;* cuius pars in nobis peregrinatur, pars in illis opitulatur.

(B) De illa quippe superna ciuitate, ubi Dei uoluntas intellegibilis adque incommutabilis lex est, de illa superna quodam modo [3]curia (geritur namque ibi cura de nobis) ad nos [4]ministrata per angelos sancta illa scriptura descendit, ubi legitur †[5]*Sacrificans dis eradicabitur, nisi Domino soli.* Huic scripturae, huic legi, praeceptis talibus tanta sunt adtestata miracula, ut satis appareat, cui nos sacrificari uelint inmortales ac beati, qui hoc nobis uolunt esse quod sibi.

CAPUT VIII.

DE MIRACULIS, QUAE DEUS AD CONROBORANDAM FIDEM PIORUM ETIAM PER ANGELORUM MINISTERIUM PROMISSIS SUIS ADHIBERE DIGNATUS EST.

(A) Nam nimis uetera si commemorem, longius quam satis est reuoluere uidebor, quae miracula facta sint adtestantia promissis Dei, quibus ante annorum milia praedicit Abrahae, quod ‡" in semine eius omnes gentes benedictionem fuerant habiturae."

(B) Quis enim non miretur eidem Abrahae filium peperisse §coniugem sterilem eo tempore senectutis, quo parere nec fecunda iam

CHAPTER VII.

That the holy angels in their love for us wish us to be worshippers not of themselves but of the one true God.

1. Cum ipsis enim, etc. For angels and men as together constituting the *Ciuitas Dei*, see 1 " Praef.," A.

2. Gloriosissima=δεδοξασμένα. The same text is quoted ii. 21 N, where A.'s word is *gloriosa.*

3. curia . . . cura—So Festus *Curia locus est ubi publicas curas gerebant* (" De Verb. Signif.," iii.), but the derivation is probably fanciful.

4. ministrata per angelos. Cp. Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19. A. quotes *lex in edictis angelorum daretur* (x. 15 A). Cp. x. 24 E; x. 30 B.

5. Sacrificans, etc.—words already quoted (x. 3 E).

* Ps. lxxxvii. 3.
† Exod. xxi. 20.
‡ Gen. xxii. 18.
§ Gen. xviii. 9-14; xxi. 1-3.

posset, adque *in eiusdem Abrahae sacrificio [1]flammam caelitus factam inter diuisas uictimas cucurisse, †eidemque Abrahae praedictum ab angelis caeleste incendium Sodomorum, quos angelos hominibus similes hospitio susceperat et per eos de prole uentura Dei promissa tenuerat, ipsoque inminente iam incendio miram de Sodomis per eosdem angelos ‡liberationem Loth filii fratris eius, §cuius uxor in uia retro respiciens adque in salem repente conuersa magno admonuit [2]sacramento neminem in uia liberationis suae praeterita desiderare debere ?

(C) Illa uero quae et quanta sunt, quae iam per Moysen pro populo Dei de iugo seruitutis eruendo in Aegypto mirabiliter gesta sunt, ubi ||magi Pharaonis, hoc est regis Aegypti, qui populum illum dominatione deprimebat, ad hoc facere quaedam mira permissi sunt, ut mirabilius uincerentur ! Illi enim faciebant ueneficiis et incantationibus magicis, quibus sunt mali angeli, hoc est daemones, dediti; Moyses autem tanto potentius, quanto iustius, nomine Dei, qui fecit caelum et terram, seruientibus angelis eos facile superauit.

(D) Denique in tertia plaga deficientibus magis decem plagae per Moysen [3]magna mysteriorum dispositione conpletae sunt, quibus ad Dei populum dimittendum Pharaonis et Aegyptiorum dura corda cesserunt. Moxque paenituit, et cum abscedentes Hebraeos consequi conarentur, ¶illis diuiso mari per siccum transeuntibus unda hinc adque hinc in sese redeunte **cooperti et obpressi sunt. Quid de illis miraculis dicam, quae, cum in deserto idem populus ductaretur, stupenda diuinitate crebuerunt: ††aquas, quae bibi non poterant, misso in eas, sicut Deus praeceperat, ligno amaritudine caruisse sitientesque satiasse; ‡‡manna esurientibus uenisse de caelo,

(E) §§Et, cum esset colligentibus constituta mensura, quidquid amplius quisque collegerat, exortis uermibus putruisse, ||||ante diem uero sabbati duplum collectum, quia sabbato colligere non licebat, nulla

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the miracles by which God has deigned, through the ministry of angels, to support his promises for the confirmation of the faith of the pious.

1. flammam caelitus factam. A. discusses the incident related Gen. xv. 17 (xvi. C-D). In "Retract." (ii. 43, 2) he admits that he ought not to have treated the incident as miraculous *quoniam hoc illi* (sc. *Abraham*) *in uisione monstratum est.*

2. sacramento = " sacred sign " or " monument." See note on iv. 33 B.

3. magna mysteriorum dispositione = " a mighty exercise of mysterious powers."

* Gen. xv. 17.
§ Gen. xix. 26.
** Exod. xiv. 27.
§§ Exod. xvi. 16, 20.
† Gen. xviii. 20.
|| Exod. vii. 11, 12; viii. 7.
†† Exod. xv. 23-25.
|||| Exod. xvi. 22.
‡ Gen. xix. 15-17.
¶ Exod. xiv. 21, 22.
‡‡ Exod. xvi. 14, 15.

putredine uiolatum; *desiderantibus carne uesci, quae tanto populo nulla sufficere posse uidebatur, uolatilibus castra conpleta et cupiditatis ardorem fastidio satietatis extinctum; †obuios hostes transitumque prohibentes adque proeliantes orante Moyse manibusque eius[4] in figuram crucis extentis nullo Hebraeorum cadente prostratos;

(F) ‡Seditiosos in populo Dei ac sese ab ordinata diuinitus societate diuidentes ad exemplum uisibile inuisibilis poenae uiuos terra dehiscente submersos; §uirga percussam petram tantae multitudini abundantia fluenta fudisse; ||serpentum morsus mortiferos, poenam iustissimam peccatorum, in ligno exaltato adque prospecto aeneo serpente sanatos, ut et populo subueniretur adflicto, et mors morte destructa uelut crucifixae mortis similitudine signaretur? Quem sane serpentem propter facti memoriam reseruatum cum postea populus errans tamquam idolum colere coepisset, ¶Ezechias rex religiosa potestate Deo seruiens cum magna pietatis laude contriuit.

CAPUT IX.

DE INLICITIS ARTIBUS ERGA DAEMONUM CULTUM, IN QUIBUS PORPHYRIUS PLATONICUS QUAEDAM PROBANDO, QUAEDAM QUASI INPROBANDO VERSATUR.

(A) Haec et alia multa huiusce modi, quae omnia commemorare nimis longum est, fiebant ad commendandum unius Dei ueri cultum et multorum falsorumque prohibendum. Fiebant autem simplici fide adque fiducia pietatis, non incantationibus et carminibus nefariae [1]curiositatis arte conpositis, quam uel [2]magian uel detestabiliori nomine [3]goetian uel honorabiliori [4]theurgian uocant, qui

4. in figuram crucis. A. repeats this view of the figure assumed by Moses' uplifted arms: *Hostis intercludere molitus uiam extensis Moysi manibus signo crucis dominicae superatur* ("Con. Faust. Manich.," xii. 30).

CHAPTER IX.

Of the illicit arts in connexion with the worship of the daemons—arts with which Porphyrius the Platonist is conversant, and of which he approves some and ostensibly repudiates others.

1. curiositatis—a word which A. frequently applies to pagan rites—*e.g.*, B below; vii. 35 D.

2. magian . . . goetian . . . theurgian—Greek Accusatives, although the nouns are transliterated into Latin. See note on vii. 35 A.

3. goetian (γοητείαν) = "necromancy," lit. the art of raising the dead by wailing at their graves.

4. theurgian = "divination," an art morally superior to magic (x. 18 D).

* Exod. xvi. 11-13; Numb. xi. 21, 22.
‡ Numb. xvi. 31-33.
|| Numb. xxi. 8, 9.
† Exod. xvii. 8-13.
§ Exod. xvii. 6.
¶ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

quasi conantur ista discernere et inlicitis artibus deditos alios damnabiles, quos et maleficos uulgus appellat (hos enim ad goetian pertinere dicunt), alios autem laudabiles uideri uolunt, quibus theurgian deputant; cum sint utrique ritibus fallacibus daemonum obstricti sub nominibus angelorum.

(B) Nam et [5]Porphyrius quandam quasi purgationem animae per theurgian, cunctanter tamen et pudibunda quadam modo disputatione promittit; [6]reuersionem uero ad Deum hanc artem praestare cuiquam negat; ut uideas eum inter uitium sacrilegae curiositatis et philosophiae professionem sententiis alternantibus fluctuare. Nunc enim hanc artem tamquam fallacem et in ipsa actione periculosam et legibus prohibitam [7]cauendam monet; nunc autem uelut eius laudatoribus cedens utilem dicit esse mundandae parti animae, non quidem intellectuali, qua rerum intellegibilium percipitur ueritas, nullas habentium similitudines corporum; [8]sed spiritali, qua corporalium rerum capiuntur imagines.

(C) Hanc enim dicit per quasdam consecrationes theurgicas, quas [9]teletas uocant, idoneam fieri adque aptam susceptioni spirituum et angelorum et ad uidendos deos. Ex quibus tamen theurgicis teletis fateretur intellectuali animae [10]nihil purgationis accedere, quod eam faciat idoneam ad uidendum Deum suum et perspicienda ea, quae uere sunt. Ex quo intellegi potest, qualium deorum uel qualem uisionem fieri dicat theurgicis consecrationibus, in qua non ea uidentur, quae uere sunt.

(D) Denique animam rationalem siue, quod magis amat dicere, intellectualem,[11] in sua posse dicit euadere, etiamsi quod eius spiritale est nulla theurgica fuerit arte purgatum; porro autem a theurgo spiritalem [12]purgari hactenus, ut non ex hoc ad inmortalitatem

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5. Porphyrius. See note on vii. 25 A. The Benedictine editors think A. in Book X. used principally the following works of Porphyrius: (1) the "Epistola ad Anebontem" which A. mentions (x. 11 A); (2) the "De Regressu Animae" (x. 29 F, 32 A); (3) the fifteen books "Contra Christianos" to which A. refers elsewhere (xix. 23). He quotes also ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας (xix. 23 A).

6. reuersionem uero ad Deum. The Benedictine editors refer to the "Epist. ad Anebon.," 9; but the reference is not a parallel, and I think A. must here be quoting the lost treatise of Porphyrius περὶ ἀνόδου ψυχῆς ("De Regressu Animae").

7. cauendam monet. Cp. x. 28 B. Plotinus ("Ennead.," iv. 4, 43) insists upon the danger of magic or theurgy to the irrational part of the soul.

8. sed spiritali. A. draws out the distinction between intellectual and spiritual vision in "De Gen. ad Litt.," xii. 50.

9. teletas—yet another transliterated Greek word. It is reasonable to suppose that native words of mystic or magical significance were rare in Latin.

10. nihil purgationis accedere. Cp. x. 28 C.

11. in sua—seems to be the true reading; it gives the same sense as the common reading *in superna*, but gives it less clearly.

12. purgari hactenus, etc. = "may be purified but not so as to attain."

aeternitatemque perueniat. Quamquam itaque discernat a daemonibus angelos, aeria loca esse daemonum, aetheria uel empyrea disserens angelorum, et admoneat utemdum alicuius daemonis amicitia, quo subuectante uel paululum a terra possit eleuari quisque post mortem; aliam uero uiam esse perhibeat ad angelorum superna consortia.

(E) Cauendam tamen daemonum societatem expressa quodam modo confessione testatur, ubi dicit animam post mortem luendo poenas cultum daemonum a quibus circumueniebatur horrescere: ipsamque theurgian, quam uelut conciliatricem angelorum deorumque commendat, aput tales agere potestates negare non potuit, quae uel ipsae inuideant purgationi animae, uel artibus seruiant inuidorum, querelam de hac re [13]Chaldaei nescio cuius expromens: "Conqueritur," inquit, "uir in Chaldaea bonus, purgandae animae magno in molimine frustratos sibi esse successus, cum uir ad eadem potens tactus inuidia adiuratas sacris precibus potentias adligasset, ne postulata concederent. Ergo et ligauit ille," inquit, "et iste non soluit."

(F) Quo indicio dixit apparere theurgian esse tam boni conficiendi quam mali et aput deos et aput homines disciplinam; pati etiam deos et ad illas perturbationes passionesque deduci, quas communiter daemonibus et hominibus [14]Apuleius adtribuit; deos tamen ad eis aetheriae sedis altitudine separans et [15]Platonis adserens in illa discretione sententiam.

CAPUT X.

DE THEURGIA, QUAE FALSAM PURGATIONEM ANIMIS DAEMONUM INVOCATIONE PROMITTIT.

(A) Ecce nunc alius Platonicus, quem [1]doctiorem ferunt, [2]Porphyrius, per nescio quam theurgicam disciplinam etiam ipsos

13. Chaldaei. Chaldaea was the home of astrology. See Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 1, 2). Hence Chaldaei = "astrologers," as in Juvenal's description of Tiberius

Principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
Cum grege Chaldaeo ("Sat.," x. 93-94).

But A. includes *Chaldaei* among *sapientes uel philosophi*, meaning the *magi*, to whom he attributes a certain influence upon the Neo-Platonic philosophy (x. 27 B).

14. Apuleius adtribuit. See Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 11) as quoted ix. 3 B.

15. Platonis . . . sententiam. Such a passage as "Sympos," pp. 202 E-203 A was probably in A.'s mind.

CHAPTER X.

Of divination (theurgia) which promises souls a deceptive purification through the invocation of daemons.

1. doctiorem—*sc.* than Apuleius.

2. Porphyrius. See, *e.g.*, "Epist. ad Anebon.," p. 2, l. 14 *αἱ κλήσεις ὡς πρὸς ἐμπαθεῖς θεοὺς γίγνονται.*

deos obstrictos passionibus et perturbationibus dicit, quoniam sacris precibus adiurari terrerique potuerunt, ne praestarent animae purgationem, et ita terreri ab eo, qui imperabat malum, ut ab alio, qui poscebat bonum, per eandem artem theurgicam solui illo timore non possent et ad dandum beneficium liberari.

(B) Quis non uideat haec omnia fallacium daemonum esse commenta, nisi eorum miserrimus seruus et a gratia ueri liberatoris alienus ? Nam [3]si haec aput deos agerentur bonos, plus ibi utique ualeret beneficus purgator animae quam maleuolus inpeditor. Aut si dis iustis homo, pro quo agebatur, purgatione uidebatur indignus, non utique ab inuido territi nec, sicut ipse dicit, per metum ualentioris numinis inpediti, sed iudicio libero id negare debuerunt.

(C) Mirum est autem, quod [4]benignus ille Chaldaeus, qui theurgicis sacris animam purgare cupiebat, non inuenit aliquem superiorem deum, qui uel plus terreret adque ad bene faciendum cogeret territos deos, uel ab eis terrentem conpesceret, ut libere bene facerent; [5]si tamen theurgo bono sacra defuerunt, quibus ipsos deos. quos inuocabat animae purgatores, prius ab illa timoris peste purgaret.

(D) Quid enim causae est, quur deus potentior adhiberi possit a quo terreantur, nec possit a quo purgentur ? An inuenitur deus qui exaudiat inuidum et timorem dis incutiat ne bene faciant; nec inuenitur deus qui exaudiat beneuolum et timorem dis auferat ut bene faciant ? O theurgia praeclara, o animae praedicanda purgatio, ubi plus imperat inmunda inuidentia, quam inpetrat pura beneficentia ! Immo uero malignorum spirituum cauenda et detestanda fallacia, et salutaris audienda doctrina.

(E) Quod enim qui has sordidas purgationes sacrilegis ritibus operantur quasdam mirabiliter pulchras, sicut iste commemorat, uel angelorum imagines uel deorum tamquam purgato spiritu uident (si tamen uel tale aliquid uident), illud est, quod apostolus dicit: **Quoniam satanas* [6]*transfigurat se uelut angelum lucis.* Eius enim sunt illa phantasmata, qui miseras animas multorum falsorumque deorum fallacibus sacris cupiens inretire et a uero ueri Dei

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3. si haec aput deos, etc.= " If this case were brought before gods who were good, it is certain that a virtuous man, seeking to purify his soul, would carry more weight with them than a vicious man trying to stand in his way."

4. benignus ille Chaldaeus—the Chaldaean of x. 9 E.

5. si tamen theurgo bono, etc.= " If it is necessary to make the strange supposition that the good diviner could not find any sacred rites."

6. transfigurat se, etc.= *μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός.*

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* 2 Cor. xi. 14.

cultu, quo solo mundantur et sanantur, auertere, [7]sicut de Proteo dictum est,

*formas se uertit in omnes,

hostiliter insequens, fallaciter subueniens, utrobique nocens.

CAPUT XI.

DE EPISTULA PORPHYRII AD ANEBONTEM AEGYPTIUM, IN QUA PETIT DE DIVERSITATE DAEMONUM SE DOCERI.

(A) Melius sapuit iste Porphyrius, cum [1]ad Anebontem scribit Aegyptium, ubi consulenti similis et quaerenti et [2]prodit artes sacrilegas et euertit. Et ibi quidem omnes daemones reprobat, quos dicit ob inprudentiam trahere [3]humidum uaporem et ideo non in aethere, sed in aere esse sub luna adque in ipso lunae globo; uerum tamen non audet omnes fallacias et malitias et ineptias, quibus merito mouetur, omnibus daemonibus dare. Quosdam namque benignos daemones more appellat aliorum, cum omnes generaliter inprudentes esse fateatur.

(B) Miratur autem quod non solum di adliciantur uictimis, sed etiam conpellantur adque cogantur facere quod homines uolunt; et si corpore et incorporalitate di a daemonibus distinguuntur, quo modo deos esse existimandum sit [4]solem et lunam et uisibilia cetera in caelo, quae corpora esse non dubitat; et si di sunt, quo modo alii benefici, alii malefici esse dicantur; et quo modo incorporalibus, cum sint corporei, coniungantur.

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7. sicut de Proteo dictum est. *Vertet* is the original reading in Virgil.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the letter of Porphyrius to the Egyptian Anebo with its request for instruction upon the diversity of daemons.

1. ad Anebontem. The ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀνεβὼ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον of Porphyrius is curiously addressed Ἀνεβῶ τῷ προφήτῃ (see note on vii. 25 A). Eusebius refers to the letter ("Praep. Euang.," v. 7). To it Iamblichus wrote a reply entitled περὶ μυστηρίων. The letter itself has been conjecturally restored; see Parthey's edition of περὶ μυστηρίων. Anebo was a priest (*antistitem* E below). The MSS. of *D.C.D.* spell Anebo's name variously (as Hoffmann's textual apparatus shows) *Anebontem, Danebontem, Nebontem, Abontem, Bontem,* probably owing to the difficulty of taking down an unfamiliar name when read aloud; but the original Greek Ἀνεβώ is certain.

2. prodit="exposes," "unmasks." (Dods.)

3. humidum uaporem—*sc.* the steam of sacrifices. Cp. *nidoribus hostiarum* (F below); *cadauerinis nidoribus* (x. 19 C). That the daemons were attracted or propitiated by odours was a doctrine of Porphyrius. But the sense of smell was treated with more dignity in the Bible than it has been in modern writing or speaking—*e.g.*, ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας (Eph. v. 2; Philip. iv. 18).

4. solem et lunam. Cp. vii. 16 D. See also Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 2).

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* Virg., "Georg.," iv. 411.

(c) Quaerit etiam ueluti dubitans, utrum in diuinantibus et quaedam mira facientibus animae sint [5]passiones an aliqui spiritus extrinsecus ueniant, per quos haec ualeant; et potius uenire extrinsecus conicit, eo quod lapidibus et herbis adhibitis et [6]adligent quosdam, et aperiant clausa ostia, uel aliquid eius modi mirabiliter operentur.

(d) Unde dicit alios opinari esse quoddam genus, [7]cui exaudire sit proprium, natura fallax, omniforme, multimodum, simulans deos et daemones et animas defunctorum, et hoc esse quod efficiat haec omnia quae uidentur bona esse uel praua; ceterum circa ea, quae uere bona sunt, nihil opitulari, immo uero ista nec nosse, sed [8]et male conciliare et insimulare adque inpedire nonnumquam uirtutis sedulos sectatores, et plenum esse temeritatis et fastus, gaudere nidoribus, adulationibus capi, et cetera, quae de hoc genere fallacium malignorumque spirituum, qui extrinsecus in animam ueniunt humanosque sensus sopitos uigilantesue deludunt, non tamquam sibi persuasa confirmat, sed tam tenuiter suspicatur aut dubitat, ut haec alios adserat opinari.

(e) Difficile quippe fuit tanto philosopho cunctam diabolicam societatem uel nosse uel fidenter arguere, quam quaelibet anicula Christiana nec [9]cunctatur esse, et liberrime detestatur. Nisi forte iste et ipsum, ad quem scribit, Anebontem tamquam talium sacrorum praeclarissimum antistitem et alios talium operum tamquam diuinorum et ad deos colendos pertinentium admiratores uerecundatur offendere.

(f) Sequitur tamen et ea uelut inquirendo commemorat, quae sobrie considerata tribui non possunt nisi malignis et fallacibus potestatibus. Quaerit enim [10]quur tamquam melioribus inuocatis quasi peioribus imperetur, ut iniusta praecepta hominis exsequantur; quur adtrectatum re Veneria non exaudiant inprecantem, cum ipsi ad incestos quosque concubitus quoslibet ducere non morentur; quur animantibus suos antistites oportere abstinere denuntient, ne uaporibus profecto corporeis polluantur, ipsi uero et aliis uaporibus inliciantur et nidoribus hostiarum, cumque a cadaueris contactu

5. **passiones**—is the reading (as against *potentiores*) supported by the authority of the MSS. It is justified by Porphyrius ("Epist. ad Aneb.") ὅτι πάθος ψυχῆς αἴτιον τῆς μαντείας.

6. **adligent quosdam** = "lay spells on certain persons."

7. **cui exaudire sit proprium** = "whose property it is to hear the prayers of men." Cp. x. 12 c.

8. **et male conciliare et insimulare** = "suggest and impute evil."

9. **cunctatur** = "doubts," as often in A.—*e.g.*, xi. 13 a; 25 b.

10. **quur tamquam melioribus**, etc. This passage (to *non morentur*) is somewhat loosely translated in Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," v. 7).

prohibeatur [11]inspector, plerumque [12]illa cadaueribus celebrentur; quid sit, quod non daemoni uel alicui animae defuncti, sed ipsi soli et lunae aut cuicumque caelestium homo uitio cuilibet obnoxius intendit minas eosque territat falso, ut eis extorqueat [13]ueritatem.

(G) Nam et caelum [14]se conlidere comminatur et cetera similia homini inpossibilia, [15]ut illi di tamquam insipientissimi pueri falsis et ridiculis comminationibus territi quod imperatur efficiant. Dicit etiam scripsisse [16]Chaeremonem quendam, talium sacrorum uel potius sacrilegiorum peritum, ea, quae aput Aegyptios sunt celebrata rumoribus [17]uel de Iside uel de Osiri marito eius, maximam uim habere cogendi deos, ut faciant imperata, quando ille, qui carminibus cogit, ea se prodere uel euertere comminatur, ubi se etiam Osiridis membra dissipaturum terribiliter dicit, si facere iussa neglexerint.

(H) Haec adque huius modi uana et insana hominem dis minari, nec quibuslibet, sed ipsis caelestibus et siderea luce fulgentibus, nec sine effectu, sed uiolenta potestate cogentem adque his terroribus ad facienda quae uoluerit perducentem, merito Porphyrius admiratur; immo uero sub specie mirantis et causas rerum talium requirentis dat intellegi illos haec agere spiritus, quorum genus superius [18]sub aliorum opinatione descripsit, non, ut ipse posuit, natura, sed uitio fallaces, qui simulant deos et animas defunctorum, daemones autem non, ut ait ipse, simulant, sed plane sunt.

(I) Et quod ei uidetur herbis et lapidibus et animantibus et sonis certis quibusdam ac uocibus et figurationibus adque figmentis, quibusdam etiam obseruatis in caeli conuersione motibus siderum fabricari in terra ab hominibus potestates idoneas uariis effectibus exsequendis, totum hoc ad eosdem ipsos daemones pertinet ludificatores animarum sibimet subditarum et uoluptaria sibi ludibria de hominum erroribus exhibentes.

(K) Aut ergo re uera dubitans et inquirens ista Porphyrius ea tamen commemorat, quibus conuincantur et redarguantur, nec ad eas potestates, quae nobis ad beatam uitam capessendam fauent,

11. **inspector**=ἐπόπτης, a person initiated in the highest degree of the mysteries.

12. **illa**—sc. *mysteria*.

13. **ueritatem**="something real," "a real service."

14. **se conlidere comminatur**—a post-Augustine construction.

15. **ut illi di,** etc. For such supposed theurgical influence upon the heavenly bodies Coques, in his note, gives ample authority. The Benedictine editors refer to Iamblichus ("De Myst.," vi. 5).

16. **Chaeremonem**—an Egyptian by birth, a Stoic in philosophy. Jerome, who calls him *Stoicus uir eloquentissimus*, adverts to his writings on the priesthood in Egypt ("Adu. Iouinian.," ii. 13). Cp. Porphyrius ("De Abstin. ab Esu. Animal.," iv. 6).

17. **uel de Iside uel de Osiri.** See note on vi. 10 F.

18. **sub aliorum opinatione**="as though by quoting the opinion of others."

sed ad deceptores daemones pertinere monstrentur; aut, ut meliora de philosopho suspicemur, eo modo uoluit hominem Aegyptium talibus erroribus deditum et aliqua magna se scire opinantem non superba quasi auctoritate doctoris offendere, nec aperte aduersantis altercatione turbare, sed quasi quaerentis et discere cupientis humilitate ad ea cogitanda conuertere et quam sint contemnenda uel etiam deuitanda monstrare.

(L) Denique[19] prope ad epistulae finem petit se ab eo doceri, quae sit ad beatitudinem uia ex Aegyptia sapientia. Ceterum illos, quibus conuersatio cum dis ad hoc esset, ut ob inueniendum fugitiuum uel praedium conparandum, aut propter nuptias uel mercaturam uel quid huius modi mentem diuinam inquietarent, frustra eos uideri dicit coluisse sapientiam; illa etiam ipsa numina, cum quibus conuersarentur, etsi de ceteris rebus uera praedicerent, tamen quoniam de beatitudine nihil cautum nec satis idoneum monerent, nec deos illos esse nec benignos daemones, sed aut [20]illum qui dicitur fallax, aut humanum omne commentum.

CAPUT XII.

DE MIRACULIS, QUAE PER SANCTORUM ANGELORUM MINISTERIUM DEUS VERUS OPERATUR.

(A) Verum quia tanta et talia geruntur his artibus, ut uniuersum modum humanae facultatis excedant; quid restat, nisi ut ea, quae mirifice tamquam diuinitus praedici uel fieri uidentur nec tamen ad unius Dei cultum referuntur, cui simpliciter inhaerere fatentibus quoque Platonicis et per multa testantibus solum beatificum bonum est, malignorum daemonum ludibria et seductoria inpedimenta, quae uera pietate cauenda sunt, prudenter intellegantur? Porro autem quaecumque miracula siue per angelos siue quocumque modo ita diuinitus fiunt, ut Dei unius, in quo solo beata uita est, cultum religionemque commendent, ea uere ab eis uel per eos, qui nos secundum ueritatem pietatemque diligunt, fieri ipso Deo in illis operante credendum est.

(B) [1]Neque enim audiendi sunt, qui Deum inuisibilem uisibilia miracula operari negant, cum ipse etiam secundum ipsos fecerit mundum, quem certe uisibilem negare non possunt. Quidquid

19. prope ad epistulae finem—p. 9, l. 9.

20. illum qui. There is no ground for Hoffmann's emendation *illorum quod. illum*—sc. *deum* or *daemonem*.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the miracles which the true God performs through the ministry of the holy angels.

1. Neque enim audiendi sunt. A.'s personal testimony to miracles of his own time is strongly advanced in Book XXII., especially chapters 6-8. See Appendix F.

igitur mirabile fit in hoc mundo, profecto minus est quam totus hic mundus, id est caelum et terra et omnia quae in eis sunt, quae certe Deus fecit. [2]Sicut autem ipse qui fecit, ita modus quo fecit occultus est et inconprehensibilis homini. Quamuis itaque [3]miracula uisibilium naturarum uidendi adsiduitate uiluerint, tamen, cum ea sapienter intuemur, inusitatissimis rarissimisque maiora sunt. Nam et omni miraculo, quod fit per hominem, [4]maius miraculum est homo.

(c) Quapropter Deus, qui fecit uisibilia caelum et terram, non dedignatur facere uisibilia miracula in caelo uel terra, quibus ad se inuisibilem colendum excitet animam adhuc uisibilibus deditam; ubi uero et quando faciat, incommutabile consilium penes ipsum est, in cuius [5]dispositione iam tempora facta sunt quaecumque futura sunt. Nam temporalia mouens [6]temporaliter non mouetur, nec aliter nouit facienda quam facta, nec aliter inuocantes exaudit quam inuocaturos uidet. Nam et cum exaudiunt angeli eius, ipse in eis exaudit, tamquam in uero nec manu facto templo suo, sicut in hominibus sanctis suis, eiusque temporaliter fiunt [7]iussa aeterna eius lege conspecta.

CAPUT XIII.

DE INVISIBILI DEO, QUI SE VISIBILEM SAEPE PRAESTITERIT, NON SECUNDUM QUOD EST, SED SECUNDUM QUOD POTERANT FERRE CERNENTES.

(A) Nec mouere debet, quod, cum sit inuisibilis, saepe uisibiliter patribus apparuisse memoratur. Sicut enim sonus, quo auditur sententia in silentio intellegentiae constituta, non est hoc quod ipsa: ita et species, qua uisus est Deus in natura inuisibili constitutus, [1]non

2. Sicut autem ipse, etc. A. has apprehended the truth that mystery is and must be the character of God's relation, as in Himself so in all His works, to human intelligence. Creation is only the supreme mystery. *Omnia exeunt in mysterium.* But every mystery is a great possibility.

3. miracula uisibilium naturarum="the miracles of visible natures" or of the regular phenomena of Nature.

4. maius miraculum est homo. A. draws out this thought elsewhere—*e.g.*, "Serm." cxxvi. 4.

5. dispositione="Providence."

6. temporaliter non mouetur. God is the Eternal "I Am." But human intelligence, in its difficulty of conceiving Eternity as being, what it necessarily is, independent of time, tends to identify timelessness with everlastingness.

7. iussa aeterna eius lege conspecta="His commands which are eternal as viewed in the light of His law."

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the invisible God Who has often allowed Himself to be seen, not as He is but as the beholders could bear the sight of Him.

1. non erat quod ipse. Cp. "Quaest. in Exod.," 101: *Quod se ostendit specie corporali uel signis corporaliter expressis, non substantia eius adparet qua est ipse*

erat quod ipse. Verum tamen ipse in eadem specie corporali uidebatur, sicut illa sententia ipsa in sono uocis auditur; nec illi ignorabant inuisibilem Deum in specie corporali, quod ipse non erat, se uidere.

(B) Nam et loquebatur cum loquente Moyses et ei tamen dicebat: **Si inueni gratiam [2]ante te, [3]ostende mihi temet ipsum, [4]scienter ut uideam te.* Cum igitur oporteret Dei legem †[5]in edictis angelorum [6]terribiliter dari, non uni homini paucisue sapientibus, sed uniuersae genti et populo ingenti; coram eodem populo magna facta sunt in monte, ubi lex per unum dabatur, conspiciente multitudine metuenda et tremenda quae fiebant.

(C) Non enim populus Israel sic Moysi credidit, quem ad modum suo [7]Lycurgo Lacedaemonii, quod a Ioue seu Apolline leges, quas condidit, accepisset. Cum enim lex dabatur populo, qua coli unus iubebatur Deus, in conspectu ipsius populi, quantum sufficere diuina prouidentia iudicabat, mirabilibus rerum signis et motibus apparebat ad eandem legem dandam creatori seruire creaturam.

CAPUT XIV.

DE UNO DEO COLENDO NON SOLUM PROPTER AETERNA, SED ETIAM PROPTER TEMPORALIA BENEFICIA, QUIA UNIVERSA IN IPSIUS PROVIDENTIAE POTESTATE CONSISTUNT.

(A) Sicut autem unius hominis, ita humani generis, quod ad Dei populum pertinet, recta eruditio per quosdam [1]articulos tem-

quod est sed adsumptio formarum uisibilium eius omnipotentiae subiacet. Cp. *ibid.*, 151.

2. ante te=*ἐναντίον σου* (LXX).

3. ostende mihi=*ἐμφάνισόν μοι* (LXX).

4. scienter ut uideam te=*γνωστῶς ἵνα ἴδω σε* (LXX). *Scienter*—*sc.* not by faith only. The meaning is made clear by Exod. xxxiii. 18-23.

5. in edictis angelorum=*εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων* (Acts vii. 53). Cp. x. 15 A. The participation, or at least the presence, of angels at the giving of the law was a traditional belief among the Jews. It is expressed in Deut. xxxiii. 2; Psalm lxviii. 17.

6. terribiliter dari. Cp. Exod. xix. 16; Hebr. xii. 21.

7. Lycurgo. The general belief, to which not only Herodotus (i. 65) but Plutarch ("Lycurg.," 5) gives expression, was that Lycurgus obtained the original *ῥήτραι* or ordinances of the Spartan Constitution from the god Apollo through the Pythoness a Delphi. At the beginning of Plato's "Laws" the Athenian stranger asks Cleinias the Cretan whether the author of his country's laws were a god or a man, and the reply is *θεός ὦ ξένε, θεός ὥς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν · παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν* (*i.e.*, in Crete) *Ζεύς, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . οἶμαι φάναι τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the duty of worshipping the one God not only for eternal but for temporal blessings as well, because they all depend upon His providential power.

1. articulos temporum="epochs." For the phrase, cp. "De Catechiz. Rud.," 6 (iii.); also *articulo duarum aetatum* (*ibid.*, 39 [xxii.]).

* Exod. xxxiii. 13. † Acts vii. 53.

porum tamquam aetatum profecit accessibus, ut a temporalibus ad aeterna capienda et a uisibilibus ad inuisibilia [2]surgeretur; ita sane ut etiam illo tempore, quo uisibilia promittebantur diuinitus praemia, unus tamen colendus commendaretur Deus, ne mens humana uel pro ipsis terrenis uitae transitoriae beneficiis cuiquam nisi uero animae creatori et domino subderetur.

(B) Omnia quippe, quae praestare hominibus uel angeli uel homines possunt, in unius esse Omnipotentis potestate quisquis diffitetur, insanit. De prouidentia certe *[3]Plotinus Platonicus disputat eamque a summo Deo, cuius est intellegibilis adque ineffabilis pulchritudo, usque ad haec terrena et ima pertingere flosculorum adque foliorum pulchritudine conprobat; quae omnia quasi abiecta et uelocissime pereuntia [4]decentissimos formarum suarum numeros habere non posse confirmat, nisi inde formentur, ubi forma intelligebilis et incommutabilis simul habens omnia perseuerat.

(C) Hoc Dominus Iesus ibi ostendit, ubi ait: †*Considerate lilia agri, non laborant neque nent. Dico autem uobis, quia nec Salomon in tota gloria sua* [5]*sic amictus est, sicut unum ex eis. Quod si faenum agri, quod hodie est et cras in clibanum mittitur, Deus sic uestit: quanto magis uos,* [6]*modicae fidei?* Optime igitur anima humana adhuc terrenis desideriis infirma ea ipsa, quae temporaliter exoptat bona infima adque terrena uitae huic transitoriae necessaria et prae illius uitae sempiternis beneficiis contemnenda, non tamen nisi ab uno Deo expectare consuescit, ut ab illius cultu etiam in istorum desiderio non recedat, ad quem contemtu eorum et ab eis auersione perueniat.

CAPUT XV.

DE MINISTERIO SANCTORUM ANGELORUM, QUO PROVIDENTIAE DEI SERVIUNT.

(A) Sic itaque diuinae prouidentiae placuit ordinare temporum cursum, ut, quem ad modum dixi et in actibus apostolorum legitur, ‡*lex in edictis angelorum daretur* de unius ueri Dei cultu, in quibus et

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2. surgeretur. A. is fond of using intransitive verbs passively; as the following instances, few out of many in *D.C.D.*, will serve to show. *ludatur . . . diffluueretur* (ii. 20 C); *deficitur* (xii. 8 A); *peccabatur* (xiii. 20 D); *uiuatur* (xiv. 9 L); *pergitur* (xvii. 1 C); *regnabitur* (xx. 9 G); *maneatur* (xix. 4 O); *curreretur* (xxii. 8 II).

3. Plotinus. Providence (*πρόνοια*) is the subject of "Ennead.," iii. 2 and 3.

4. decentissimos formarum suarum numeros="the perfection of graceful harmony in their shapes."

5. sic amictus est=*περιεβάλετο*.

6. modicae fidei=*ὀλιγόπιστοι*.

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* "Ennead.," iii. 2, 13. † Matt. vi. 28-30. ‡ Acts vii. 53.

persona ipsius Dei,[1] non quidem per suam substantiam, quae semper corruptibilibus oculis inuisibilis permanet, sed certis indiciis per subiectam creatori creaturam uisibiliter appareret et syllabatim [2]per transitorias temporum morulas humanae linguae uocibus loqueretur, qui in sua natura non corporaliter, sed spiritaliter, non sensibiliter, sed intellegibiliter, non temporaliter, sed, ut ita dicam, aeternaliter nec incipit loqui nec desinit; quod aput illum sincerius audiunt, non corporis aure sed mentis, ministri eius et nuntii, qui eius ueritate incommutabili perfruuntur inmortaliter beati; et quod faciendum modis ineffabilibus audiunt et usque [3]in ista uisibilia adque sensibilia perducendum, incunctanter adque indifficulter efficiunt.

(B) Haec autem lex distributione temporum data est, quae prius haberet, *ut dictum est, promissa terrena, quibus tamen significarentur aeterna, quae uisibilibus [4]sacramentis celebrarent multi, intellegerent pauci. Unius tamen Dei cultus apertissima illic et uocum et rerum omnium contestatione praecipitur, [5]non unius de turba, sed qui fecit caelum et terram et omnem animam et omnem spiritum, qui non est quod ipse. Ille enim fecit, haec facta sunt, adque ut sint et bene se habeant, eius indigent, a quo facta sunt.

CAPUT XVI.

AN DE PROMERENDA BEATA VITA HIS ANGELIS SIT CREDENDUM, QUI SE COLI EXIGUNT HONORE DIVINO; AN VERO ILLIS, QUI NON SIBI, SED UNI DEO SANCTA PRAECIPIUNT RELIGIONE SERVIRI.

(A) Quibus igitur angelis de beata et sempiterna uita credendum esse censemus? Utrum eis, qui se religionis ritibus coli uolunt sibi sacra et sacrificia flagitantes a mortalibus exhiberi, an eis, qui hunc omnem cultum uni Deo creatori omnium deberi dicunt eique reddendum uera pietate praecipiunt, cuius et ipsi contemplatione beati sunt et nos futuros esse promittunt? Illa namque uisio Dei tantae pulchritudinis uisio est et tanto amore dignissima,

CHAPTER XV.

Of the ministry of the holy angels whereby they serve the providence of God.

1. non quidem per suam substantiam. A. expresses this truth even more clearly in "Quaest. in Exod.," 101.

2. per transitorias temporum morulas = "one after another at rapidly passing intervals of time." Human speech is made up of successive clauses and sentences; but God *nec incipit loqui nec desinit.*

3. in ista uisibilia, etc. = "to be brought within the sphere of visible and sensible phenomena."

4. sacramentis = "sacred rites."

5. non unius de turba—as in polytheistic religion.

ut sine hac quibuslibet aliis bonis praeditum adque abundantem [1]non dubitet Plotinus infelicissimum dicere.

(B) Cum ergo ad hunc unum quidam angeli, quidam uero ad se ipsos [2]latria colendos signis mirabilibus excitent, et hoc ita, ut illi istos coli prohibeant, isti autem illum prohibere non audeant: quibus potius sit credendum, respondeant Platonici, respondeant quicumque philosophi, respondeant theurgi [3]uel potius periurgi; hoc enim sunt omnes illae artes uocabulo digniores; postremo respondeant homines, si ullus naturae suae sensus, quod rationales creati sunt, ex aliqua parte uiuit in eis; respondeant, inquam, eisne sacrificandum sit dis uel angelis, qui sibi sacrificari iubent, an illi uni, cui iubent hi qui et sibi et istis prohibent ?

(C) Si nec isti nec illi ulla miracula facerent, sed tantum praeciperent, alii quidem ut sibi sacrificaretur, alii uero id uetarent, sed uni tantum iuberent Deo; satis deberet pietas ipsa discernere, quid horum de fastu superbiae, quid de uera religione descenderet. Plus etiam dicam: si tantum hi mirabilibus factis humanas animas permouerent, qui sacrificia sibi expetunt, illi autem, qui hoc prohibent et uni tantum Deo sacrificari iubent, nequaquam ista uisibilia miracula facere dignarentur: profecto non sensu corporis, sed ratione mentis praeponenda eorum esset auctoritas.

(D) Cum uero Deus id egerit ad commendanda [4]eloquia ueritatis suae, ut per istos inmortales nuntios non sui fastum, sed maiestatem illius praedicantes faceret maiora, certiora, clariora miracula, ne infirmis piis illi, qui sacrificia sibi expetunt, falsam religionem facilius persuaderent, eo quod sensibus eorum quaedam stupenda monstrarent: quem tandem ita desipere libeat, ut non uera eligat quae sectetur, ubi et ampliora inuenit quae miretur ?

CHAPTER XVI.

Whether upon the means of winning eternal life it is right to trust those angels who demand the honour of divine worship for themselves or those who declare that it is not to themselves but to the one God that the service of holy religion should be rendered.

1. non dubitet Plotinus. The reference is to "Ennead.," i. 6, 7. *infelicissimum* represents *ἀτυχής ὄντως* (*l.c.*).

2. latria—properly the service which is owing to God alone (vii. 32 B). A. Latinises *λατρεια* here; cp. *magia . . . goetia . . . theurgia* (x. 9 A); *theurgi . . . periurgi* below, also *eremo* (x. 17 A); *exorcizando* (x. 22 A).

3. uel potius periurgi—an obvious play upon words, *periurgi* meaning that the *theurgi* are only beating about the bush in theology. "Theological bodies or busy bodies." Ought not the word to be spelt *periergi* (Greek *περιεργοι*) ? It is not in formation parallel to *theurgi*. There is some slight variety of spelling in the MSS. It was, I suppose, the disguise of the word in its present form that occasioned the curious note of Vives: [*Periurgi*] *a periurgendo an perurgi a perurgendo.*

4. eloquia=*λόγια*, "oracles"; sometimes *diuina eloquia* (as xiii. 2 B).

(E) Illa quippe miracula deorum gentilium, quae commendat historia (non ea dico, quae interuallis temporum occultis ipsius mundi causis, uerum tamen sub diuina prouidentia constitutis et ordinatis monstrosa contingunt; quales sunt inusitati partus animalium et caelo terraque rerum insolita facies, siue tantum terrens siue etiam nocens, quae procurari adque mitigari daemonicis ritibus fallacissima eorum astutia perhibentur; sed ea dico, quae ui ac potestate eorum fieri satis euidenter apparet, ut est quod [5]effigies deorum Penatium, quas de Troia Aeneas fugiens aduexit, de loco in locum migrasse referuntur; quod [6]cotem Tarquinius nouacula secuit;

(F) Quod [7]Epidaurius serpens Aesculapio nauiganti Romam comes adhaesit; quod nauem, qua simulacrum matris Phrygiae uehebatur, tantis hominum boumque conatibus inmobilem redditam [8]una muliercula zona adligatam ad suae pudicitiae testimonium mouit et traxit; quod [9]uirgo Vestalis, de cuius corruptione quaestio uertebatur, aqua inpleto cribro de Tiberi neque perfluente abstulit controuersiam)—

(G) Haec ergo adque huius modi nequaquam illis, quae in populo Dei facta legimus, uirtute ac magnitudine conferenda sunt; quanto minus ea, quae illorum quoque populorum, qui tales deos coluerunt, legibus iudicata sunt prohibenda adque plectenda, magica scilicet uel theurgica! quorum pleraque specie tenus mortalium sensus imaginaria ludificatione decipiunt, quale est lunam deponere, *"donec subpositas," [10]ut ait Lucanus, "propior despumet in herbas;" quaedam uero etsi nonnullis piorum factis

5. effigies deorum Penatium, etc. The story is told by Valerius Maximus ("Fact. et Dict. Memorab.," i. 8, 7); and a similar, although not identical, story by Dionysius Halicarn. ("Antiqq. Rom.," i. 67).

6. cotem Tarquinius, etc. See Livy (i. 36); Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 17, 32). According to Livy and apparently to Cicero it was not Tarquinius but Attius Naevius the augur who actually cut the whetstone. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, however ("Antiqq. Rom.," iii. 71), ascribes the cutting to Tarquinius.

7. Epidaurius serpens. The authority for the details of this miraculous incident is Valerius Maximus ("Fact. et Dict. Memorab.," i. 8, 2). Cp. Ovid ("Metamorph.," xv. 622-744). Livy ("Epit.," xi.) speaks of a snake *qui se in nauem eorum contulerat, in quo ipsum numen esse constabat.*

8. una muliercula. Her name was Claudia Quinta. Livy alludes rather obscurely to the story (xxix. 14); so, too, Cicero ("De Harusp. Respons.," xiii. 27). But it is told at full length by Valerius Maximus (ix. 13) and by Ovid ("Fast.," 255-328).

9. uirgo Vestalis—Tuccia by name. See Pliny ("Nat. Hist.," xxviii. 2, 12); Dionysius Halicarn. ("Antiqq. Rom.," ii. 67); Valerius Maximus (viii. 1, 5). Cp. xxii. 11 E.

10. ut ait Lucanus. It was one of the favourite pretensions of ancient witchcraft that the moon could be brought by magical arts down to the earth. Cp. Virg. ("Eclog.," viii. 70); Horace ("Epod.," v. 45-6); and among Greek writers Aristophanes ("Clouds," 749-756).

* "Phars.," vi. 506.

uideantur opera coaequari, finis ipse, quo discernuntur, incomparabiliter haec nostra ostendit excellere.

(H) Illis enim multi tanto minus sacrificiis colendi sunt, quanto magis haec expetunt; his uero unus commendatur Deus, qui se nullis talibus indigere et scripturarum suarum testificatione et eorundem postea sacrificiorum remotione demonstrat. Si ergo angeli sibi expetunt sacrificium, praeponendi eis sunt, qui non sibi, sed Deo creatori omnium, cui seruiunt. Hinc enim ostendunt quam sincero amore nos diligant, quando per sacrificium non sibi, sed ei nos subdere uolunt, cuius et ipsi contemplatione beati sunt, et ad eum nos peruenire, a quo ipsi non recesserunt.

(I) Si autem angeli, qui non uni sed plurimis sacrificia fieri uolunt, non sibi, sed eis dis uolunt, quorum deorum angeli sunt; etiam sic eis praeponendi sunt illi, qui unius Dei deorum angeli sunt, cui sacrificari sic iubent, ut alicui alteri uetent, cum eorum nullus huic uetet, cui uni isti sacrificari iubent. Porro si, quod magis indicat eorum superba fallacia, nec boni nec bonorum deorum angeli sunt, sed daemones mali, qui non unum solum ac summum Deum, sed se ipsos sacrificiis coli uolunt: quod maius quam unius Dei contra eos eligendum est praesidium, cui seruiunt angeli boni, qui non sibi, sed illi iubent ut sacrificio seruiamus, cuius [11]nos ipsi esse sacrificium debemus ?

CAPUT XVII.

DE ARCA TESTAMENTI MIRACULISQUE SIGNORUM, QUAE AD COMMENDANDAM LEGIS AC PROMISSIONIS AUCTORITATEM DIVINITUS FACTA SUNT.

(A) Proinde lex Dei, quae *in edictis data est angelorum, in qua [1]unus Deus deorum religione sacrorum iussus est coli, alii uero quilibet prohibiti, in arca erat posita, quae arca testimonii nuncupata est. Quo nomine satis significatur non Deum, qui per illa omnia colebatur, circumcludi solere uel contineri loco, cum responsa eius et quaedam humanis sensibus darentur signa ex illius arcae loco, sed uoluntatis eius hinc testimonia perhiberi; quod etiam ipsa lex erat in tabulis conscripta lapideis et in arca, ut dixi, posita, quam tempore peregrinationis in eremo cum tabernaculo, quod similiter

11. **nos ipsi esse sacrificium.** See Appendix D. on A.'s conception of *sacrificium*.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Ark of the Covenant and of the miraculous sign divinely wrought to authenticate the law and the promise.

1. **unus Deus deorum**—a title which A. himself explains (ix. 23 c).

* Acts vii. 53.

appellatum est tabernaculum testimonii, cum debita sacerdotes ueneratione portabant; signumque erat, *quod per diem nubes apparebat, quae sicut ignis nocte fulgebat; †quae nubes cum moueretur, castra mouebantur, et ubi staret, castra ponebantur.

(B) Reddita sunt autem illi legi magni miraculi testimonia praeter ista, quae dixi, et [2]praeter uoces, quae ex illius arcae loco edebantur. Nam cum terram promissionis intrantibus eadem arca transiret. ‡Iordanes fluuius ex parte superiore subsistens et ex inferiore decurrens et ipsi et populo siccum praebuit transeundi locum. Deinde §ciuitatis, quae prima hostilis occurrit more gentium deos plurimos colens, septiens eadem arca circumacta muri repente ceciderunt, nulla manu oppugnati, nullo ariete percussi.

(C) Post haec etiam cum iam in terra promissionis essent et ‖eadem arca propter eorum peccata fuisset ab hostibus capta, hi, qui ceperant, ¶in templo eam dei sui, quem prae ceteris colebant, honorifice conlocarunt abeuntesque clauserunt, apertoque postridie simulacrum, cui supplicabant, **inuenerunt conlapsum deformiterque confractum. Deinde ipsi prodigiis acti deformiusque puniti arcam diuini testimonii populo, unde ceperant, reddiderunt. Ipsa autem redditio qualis fuit! ††Inposuerunt eam plaustro eique iuuencas, a quibus uitulos sugentes abstraxerant, subiunxerunt et eas quo uellent ire siuerunt, etiam inde uim diuinam explorare cupientes.

(D) At illae sine duce homine adque rectore ad Hebraeos uiam pertinaciter gradientes nec reuocatae mugitibus esurientium filiorum [3]magnum sacramentum suis cultoribus reportarunt. Haec adque huius modi Deo parua sunt, sed magna terrendis salubriter erudiendisque mortalibus. Si enim philosophi praecipueque Platonici rectius ceteris [4]sapuisse laudantur, sicut ‡‡paulo ante commemoraui, quod diuinam prouidentiam haec quoque rerum infima adque terrena administrare docuerunt numerosarum testimonio pulchritudinum, quae non solum in corporibus animalium, uerum in herbis etiam faenoque gignuntur:

(E) Quanto euidentius haec adtestantur diuinitati, quae [5]ad horam praedicationis eius fiunt, ubi ea religio commendatur, quae omnibus

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2. **praeter uoces.** Cp. Exod. xxv. 22; Numb. vii. 89

3. **magnum sacramentum** = "a great object of sacred reverence." See note on iv. 33 B.

4. **sapuisse laudantur**—the same construction as in *perfecisse laudatur* (viii. 4 C) and elsewhere.

5. **ad horam praedicationis** = "at the hour predicted."

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* Exod. xiii. 21; xl. 36-38; Numb. ix. 15, 16. † Numb. ix. 15-23.
‡ Josh. iii. 16, 17. § Josh. vi. 12-20. ‖ 1 Sam. iv. 11.
¶ 1 Sam. v. 2. ** 1 Sam. v. 4. †† 1 Sam. vi. 10-12. ‡‡ x. 14 B.

caelestibus, terrestribus, infernis sacrificari uetat, uni Deo tantum iubens, qui solus diligens et dilectus beatos facit eorumque sacrificiorum tempora imperata praefiniens eaque [6]per meliorem sacerdotem in melius mutanda praedicens non ista se adpetere, sed per haec alia potiora significare testatur, non ut ipse his honoribus sublimetur, sed ut nos ad eum colendum eique cohaerendum igne amoris eius accensi, quod nobis, non illi, bonum est, excitemur.

CAPUT XVIII.

CONTRA EOS, QUI DE MIRACULIS, QUIBUS DEI POPULUS ERUDITUS EST, NEGANT ECCLESIASTICIS LIBRIS ESSE CREDENDUM.

(A) An dicet aliquis ista falsa esse miracula nec fuisse facta, sed mendaciter scripta ? Quisquis hoc dicit, si de his rebus negat omnino ullis litteris esse credendum, potest etiam dicere nec deos ullos curare mortalia. Non enim se aliter colendos esse persuaserunt nisi mirabilium operum effectibus, quorum et historia gentium testis est, quarum di se ostentare mirabiles potius quam utiles ostendere potuerunt.

(B) Unde hoc opere nostro, cuius hunc iam decimum librum habemus in manibus, non eos suscepimus refellendos, qui [1]uel ullam esse uim diuinam negant [2]uel humana non curare contendunt, sed eos, qui nostro Deo conditori sanctae et gloriosissimae ciuitatis deos suos praeferunt, nescientes eum ipsum esse etiam mundi huius uisibilis et mutabilis inuisibilem et incommutabilem conditorem et uitae beatae non de his, quae condidit, sed de se ipso uerissimum largitorem.

(C) Eius enim [3]propheta ueracissimus ait: *[4]*Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est.* De fine boni namque inter philosophos quaeritur, ad quod adipiscendum omnia officia referenda sunt. Nec dixit iste: Mihi autem diuitiis abundare bonum est, aut insigniri purpura et sceptro uel diademate excellere, aut, quod [5]nonnulli etiam philosophorum dicere non erubuerunt: Mihi uoluptas corporis bonum

6. **per meliorem sacerdotem**—*sc.* Jesus Christ according to Hebrews v. and vii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Against those who maintain that the books of the Church are unworthy of credit upon the subject of the miracles by which the people of God were educated.

1. **uel ullam esse uim diuinam negant**—like the Atheists or the Sceptics.
2. **uel humana non curare contendunt**—like the Epicureans.
3. **propheta**—again a psalmist. Cp. viii. 24 c.
4. **Mihi autem adhaerere,** etc.—quoted already (x. 6 c).
5. **nonnulli . . . philosophorum**—the Cyrenaics and the later Epicureans, like some modern Hedonists.

* Ps. lxxiii. 28.

est; aut quod melius uelut [6]meliores dicere uisi sunt: Mihi uirtus animi mei bonum est; sed: *Mihi*, inquit, *adhaerere Deo bonum est.* Hoc eum docuerat, cui uni tantummodo sacrificandum sancti quoque angeli eius miraculorum etiam contestatione monuerunt.

(D) Unde et ipse sacrificium eius factus erat, cuius igne intellegibili correptus ardebat, et in eius ineffabilem incorporeumque conplexum sancto desiderio ferebatur. Porro autem si multorum deorum cultores (qualescumque deos suos esse arbitrentur) ab eis facta esse miracula uel ciuilium rerum historiae uel libris magicis siue, quod honestius putant, theurigicis credunt: quid causae est, quur illis litteris nolint credere ista facta esse, quibus tanto maior debetur fides, quanto super omnes est magnus, cui uni soli sacrificandum esse praecipiunt ?

CAPUT XIX.

QUAE RATIO SIT VISIBILIS SACRIFICII, QUOD UNI VERO ET INVISIBILI DEO OFFERRI DOCET VERA RELIGIO.

(A) Qui autem putant haec uisibilia sacrificia dis aliis congruere, illi uero tamquam inuisibili inuisibilia et maiori maiora meliorique meliora, qualia sunt purae mentis et bonae uoluntatis officia; profecto nesciunt haec ita signa esse illorum, sicut uerba sonantia signa sunt rerum. Quocirca sicut orantes adque laudantes ad eum dirigimus significantes uoces, cui res ipsas in corde quas significamus offerimus: ita sacrificantes non alteri uisibile sacrificium offerendum esse nouerimus quam illi, cuius in cordibus nostris [1]inuisibile sacrificium nos ipsi esse debemus.

(B) Tunc nobis fauent nobisque congaudent adque ad hoc ipsum nos pro suis uiribus adiuuant angeli quique [2]uirtutesque superiores et ipsa bonitate ac pietate potentiores. Si autem illis haec exhibere uoluerimus, non libenter accipiunt, et cum ad homines ita mittuntur, ut eorum praesentia sentiatur, apertissime uetant. Sunt exempla in litteris sanctis. *Putauerunt quidam deferendum angelis honorem uel adorando uel sacrificando, qui debetur Deo, et eorum sunt admonitione prohibiti iussique hoc ei deferre, cui uni fas esse nouerunt.

6. **meliores**—the Stoics.

CHAPTER XIX.

What is the reason for the visible sacrifice which is offered, in accordance with the doctrine of true religion, to the one true invisible God.

1. **inuisibile sacrificium,** etc. Cp. x. 16 I.

2. **uirtutesque superiores.** See note on viii. 24 P.

* Judg. xiii. 15, 16; Rev. xxii. 8, 9.

(C) Imitati sunt angelos sanctos etiam sancti homines Dei. Nam *Paulus et Barnabas in Lycaonia facto quodam miraculo sanitatis, putati sunt di, eisque Lycaonii uictimas immolare uoluerunt; quod a se humili pietate remouentes eis in quem crederent adnuntiauerunt Deum. Nec ob aliud fallaces illi superbe sibi hoc exigunt, nisi quia uero Deo deberi sciunt. Non enim re uera, [3]ut ait Porphyrius et nonnulli putant, cadauerinis nidoribus, sed diuinis honoribus gaudent. Copiam uero nidorum magnam habent undique, et si amplius uellent, ipsi sibi poterant exhibere.

(D) Qui ergo diuinitatem sibi adrogant spiritus, non cuiuslibet corporis fumo, sed supplicantis animo delectantur, cui decepto subiectoque dominentur, intercludentes iter ad Deum uerum, ne sit homo illius sacrificium, dum sacrificatur cuipiam praeter illum.

CAPUT XX.

DE SUMMO VEROQUE SACRIFICIO, QUOD IPSE DEI ET HOMINUM MEDIATOR EFFECTUS EST.

(A) Unde uerus ille mediator, in quantum †"formam serui" accipiens ‡"mediator effectus est Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus," cum in forma Dei sacrificium cum Patre sumat, cum quo et unus Deus est, tamen in forma serui sacrificium maluit esse quam sumere, ne uel hac occasione quisquam existimaret cuilibet sacrificandum esse creaturae. Per hoc et sacerdos est, [1]ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio.

(B) Ciuus rei sacramentum [2]cottidianum esse uoluit ecclesiae sacrificium, quae cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre. Huius ueri sacrificii multiplicia uariaque signa erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum hoc unum per multa figuraretur, tamquam uerbis multis res una diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendaretur. Huic summo ueroque sacrificio cuncta sacrificia falsa cesserunt.

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3. ut ait Porphyrius. Cp. x. 11 F.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the supreme and true sacrifice which the Mediator between God and men was Himself made to be.

1. ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cp. x. 6 D; x. 22 A.

2. quotidianum. It is clear that even this adjective refers not to the daily celebration of the Eucharist, but to the daily self-sacrifice or self-oblation of the Church. Yet I cannot help thinking the figure gains new force if it is derived from the established practice of daily Eucharists.

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* Acts xiv. 8-18. † Philip. ii. 7. ‡ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

CAPUT XXI.

DE MODO POTESTATIS DAEMONIBUS DATAE AD GLORIFICANDOS SANCTOS PER TOLERANTIAM PASSIONUM, QUI AERIOS SPIRITUS NON PLACANDO IPSOS, SED IN DEO PERMANENDO VICERUNT.

(A) Moderatis autem praefinitisque temporibus etiam potestas permissa daemonibus, ut hominibus quos possident excitatis inimicitias aduersus Dei ciuitatem tyrannice exerceant sibique sacrificia non solum ad offerentibus sumant et a uolentibus expetant, uerum etiam ab inuitis persequendo uiolenter extorqueant, non solum perniciosa non est, sed etiam utilis inuenitur ecclesiae, [1]ut martyrum numerus inpleatur; quos ciuitas Dei tanto clariores et honoratiores ciues habet, quanto fortius aduersus inpietatis peccatum et [2]usque ad sanguinem certant.

(B) Hos multo elegantius, si ecclesiastica loquendi consuetudo pateretur, nostros heroas uocaremus. Hoc enim [3]nomen a Iunone dicitur tractum, quod Graece Iuno Ἥρα appellatur, et ideo nescio quis filius eius secundum Graecorum fabulas [4]Heros fuerit nuncupatus, hoc uidelicet ueluti mysticum significante fabula, quod aer Iunoni deputetur, ubi uolunt [5]cum daemonibus heroas habitare, quo nomine appellant alicuius meriti animas defunctorum.

(C) Sed a contrario martyres nostri heroes nuncuparentur, si, ut dixi, usus ecclesiastici sermonis admitteret, non quo eis esset cum daemonibus in aere societas, sed quod eosdem daemones, id est aerias uincerent potestates et in eis ipsam, quidquid putatur significare, Iunonem, quae non usquequaque inconuenienter a poetis inducitur [6]inimica uirtutibus et caelum petentibus uiris fortibus

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the manner of the power given to the daemons for the purpose of glorifying, through the endurance of sufferings, the saints who have won their victory over the spirits of the air, not by propitiating the spirits themselves but by abiding in God.

1. ut martyrum numerus inpleatur. Cp. Rev. vi. 11.

2. usque ad sanguinem. Cp. Hebr. xii. 4.

3. nomen a Iunone. There is no ground for the etymological connexion of ἥρως with Ἥρα. It is more probably connected with the Sanskrit *uiras* and the Latin *uir* (Curtius, "Greek Etymology," § 576). It seems that A. thinks the root of Ἥρα is also the root of *aer—quod aer Iunoni deputetur*—in accordance with Hesiod's description of the δαίμονες (or good angels),

ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,
πλουτοδόται ("Works and Days," 125-6).

A. distinguishes ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος (*ibid.*, 159) from δαίμονες.

4. Heros—as a son of Juno (Ἥρα) seems to be unknown elsewhere.

5. cum daemonibus in aere societas. Cp. x. 22 A.

6. inimica uirtutibus. "Ut Dionysi, Heracli, Aeneae" (Vives). No doubt A. is thinking chiefly of the portraiture of Iuno in the "Aeneid."

inuida. Sed rursus ei succumbit infeliciter ceditque Vergilius, ut, cum aput eum illa dicat:

*Vincor ab Aenea,

ipsum Aenean admoneat Helenus quasi consilio religioso et dicat:

†Iunoni cane uota libens, dominamque potentem
Supplicibus supera donis.

(D) Ex qua opinione [7]Porphyrius, quam uis non ex sua sententia, sed ex aliorum, dicit bonum deum uel [8]genium non uenire in hominem, nisi malus fuerit ante placatus; tamquam fortiora sint aput eos numina mala quam bona, quando quidem mala inpediunt adiutoria bonorum, nisi eis placata dent locum, malisque nolentibus bona prodesse non possunt; nocere autem mala possunt, non sibi ualentibus resistere bonis.

(E) Non est ista uerae ueraciterque sanctae religionis uia; non sic Iunonem, hoc est aerias potestates piorum uirtutibus inuidentes, nostri martyres uincunt. Non omnino, [9]si dici usitate posset, heroes nostri supplicibus donis, sed uirtutibus diuinis Heran superrant. Commodius quippe[10] Scipio Africanus est cognominatus, quod uirtute Africam uicerit, quam si hostes donis placasset, ut parcerent.

CAPUT XXII.

UNDE SIT SANCTIS ADVERSUM DAEMONES POTESTAS ET UNDE CORDIS VERA PURGATIO.

(A) Vera pietate homines Dei aeriam potestatem inimicam contrariamque pietati [1]exorcizando eiciunt, non placando, omnesque tentationes aduersitatis eius uincunt orando non ipsam, sed Deum suum aduersus ipsam. Non enim aliquem [2]uincit aut subiugat

7. Porphyrius. The illustrative passage ("De Abstinent. ab Esu. Animal.," ii. 39) to which the Benedictine editors refer is not quite parallel; but it does express the superior energy or agility of the evil daemons.

8. genium. See note on vii. 13 c.

9. si dici usitate posset—an apology for the words *heroes nostri*, because Christians would not naturally be called *heroes*. Cp. B above.

10. Scipio Africanus—*sc.* Minor, as the words *quod uirtute Africam uicerit* show.

CHAPTER XXII.

What is the source of the saints' power of resistance to the daemons and of their true purification of heart.

1. exorcizando. The practice of exorcism mentioned in Acts xix. 13 was long continued in the Church (as Coques here demonstrates). Several Church Councils —*e.g.*, the Councils of Laodicea and Antioch and the Fourth Council of Carthage —recognised exorcists as a minor clerical order. A service or form of exorcism is found in the Sarum Manual and in the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. See the articles on Exorcism in Herzog's "Encyclopädie" and Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible."

2. uincit aut subiugat. The subject is *aeria potestas*.

* Virg., "Aen.," vii. 310. † "Aen.," iii. 438-9.

[3]nisi societate peccati. In eius ergo nomine uincitur, qui hominem adsumsit egitque sine peccato, ut [4]in ipso sacerdote ac sacrificio fieret remissio peccatorum, id est per *" mediatorem Dei et hominum hominem Christum Iesum," per quem facta peccatorum purgatione reconciliamur Deo.

(B) Non enim nisi peccatis homines separantur a Deo, quorum in hac uita non fit nostra uirtute, sed diuina miseratione purgatio, per indulgentiam illius, non per nostram potentiam; quia et ipsa quantulacumque uirtus, quae dicitur nostra, illius est nobis bonitate concessa. [5]Multum autem nobis in hac carne tribueremus, nisi usque ad eius depositionem sub uenia uiueremus.

(C) Propterea ergo nobis per Mediatorem praestita est gratia, ut polluti, carne peccati †" carnis peccati similitudine " mundaremur. Hac Dei gratia, qua in nos ostendit magnam misericordiam suam, et in hac uita per fidem regimur, et post hanc uitam per ipsam [6]speciem incommutabilis ueritatis ad perfectionem plenissimam perducemur.

CAPUT XXIII.

DE PRINCIPIIS, IN QUIBUS PLATONICI PURGATIONEM ANIMAE ESSE PROFITENTUR.

(A) [1]Dicit etiam Porphyrius diuinis oraculis fuisse responsum nos non purgari lunae [2]teletis adque solis, ut hinc ostenderetur nullorum deorum teletis hominem posse purgari. Cuius enim teletae purgant, si lunae solisque non purgant, quos inter caelestes deos [3]praecipuos habent ? Denique eodem dicit oraculo expressum [4]principia posse purgare, ne forte, cum dictum esset non purgare

3. nisi societate peccati="except those who are living in league with sin."

4. in ipso sacerdote ac sacrificio. Cp. *ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio* (x. 20 A).

5. Multum . . . nobis . . . tribueremus="We should think a great deal of ourselves."

6. speciem="vision."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the first principles in which, according to the profession of the Platonists, lies the purification of the soul.

1. Dicit etiam Porphyrius. "Epist. ad Anebon.," p. 6—the passage to which the Benedictine editors refer—is different in effect; nor does it make mention of any oracle. See, however, Iamblichus in Stobaeus ("Eclog.," i. 52, 59).

2. teletis. The word is used, and in its Latinised form, as here in x. 9 C.

3. praecipuos habent. A. refers not only to the rank of the Sun and Moon among the *di selecti* (vii. 2 A), but to the Neo-Platonic estimate of them (x. 27 A). Cp. Apuleius ("De Deo Socrat.," 1 and 2).

4. principia=*ἀρχαί*. The Trinity of Porphyrius is perhaps most clearly defined by Cyril of Alexandria ("Con. Iulian," viii., § 271) *ἀχρὶ γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἔφη Πλάτων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν : εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνώτατον θεόν τ'Αγαθόν, μετ'*

* 1 Tim. ii. 5. † Rom. viii. 3

teletas solis et lunae, alicuius alterius dei de turba ualere ad purgandum teletae crederentur.

(B) Quae autem dicat esse principia tamquam Platonicus, nouimus. Dicit enim Deum Patrem et Deum Filium, quem Graece appellat [5] paternum intellectum uel paternam mentem; de Spiritu autem sancto aut nihil aut non aperte aliquid dicit; quamuis quem alium dicat horum medium, non intellego. Si enim tertiam, [6] sicut Plotinus, ubi de tribus principalibus substantiis disputat, animae naturam etiam iste uellet intellegi, non utique diceret horum medium, id est Patris et Filii medium. Postponit quippe Plotinus animae naturam paterno intellectui; iste autem cum dicit medium, non postponit, sed interponit.

(C) Et nimirum hoc dixit, ut potuit siue ut uoluit, quod nos sanctum Spiritum, nec Patris tantum nec Filii tantum, sed [7] utriusque Spiritum dicimus. Liberis enim uerbis loquuntur philosophi, nec in rebus ad intellegendum difficillimis offensionem religiosarum aurium pertimescunt. Nobis autem ad certam regulam loqui fas est, ne uerborum licentia etiam de rebus, quae his significantur, inpiam gignat opinionem.

CAPUT XXIV.

DE UNO VEROQUE PRINCIPIO, QUOD SOLUM NATURAM HUMANAM PURGAT ADQUE RENOVAT.

(A) Nos itaque ita non dicimus duo uel tria principia, cum de Deo loquimur, [1] sicut nec duos deos uel tres nobis licitum est dicere; quamuis de unoquoque loquentes, uel de Patre uel de Filio uel de Spiritu sancto, etiam singulum quemque Deum esse fateamur, nec dicamus tamen quod [2] haeretici Sabelliani, eundem esse Patrem,

αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργόν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου Ψυχήν· ἀχρὶ γὰρ ψυχῆς τὴν θεότητα προελθεῖν. Cp. *ibid.*, i., §34, where Porphyrius practically repeats the Platonic doctrine as his own. Cyril comments upon the distinction between Christianity and Platonism in regard to the Trinity.

5. paternum intellectum, etc. In x. 28 C A. quotes the original phrase *πατρικὸν νοῦν*. The Christian origin of the Neo-Platonic phrase is, I suppose, *χριστον . . . θεοῦ σοφίαν* (1 Cor. i. 24). The *paterna mens* is identified with *Dei Filius* (x. 29D).

6. sicut Plotinus. Cp. "Ennead.," v. 1. It is the book which treats *περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων* (*de tribus principalibus substantiis*).

7. utriusque Spiritum. *Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio*, as in the *Quicumque Vult*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the one true First Principle which alone purifies and renovates human nature.

1. sicut nec duos deos, etc. Again A. approaches the language of the *Quicumque Vult*.

2. haeretici Sabelliani. Cp. xi. 10 B. On Sabellianism see Harnack's article *s.v.* Monarchianismus in Herzog's "Encyclopädie." It may be worth while to quote his conclusion: *Der Hauptsatz des Sabellius lautete dass derselbe der Vater, derselbe der Sohn, derselbe der H. Geist sei. An einem und demselben Wesen haften also drei Namen. Es ist das monotheistiche Interesse welches auch Sabellius leitet:*

qui est et Filius, et eundem Spiritum sanctum, qui est et Pater et Filius, sed Patrem esse Filii Patrem, et Filium Patris Filium, et Patris et Filii Spiritum sanctum nec Patrem esse nec Filium. Verum itaque dictum est non purgari hominem nisi principio, quamuis [3]pluraliter [4]aput eos sint dicta principia.

(B) Sed subditus Porphyrius inuidis potestatibus, de quibus et erubescebat, et eas libere redarguere formidabat, noluit intellegere Dominum Christum esse principium, cuius incarnatione purgamur. Eum quippe in ipsa carne contemsit, quam [5]propter sacrificium nostrae purgationis adsumsit, magnum scilicet [6]sacramentum ea superbia non intellegens, quam sua ille humilitate deiecit uerus benignusque Mediator, in ea se ostendens mortalitate mortalibus, quam maligni fallacesque mediatores non habendo se superbius extulerunt miserisque hominibus adiutorium deceptorium uelut inmortales mortalibus promiserunt.

(C) Bonus itaque uerusque Mediator ostendit peccatum esse malum, [7]non carnis substantiam uel naturam, quae cum anima hominis et suscipi sine peccato potuit et haberi, et morte deponi et [8]in melius resurrectione mutari; nec ipsam mortem, quamuis esset poena peccati, quam tamen pro nobis sine peccato ipse persoluit, peccando esse uitandam, sed potius, si facultas datur, pro iustitia perferendam. Ideo enim soluere potuit moriendo peccata, quia et mortuus est, et non pro peccato.

(D) Hunc ille Platonicus non cognouit esse principium; [9]nam cognosceret purgatorium. Neque enim caro principium est aut anima humana, sed Verbum per quod facta sunt omnia. Non ergo caro per se ipsam mundat, sed per Verbum a quo suscepta est, cum **Verbum caro factum est et* [10]*habitauit in nobis*. Nam de carne sua

τί ἂν εἴπωμεν; sagen die Sabellianer bei Epiphanius, ἕνα θεὸν ἔχομεν ἢ τρεῖς θεούς; οὐ πολυθείαν εἰσηγούμεθα erwidert Epiphanius.

3. pluraliter . . . dicta principia—as opposed to the belief (B below) *Dominum Christum esse principium.*

4. aput eos—*sc.* the Platonists.

5. propter sacrificium nostrae purgationis = "in order that he might offer the sacrifice by which we are purified."

6. sacramentum = "mystery," as x. 25 A. See note on iv. 33 B.

7. non carnis substantiam uel naturam—according to the essential article of A.'s creed that the nature of all persons and all things is intrinsically good. Cp. v. 9 N.

8. in melius resurrectione mutari—*sc.* as a spiritual body, in reference to the change which passed upon Our Lord's body at His Resurrection.

9. nam cognosceret purgatorium = "Otherwise he would recognise Him as the Purifier." *Nam* is used elliptically; it is necessary to supply in thought: *si cognosceret eum esse principium.*

10. habitauit = ἐσκήνωσεν.

* John i. 14.

manducanda mystice loquens, cum hi qui non intellexerunt offensi recederent dicentes: **Durus est hic sermo, quis eum potest audire?* respondit manentibus ceteris: †*Spiritus est qui uiuificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam.*

(E) Principium ergo suscepta anima et carne et animam credentium mundat et carnem. Ideo quaerentibus Iudaeis quis esset [11]respondit se esse principium. Quod utique carnales, infirmi, peccatis obnoxii et ignorantiae tenebris obuoluti nequaquam percipere possemus, nisi ab eo mundaremur adque sanaremur per hoc quod eramus et non eramus. Eramus enim homines, sed iusti non eramus; in illius autem incarnatione natura humana erat, sed iusta, non peccatrix erat. Haec est mediatio, qua manus lapsis iacentibusque porrecta est; hoc est [12]semen ‡"dispositum per angelos," in quorum edictis et lex dabatur, qua et unus Deus coli iubebatur et hic Mediator uenturus promittebatur.

CAPUT XXV.

OMNES SANCTOS ET SUB LEGIS TEMPORE ET SUB PRIORIBUS SAECULIS IN SACRAMENTO ET FIDE CHRISTI IUSTIFICATOS FUISSE.

(A) Huius [1]sacramenti fide [2]etiam iusti antiqui mundari pie uiuendo potuerunt, non solum antequam lex populo Hebraeo daretur (neque enim eis praedicator Deus uel angeli defuerunt), sed ipsius quoque legis temporibus, quamuis in figuris rerum spiritalium habere uideretur promissa carnalia, [3]propter quod uetus dicitur testamentum. Nam et prophetae tunc erant, per quos, sicut per

11. respondit se esse principium. In John viii. 25 Our Lord answering the question Σὺ τις εἶ; says, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι (or ὅτι) καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. A.'s interpretation of the passage would require ἡ ἀρχή or ἀρχήν (see Westcott, "Gospel of St. John," Additional Note on John viii. 25). τὴν ἀρχήν must be adverbial="altogether." Yet the Vulgate gives *Principium, quia et loquor uobis.*

12. semen dispositum per angelos—a modification of Gal. iii. 19 as appears from x. 32 H; but it is not in itself a Scriptural expression; for the disposition or ordinance of angels related not to the seed (σπέρμα) but to the law (νόμος). See note on x. 7 B.

CHAPTER XXV.

That all the saints, both under the law and in the ages preceding the law, were justified by faith in the mystery of Christ's Incarnation.

1. sacramenti="mystery," as in x. 24 B. The last words of chapter xxiv. show that the *sacramentum* or "mystery" of which A. here speaks is the Incarnation. It appears, too, from the words *huius sacramenti fide* that the phrase in the title of the chapter *in sacramento et fide* is a ἐν διὰ δυοῖν.

2. etiam iusti antiqui. Cp. the language of the 7th among the 39 Articles of Religion. "Both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ."

3. propter quod, etc. For the name "old" as applied to the Testament suggests a later and therefore a better Testament.

* John vi. 60. † John vi. 63. ‡ Gal. iii. 19.

angelos, eadem promissio praedicata est, et [4]ex illorum numero erat, cuius tam magnam diuinamque sententiam de boni humani fine [5]paulo ante commemoraui: **Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est.*

(B) In quo plane psalmo duorum testamentorum, quae dicuntur uetus et nouum, satis est declarata distinctio. Propter carnales enim terrenasque promissiones, cum eas inpiis abundare perspiceret, †dicit "pedes suos paene fuisse commotos et [6]effusos in lapsum propemodum gressus suos," tamquam frustra Deo ipse seruisset, cum ea felicitate, quam de illo expectabat, contemtores eius florere perspiceret; seque in rei huius inquisitione laborasse, uolentem quur ita esset adprehendere, donec "intraret in sanctuarium Dei" et[7] "intellegeret in nouissima eorum," qui felices uidebantur erranti.

(C) Tunc eos intellexit in eo, quod se extulerunt, sicut dicit, fuisse deiectos et defecisse ac perisse propter iniquitates suas; totumque illud culmen temporalis felicitatis ita eis factum tamquam somnium euigilantis, qui se repente inuenit suis quae somniabat fallacibus gaudiis destitutum. Et quoniam in hac terra uel [8]in ciuitate terrena magni sibi uidebantur: ‡*Domine*, inquit, *imaginem illorum in ciuitate tua ad nihilum rediges.*

(D) Quod huic tamen utile fuerit etiam ipsa terrena non nisi ab uno uero Deo quaerere, in cuius potestate sunt omnia, satis ostendit ubi ait: [9]*Velut pecus factus sum aput te, et ego semper tecum. Velut pecus* dixit utique "non intellegens." "Ea quippe a te desiderare debui, quae mihi cum impiis non possunt esse communia, quibus eos cum abundare cernerem, putaui me incassum tibi seruisse, quando et illi haec haberent, qui tibi seruire noluissent. Tamen *ego semper tecum*, qui etiam in talium rerum desiderio deos alios non quaesiui." Ac per hoc sequitur: *Tenuisti manum dexterae meae, et* [10]*in uoluntate tua* [11]*deduxisti me, et cum gloria adsumsisti me;* tamquam ad sinistram cuncta illa pertineant, quae abundare aput inpios cum uidisset paene conlapsus est.

4. ex illorum numero. For the psalmist as *propheta* see note on viii. 24 L.

5. paulo ante—x. 18 C.

6. effusos in lapsum, etc.=παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη τὰ διαβήματα μοὺ (LXX).

7. intellegeret in nouissima eorum=συνῶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα (LXX). *Intelligam in nouissimis eorum* (Vulg.).

8. in ciuitate . . . tua=ἐν τῇ πόλει σου (LXX). "Out of the city" (P.B.V. of the Psalms). The R.V. of the Psalms gives "in the city" as an alternative to what is apparently the true rendering of the Hebrew בְּעִיר, "at the stirring (of thyself)" or "at the awaking."

9. Velut pecus factus sum=κτηνώδης ἐγενόμην (LXX).

10. in uoluntate tua=ἐν τῇ βουλῇ σου (LXX).

11. deduxisti . . . adsumsisti. It can scarcely be doubted that the tenses should be Futures.

* Ps. lxxiii. 28. † Ps. lxxiii. 2, 16-20. ‡ Ps. lxxiii. 23-28.

(E) [12]*Quid enim mihi est*, inquit, *in caelo et a te quid uolui super terram?* Reprehendit se ipsum iusteque sibi displicuit, quia, cum tam magnum bonum haberet in caelo (quod post intellexit), rem transitoriam, fragilem et quodam modo [13]luteam felicitatem a suo Deo quaesiuit in terra. *Defecit*, inquit, *cor meum et caro mea Deus cordis mei*, defectu utique bono ab inferioribus ad superna; unde in alio psalmo dicitur: **Desiderat et deficit anima mea in atria Domini;* item in alio: †*Defecit in salutare tuum anima mea.*

(F) Tamen cum de utroque dixisset, id est de corde et carne deficiente, non subiecit: Deus cordis et carnis meae, sed *Deus cordis mei*. Per cor quippe caro mundatur. Unde dicit Dominus: ‡[14]*Mundate quae intus sunt, et quae foris sunt munda erunt.* Partem deinde suam dicit ipsum Deum, non aliquid ab eo, sed ipsum *Deus*, inquit, *cordis mei, et pars mea Deus* [15]*in saecula;* quod inter multa, quae ab hominibus eliguntur, ipse illi placuerit eligendus. *Quia ecce*, inquit, *qui longe se faciunt a te, peribunt; perdidisti omnem, qui fornicatur abs te*, hoc est, qui multorum deorum uult esse prostibulum.

(G) Unde sequitur illud, propter quod et cetera de eodem psalmo dicenda uisa sunt: *Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est*, non longe ire, non per plurima fornicari. Adhaerere autem Deo tunc perfectum erit, cum totum, quod liberandum est, fuerit liberatum. Nunc uero fit illud, quod sequitur: *Ponere* [16]*in Deo spem meam.* §*Spes* enim *quae uidetur, non est spes; quod enim uidet quis, quid sperat?* ait apostolus. Si *autem quod non uidemus speramus, per patientiam expectamus.*

(H) In hac autem spe nunc constituti agamus quod sequitur, et simus nos quoque pro modulo nostro angeli Dei, id est nuntii eius, adnuntiantes eius uoluntatem et gloriam gratiamque laudantes. Unde cum dixisset: *Ponere in Deo spem meam, ut adnuntiem*, inquit, *omnes laudes tuas* [17]*in portis filiae Sion.* Haec est gloriosissima

12. Quid enim mihi, etc.=*τί γάρ μοι ὑπάρχει.*

13. luteam felicitatem. Such a metaphorical use of *luteus* is not unknown in classical Latinity—e.g., *luteum negotium* (Cic. "in Verr.," ii. 4, 14, 32). *Luteus*, as so used, seems to mean "sorry" rather than "dirty."

14. Mundate quae intus sunt—an abbreviation of Matt. xxiii. 26: *καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτος αὐτοῦ καθαρόν.*

15. in saecula=*εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* (LXX).

16. in Deo=*ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ* (LXX).

17. in portis filiae Sion. There are no such words in the Hebrew; they appeared in LXX; from LXX they passed into the Vulgate, and from the Vulgate into the Prayer Book Version of the Psalter.

* Ps. lxxxiv. 2.
‡ Matt. xxiii. 26.
† Ps. cxix. 81.
§ Rom. viii. 24, 25.

ciuitas Dei: haec unum Deum nouit et colit; [18]hanc angeli sancti adnuntiauerunt, qui nos ad eius societatem inuitauerunt [19]ciuesque suos inilla esse uoluerunt; quibus non placet ut eos colamus tamquam nostros deos, sed cum eis et illorum et nostrum Deum; nec eis sacrificemus, sed cum ipsis sacrificium simus Deo.

(1) Nullo itaque dubitante, qui haec deposita maligna obstinatione considerat, omnes inmortales beati, qui nobis non inuident (neque enim si inuiderent, essent beati), sed potius nos diligunt, ut et nos cum ipsis beati simus, plus nobis fauent, plus adiuuant, quando unum Deum cum illis colimus, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum quam si eos ipsos per sacrificia coleremus.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE INCONSTANTIA PORPHYRII INTER CONFESSIONEM VERI DEI ET CULTUM DAEMONUM FLUCTUANTIS.

(A) Nescio quo modo (quantum mihi uidetur) amicis suis theurgis erubescebat Porphyrius. Nam [1]ista utcumque sapiebat, sed contra multorum deorum cultum non libere defendebat. Et [2]angelos quippe alios esse dixit, qui deorsum descendentes hominibus theurgicis diuina pronuntient; alios autem, qui in terris ea, quae Patris sunt, et altitudinem eius profunditatemque declarent. Num igitur hos angelos, quorum ministerium est declarare uoluntatem Patris, credendum est uelle nos subdi nisi ei, cuius nobis adnuntiant uoluntatem? Unde optime admonet etiam ipse Platonicus imitandos eos potius quam inuocandos.

(B) Non itaque debemus metuere, ne inmortales et beatos uni Deo subditos non eis sacrificando offendamus. Quod enim non nisi uni uero Deo deberi sciunt, cui et ipsi adhaerendo beati sunt, procul dubio neque per ullam significantem figuram, neque per ipsam rem, quae sacramentis significatur, sibi exhiberi uolunt. Daemonum est haec adrogantia superborum adque miserorum, a quibus longe diuersa est pietas subditorum Deo nec aliunde quam illi cohaerendo beatorum.

18. hanc angeli sancti adnuntiauerunt—*e.g.*, the angels of the Nativity.

19. ciues="fellow-citizens."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the inconsistency of Porphyrius as he wavers between the confession of the true God and the worship of demons.

1. ista="these things"—*i.e.*, the arguments which A. has adduced.

2. angelos quippe alios, etc. Porphyrius ("De Abstinent. ab Esu. Animal.," ii. 38) speaks of the δαιμονες ἀγαθοι much as A. speaks here of the angels. On the teaching of Porphyrius cp. Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," iv. 7-9).

(C) Ad quod bonum percipiendum etiam nobis sincera benignitate oportet ut faueant, neque sibi adrogent quo eis subiciamur, sed eum adnuntient sub quo eis in pace sociemur. Quid adhuc trepidas, o philosophe, aduersus potestates et ueris uirtutibus et ueri Dei muneribus inuidas habere liberam uocem ? Iam distinxisti angelos, qui Patris adnuntiant uoluntatem, ab eis angelis, qui ad theurgos homines nescio qua deducti arte descendunt. Quid adhuc eos honoras, ut dicas pronuntiare diuina ? Quae tandem diuina pronuntiant, qui non uoluntatem Patris adnuntiant ? Nempe illi sunt, quos sacris precibus [3] inuidus adligauit, ne praestarent animae purgationem, nec a bono, ut dicis, purgare cupiente ab illis uinculis solui et [4] suae potestati reddi potuerunt.

(D) Adhuc dubitas haec maligna esse daemonia, uel te fingis fortasse nescire, dum non uis theurgos offendere, a quibus [5] curiositate deceptus ista perniciosa et insana pro magno beneficio didicisti ? Audes istam inuidam non potentiam, sed pestilentiam, et non dicam dominam, sed, quod tu fateris, ancillam potius inuidorum, [6] isto aere transcenso leuare in caelum et inter deos uestros [7] etiam sidereos conlocare, uel ipsa quoque sidera his obprobriis infamare ?

CAPUT XXVII.

DE INPIETATE PORPHYRII, QUA ETIAM APULEI TRANSCENDIT ERROREM.

(A) Quanto humanius et tolerabilius consectaneus tuus Platonicus [1] Apuleius errauit, qui tantummodo daemones a luna et infra ordinatos agitari morbis passionum mentisque turbelis honorans eos quidem, sed uolens nolensque confessus est; deos tamen caeli superiores ad aetheria spatia pertinentes, siue uisibiles, quos conspicuos lucere cernebat, solem ac lunam et cetera ibidem lumina, [2] siue inuisibiles, quos putabat, ab omni labe istarum perturbationum quanta potuit disputatione secreuit !

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3. inuidus adligauit. Cp. x. 9 E.

4. suae potestati reddi = " be made again masters of themselves."

5. curiositate. Cp. x. 9 A for *curiositas* as a term descriptive of pagan rites.

6. isto aere transcenso—the air being the home of the daemons.

7. etiam sidereos. Cp. x. 27 A.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the impiety of Porphyrius, surpassing even the error of Apuleius.

1. Apuleius. A. refers to " De Deo Socrat.," 7 and 11.

2. siue inuisibiles. Cp. Apuleius (" De Deo Socrat.," 2). *Est aliud genus deorum quod natura uisibus nostris denegauit : nec non tamen intellectu eos rimabundi contemplamur, acie mentis acrius contemplantes* (v. l. *aciem mentis acrius contendentes*, which is preferable).

(B) Tu autem hoc didicisti non a Platone, sed a [3]Chaldaeis magistris tuis, ut in aetherias uel [4]empyreas mundi sublimitates et [5]firmamenta caelestia extolleres uitia humana, ut possent [6]di uestri theurgis pronuntiare diuina; quibus diuinis te tamen per intellectualem uitam facis altiorem, ut tibi uidelicet tamquam philosopho theurgicae artis purgationes nequaquam necessariae uideantur; sed aliis eas tamen inportas, ut hanc ueluti mercedem reddas magistris tuis, quod eos, qui philosophari non possunt, ad ista seducis, quae tibi tamquam superiorum capaci esse inutilia confiteris;

(C) Ut uidelicet quicumque a philosophiae uirtute remoti sunt, quae ardua nimis adque paucorum est, te auctore theurgos homines, a quibus [7]non quidem in anima intellectuali, uerum saltem in anima spiritali purgentur, inquirant, et quoniam istorum, quos philosophari piget, incomparabiliter maior est multitudo, plures ad secretos et inlicitos magistros tuos, quam ad scholas Platonicas uenire cogantur. Hoc enim tibi inmundissimi daemones, deos aetherios se esse fingentes, quorum praedicator et [8]angelus factus es, promiserunt, quod in anima spiritali theurgica arte purgati ad Patrem quidem non redeunt, sed super aerias plagas inter deos aetherios habitabunt.

(D) Non audit ista hominum multitudo, propter quos a daemonum dominatu liberandos Christus aduenit. In illo enim habent misericordissimam purgationem et mentis et spiritus et corporis sui. Propterea quippe totum hominem [9]sine peccato ille suscepit, ut totum, quo constat homo, a peccatorum peste sanaret. Quem tu quoque utinam cognouisses eique te potius quam uel tuae uirtuti, quae humana, fragilis et infirma est, uel perniciosissimae curiositati sanandum tutius commisisses. Non enim te decepisset, quem [10]uestra, ut tu ipse scribis, oracula sanctum inmortalemque con-

3. Chaldaeis. Apuleius mentions the Chaldaei ("De Deo Socrat.," 1). A suggests elsewhere that they were the teachers (*magistri*) of Porphyrius—*e.g.*, x. 9 E.

4. empyreas. A word of Greek origin, but apparently not used in Greek literature. A. seems to be the first Latin writer who made use of it. Milton made it famous and familiar in English.

5. firmamenta caelestia. *Firmamentum* is in the Vulgate the equivalent of *στερέωμα* (LXX). Neither word exactly represents the original Hebrew רָקִיעַ = "a solid expanse."

6. di uestri="the gods of your School"—*i.e.*, the gods in whom your School believes. Cp. *uestra oracula* D below.

7. non quidem in anima intellectuali—that being the highest soul or part of the soul. Cp. F below.

8. angelus="messenger" or "herald"; but it may be thought that A. uses the word rather than *nuntius* intentionally, as a paradox.

9. sine peccato. Hebr. iv. 15.

10. uestra . . . oracula. See xix. 23, where A. discusses the reference of these oracles to Christ.

fessa sunt; de quo etiam poeta nobilissimus poetice quidem, quia [11]in alterius adumbrata persona, ueraciter tamen, si ad ipsum referas, dixit:

*Te duce, si qua manent sceleris uestigia nostri,
Inrita perpetua soluent formidine terras.

(E) Ea quippe dixit, quae etiam multum proficientium in uirtute iustitiae possunt propter huius uitae infirmitatem, etsi non scelera, scelerum tamen manere uestigia, quae non nisi ab illo saluatore sanantur, de quo iste uersus expressus est. Nam utique non hoc a se ipso se dixisse Vergilius in eclogae ipsius quarto ferme uersu indicat, ubi ait:

Ultima[12] Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas;

unde hoc a Cumaea Sibylla dictum esse [13]incunctanter apparet.

(F) Theurgi uero illi uel potius daemones deorum species figurasque fingentes inquinant potius quam purgant humanum spiritum falsitate phantasmatum et deceptoria uanarum ludificatione formarum. Quo modo enim purgent hominis spiritum, qui inmundum habent proprium? Alioquin nullo modo carminibus [14]inuidi hominis ligarentur ipsumque inane beneficium, quod praestaturi uidebantur, aut metu premerent aut simili inuidentia denegarent. Sufficit quod purgatione theurgica neque intellectualem animam, hoc est mentem nostram, dicis posse purgari, et ipsam spiritalem, id est nostrae animae partem mente inferiorem, quam tali arte purgari posse adseris, inmortalem tamen aeternamque non posse hac arte fieri confiteris.

(G) Christus autem uitam promittit aeternam; unde ad eum mundus uobis quidem stomachantibus, mirantibus tamen stupentibusque concurrit. Quid prodest quia negare non potuisti errare homines theurgica disciplina et quam plurimos fallere per caecam insipientemque sententiam adque esse certissimum errorem agendo et supplicando ad [15]principes angelosque decurrere, et rursum, quasi

11. **in alterius adumbrata persona**—*sc.* the child, whoever he was, born in Pollio's consulship. See Conington, "Introduction to Vergil Eclog.," iv. It is the Eclogue which the Christian fathers so often quote as prophetic of the Messiah; and certainly it contains some verses which, like passages of the Psalter, would naturally seem to reach beyond the intellectual or spiritual vision of the poets who wrote them. The Emperor Constantine quotes Virgil's lines in his "Oratio ad Sanct. Coet.," xix. (apud Euseb., Opp. pars. i. Hist.)

12. **Cumaei . . . carminis**—*sc.* the oracle of the Sibyl of Cumae.

13. **incunctanter**="indubitably." See note on x. 11 E.

14. **inuidi hominis.** Cp. x. 9 E.

15. **principes**="principalities," as one grade or class in the angelic hierarchy.

* Virg., "Eclog.," iv. 13, 14.

ne operam perdidisse uidearis ista discendo, mittis homines ad theurgos, ut per eos anima spiritalis purgetur illorum, qui non secundum intellectualem animam uiuunt ?

CAPUT XXVIII.

QUIBUS PERSUASIONIBUS PORPHYRIUS OBCAECATUS NON POTUERIT VERAM SAPIENTIAM, QUOD EST CHRISTUS, AGNOSCERE.

(A) Mittis ergo homines in errorem certissimum, neque [1]hoc tantum malum te pudet, cum uirtutis et sapientiae [2]profitearis amatorem; quam si uere ac fideliter amasses, *[3]Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam cognouisses nec ab eius saluberrima humilitate tumore inflatus uanae scientiae [4]resiluisses. Confiteris tamen etiam spiritalem animam sine theurgicis artibus et sine teletis, quibus frustra discendis elaborasti, [5]posse continentiae uirtute purgari.

(B) Aliquando etiam dicis, quod teletae non post mortem eleuant animam, ut iam nec eidem ipsi, quam spiritalem uocas, aliquid post huius uitae finem prodesse uideantur; et tamen [6]uersas haec multis modis et repetis, ad nihil aliud, quantum existimo, nisi ut talium quoque rerum quasi peritus appareas et placeas inlicitarum artium curiosis, uel ad eas facias ipse curiosos. Sed bene, quod metuendam dicis hanc artem uel [7]legum periculis uel [8]ipsius actionis. Adque utinam hoc saltem abs te miseri audiant et inde, ne illic absorbeantur, abscedant aut eo penitus non accedant.

(C) Ignorantiam certe et propter eam multa uitia per nullas

CHAPTER XXVIII.

What were the considerations by which Porphyrius was so blinded that he could not recognise the true Wisdom—i.e., Christ.

1. hoc tantum malum te pudet. In classical Latin the Genitive *huius mali* would be used.

2. profitearis amatorem. This construction, which is frequent in A., is illustrated in the note on iii. 17 L.

3. Christum Dei uirtutem, etc. = *χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν, uirtus*, as so often in A., representing *δύναμις*.

4. resiluisses. For Porphyrius had at one time been a Christian, as Socrates states ("Eccl. Hist.," iii. 23) in a curious passage: *ἐκ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πληγὰς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ὑπό τίνων χριστιανῶν εἰληφὼς, καὶ μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκ μελαγχολιάς τὸν μὲν χριστιανισμὸν ἀπέλειπε μίσει δὲ τῶν τυπτησάντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βλάσφημα κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν γράφειν ἐξέπεσεν.*

5. posse continentiae uirtute purgari. Cp. Porphyrius ("De Abstinent. ab Esu. Animal.," 31).

6. uersas haec, etc. = "You turn these questions over and over again in many ways."

7. legum periculis—the laws enacted against magic.

8. ipsius actionis—because magic itself, if it were wrongly practised, might, according to pagan superstition, excite the anger of the daemons.

* 1 Cor. i. 24.

teletas purgari dicis, sed per solum [9]πατρικὸν νοῦν, id est paternam mentem siue intellectum, qui paternae est conscius uoluntatis. Hunc autem Christum esse non credis; contemnis enim eum propter corpus ex femina acceptum et propter crucis obprobrium, excelsam uidelicet sapientiam spretis adque abiectis infimis idoneus [10]de superioribus carpere. At ille inplet, quod prophetae sancti de illo ueraciter praedixerunt: **Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium* [11]*reprobabo.* Non enim suam in eis perdit et reprobat, quam ipse donauit, sed quam sibi adrogant, qui non habent ipsius.

(D) Unde commemorato isto prophetico testimonio sequitur et dicit apostolus: †*Ubi sapiens? ubi scriba? ubi conquisitor huius saeculi? Nonne stultam fecit Deus sapientiam huius mundi? Nam quoniam in Dei sapientia non cognouit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis saluos facere credentes. Quoniam quidem Iudaei signa petunt et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt; nos autem,* inquit, *praedicamus Christum crucifixum, Iudaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, ipsis uero uocatis Iudaeis et Graecis Christum* [12]*Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam; quoniam stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus, et infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus.*

(E) Hoc quasi stultum et infirmum tamquam sua uirtute sapientes fortesque contemnunt. Sed haec est gratia, quae sanat infirmos, non superbe iactantes falsam beatitudinem suam, sed humiliter potius ueram miseriam confitentes.

CAPUT XXIX.

DE INCARNATIONE DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI, QUAM CONFITERI PLATONICORUM ERUBESCIT INPIETAS.

(A) Praedicas Patrem et eius Filium, quem uocas paternum intellectum seu mentem, et horum medium, quem putamus te dicere Spiritum sanctum, et more uestro [1]appellas tres deos. Ubi, etsi

9. Πατρικὸν νοῦν=*paternum intellectum uel paternam mentem* (X. 23 B). A. seeks to identify the πατρικὸς νοῦς of Porphyrius with the Λόγος or Σοφιὰ θεοῦ (X. 23 B; 29 A). There is a long discussion of the *Paterna Mens* in Steuchus Eugubinus ("De Peren Philosoph.," i., 5-20) and of the doctrine of Porphyrius about it especially (*ibid.*, 11 and 13).

10. de superioribus="from your more exalted standpoint."

11. reprobabo=κρύψω (LXX).

12. Dei uirtutem=θεοῦ δύναμιν.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which the impiety of the Platonists blushes to confess.

1. appellas tres deos. Cp. X. 23 B and C. It is probable that A. refers to the doctrine not so much of Porphyrius himself as of Plotinus and his School (*more*

* Is. xxix. 14; 1 Cor. i. 19. † 1 Cor. i. 20-25.

uerbis indisciplinatis utimini, uidetis tamen qualitercumque et quasi per quaedam tenuis imaginationis umbracula, quo nitendum sit; sed incarnationem incommutabilis Filii Dei, qua saluamur, ut ad illa, quae credimus uel ex quantulacumque parte intellegimus, uenire possimus, non uultis agnoscere. Itaque uidetis utcumque, etsi de longinquo, etsi acie caligante, patriam in qua manendum est, sed uiam qua eundum est non tenetis.

(B) Confiteris tamen gratiam, quando quidem ad Deum per uirtutem intellegentiae peruenire paucis dicis esse concessum. Non enim dicis: Paucis placuit, uel: Pauci uoluerunt: sed cum dicis esse concessum, procul dubio Dei gratiam, non hominis sufficientiam confiteris. Uteris etiam hoc uerbo apertius, ubi [2]Platonis sententiam sequens nec ipse dubitas in hac uita hominem nullo modo ad perfectionem sapientiae peruenire, secundum intellectum tamen uiuentibus omne quod deest prouidentia Dei et gratia post hanc uitam posse conpleri. O si cognouisses Dei gratiam per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum ipsamque eius incarnationem, qua hominis animam corpusque suscepit, summum esse exemplum gratiae [3]uidere potuisses.

(C) Sed quid faciam ? Scio me frustra loqui mortuo, sed quantum ad te adtinet: quantum autem ad eos, qui te magnipendunt et te uel qualicumque amore sapientiae uel curiositate artium, quas non debuisti discere, diligunt, quos potius in tua conpellatione adloquor, fortasse non frustra. Gratia Dei non potuit gratius commendari, quam ut ipse unicus Dei Filius in se incommutabiliter manens [4]indueretur hominem et spem dilectionis suae daret hominibus homine medio, [5]quo ad illum ab hominibus ueniretur, qui tam longe erat inmortalis a mortalibus, incommutabilis a commutabilibus, iustus ab inpiis, beatus a miseris. Et quia naturaliter indidit nobis, ut beati inmortalesque esse cupiamus, manens beatus [6]suscipiensque mortalem, ut nobis tribueret quod amamus, perpetiendo docuit contemnere quod timemus.

(D) Sed huic ueritati ut possetis adquiescere, humilitate opus

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uestro). The intermingling of singular and plural in this chapter is significant—*e.g.*, *praedicas . . . uidetis.*

2. Platonis sententiam—*e.g.*, "Phaed.," pp. 66B-67B.

3. uidere potuisses. The reading *uideri* which Dods translates lacks authority; otherwise it would give a good sense.

4. indueretur hominem. One of A.'s phrases for the Incarnation. *Indueretur*, which is no doubt the true reading (as the MSS. show), must be treated reflexively = "should clothe himself with humanity." Cp. *homine quo indutus est* (ix. 17 C). See Appendix E.

5. quo ad illum, etc. *Quo* (not *qua*) must be the true reading. It is Christ as *homo medius* who affords the means of access to God.

6. suscipiensque mortalem = "assuming mortality."

erat, quae [7]ceruici uestrae difficillime persuaderi potest. Quid enim incredibile dicitur, praesertim uobis qui talia sapitis, quibus ad hoc credendum uos ipsos admonere debeatis; quid, inquam, uobis incredibile dicitur, cum dicitur Deus adsumsisse humanam animam et corpus ? Vos certe tantum tribuitis animae intellectuali, quae anima utique humana est, ut eam consubstantialem paternae illi menti, quem Dei Filium confitemini, fieri posse dicatis.

(E) Quid ergo incredibile est, si aliqua una intellectualis anima modo quodam ineffabili et singulari pro multorum salute suscepta est ? Corpus uero animae cohaerere, ut homo totus et plenus sit, natura ipsa nostra teste cognoscimus. Quod nisi usitatissimum esset, hoc profecto esset incredibilius; facilius quippe in fidem recipiendum est, etsi humanum diuino, etsi mutabilem incommutabili, tamen spiritum spiritui, aut ut uerbis utar quae in usu habetis, incorporeum incorporeo, quam corpus incorporeo cohaerere.

(F) An forte uos offendit inusitatus corporis partus ex uirgine ? Neque hoc debet offendere, immo potius ad pietatem suscipiendam debet adducere, quod [8]mirabilis mirabiliter natus est. An uero quod ipsum corpus morte depositum et in melius resurrectione mutatum iam incorruptibile neque mortale in superna subuexit, hoc fortasse credere recusatis intuentes Porphyrium [9]in his ipsis libris, ex quibus multa posui, quos de regressu animae scripsit, tam crebro praecipere omne corpus esse fugiendum, ut anima possit beata permanere cum Deo ?

(G) Sed ipse potius ista sentiens corrigendus fuit, praesertim cum de anima mundi huius uisibilis et tam ingentis corporeae molis cum illo tam incredibilia sapiatis. *[10]Platone quippe auctore animal esse dicitis mundum et animal beatissimum, quod uultis esse etiam sempiternum. Quo modo ergo nec umquam soluetur a corpore, nec umquam carebit beatitudine, si, ut beata sit anima, corpus sit omne fugiendum ? Solem quoque istum et cetera sidera non solum in

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7. **ceruici**—must here="pride" or "obstinacy." It is possible that A. was thinking of the phrase "a stiff-necked people" so frequently applied to the Jews in the Old Testament. Cicero uses *ceruix* metaphorically but, as it seems, in the sense of "effrontery" (ii. "in Verr.," 3, 59, 135).

8. **mirabilis mirabiliter natus est**—a summary of the whole Christian argument for Our Lord's Virgin Birth—viz., that it is not a supernatural event in a natural and ordinary life, but a supernatural event in a life which is from the first to last supernatural and extraordinary. See Appendix E.

9. **in his ipsis libris.** A. refers again to the treatise of Porphyrius, "De Regressu Animae" (x. 32 A).

10. **Platone . . . auctore.** The passage which A. has in mind is apparently *τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν.* Cp. Cicero, "Tim.," 4.

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* "Tim.," p. 30 B.

libris uestris corpora esse fatemini, quod uobiscum omnes homines et conspicere non cunctantur et dicere; uerum etiam altiore, ut putatis, peritia haec esse [11]animalia beatissima perhibetis et cum his corporibus sempiterna.

(H) Quid ergo est, quod, cum uobis fides Christiana suadetur, tunc obliuiscimini, aut ignorare uos fingitis, quid disputare aut docere soleatis ? Quid causae est, quur propter opiniones uestras, quas uos ipsi obpugnatis, Christiani esse nolitis, nisi quia Christus humiliter uenit et [12]uos superbi estis ? Qualia sanctorum corpora in resurrectione futura sint, potest aliquanto scrupulosius inter Christianarum scripturarum doctissimos disputari; futura tamen sempiterna minime dubitamus, et talia futura, [13]quale sua resurrectione Christus demonstrauit exemplum.

(I) Sed qualiacumque sint, cum incorruptibilia prorsus et inmortalia nihiloque animae contemplationem, qua in Deo figitur, inpedientia praedicentur uosque etiam dicatis esse in caelestibus inmortalia corpora inmortaliter beatorum; quid est quod, ut beati simus, omne corpus fugiendum esse opinamini, ut fidem Christianam quasi rationabiliter fugere uideamini, nisi quia illud est, quod iterum dico: Christus est humilis, uos superbi ? An forte corrigi pudet ?

(K) Et hoc uitium non nisi superborum est. Pudet uidelicet doctos homines ex discipulis Platonis fieri discipulos Christi, qui [14]piscatorem suo spiritu docuit sapere ac dicere: **In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat* [15]*aput Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio aput Deum. Omnia* [16]*per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est.* [17]*In ipso uita erat, et uita erat lux hminum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non* [18]*conprehenderunt.*

(L) Quod initium sancti euangelii, cui nomen est secundum Iohannem, quidam Platonicus, sicut a sancto sene [19]Simpliciano, qui postea

11. animalia beatissima. Cp. Apuleius (" De Deo Socrat.," 4).

12. uos superbi estis. Upon pride as the characteristic sin of the enemies of the City of God and of the humility of Christ and of Christians in imitation of Him, see i. " Praef.," B and note there.

13. quale sua resurrectione, etc. Upon the spiritualised body of Our Lord in the mysterious Forty Days between His Resurrection and His Ascension see Milligan, " The Resurrection of Our Lord," pp. 10-24; 129-135.

14. piscatorem suo—St. John.

15. aput Deum=*πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

16. per ipsum=*δι' αὐτοῦ.*

17. In ipso=*ἐν αὐτῷ.*

18. conprehenderunt=*κατέλαβεν.*

19. Simpliciano—the friend and teacher of Ambrose and his successor in the See of Milan. Four letters of Ambrose to him are still extant. A. not only men-

* John i. 1-5.

Mediolanensi ecclesiae praesedit episcopus, solebamus audire, aureis litteris conscribendum et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat. Sed ideo uiluit superbis Deus ille magister, quia **Verbum caro factum est et* [20]*habitauit in nobis;* ut parum sit miseris quod aegrotant, nisi se etiam in ipsa aegritudine extollant et de medicina, qua sanari poterant, erubescant. Non enim hoc faciunt ut erigantur, sed ut cadendo grauius adfligantur.

CAPUT XXX.

QUANTA PLATONICI DOGMATIS PORPHYRIUS REFUTAVERIT ET DISSENTIENDO CORREXERIT.

(A) Si post Platonem aliquid emendare existimatur indignum, quur ipse Porphyrius nonnulla et non parua emendauit? Nam Platonem [1]animas hominum post mortem reuolui usque ad corpora bestiarum scripsisse certissimum est. Hanc sententiam Porphyrii doctor tenuit et [2]Plotinus; [3]Porphyrio tamen iure displicuit. In hominum sane non sua quae dimiserant, sed alia noua corpora redire humanas animas arbitratus est. Puduit scilicet illud credere, ne mater fortasse filium in mulam reuoluta uectaret; et non puduit hoc credere, ubi reuoluta mater in puellam filio forsitan nuberet.

(B) Quanto creditur honestius, quod sancti et [4]ueraces angeli docuerunt, quod prophetae Dei spiritu acti locuti sunt, quod ipse quem uenturum Saluatorem praemissi nuntii praedixerunt, quod missi apostoli qui orbem terrarum euangelio repleuerunt,—quanto, inquam, honestius creditur reuerti animas semel ad corpora propria quam reuerti totiens ad diuersa!

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tions him ("Confess.," viii. 2; "De Praedest. Sanct.," 8 [iv.]) but addressed to him the two books "De Diuersis Quaestionibus."

20. habitauit=ἐσκήνωσεν.

CHAPTER XXX.

How far Porphyrius refuted and by his disagreement corrected the Platonic doctrine.

1. animas hominum post mortem, etc. Such passages of Plato as "Phaed.," p. 249 B; "Tim.," p. 42 C; "Republ.," x., pp. 619 D-620 B, are enough to justify A.'s statement; and there are many other passages of similar import. Jowett gives numerous references in the Index appended to his Translation of the Dialogues of Plato; *s.v.* "Transmigration of Souls." The process of transmigration is described by A. as *orbis ille ab eisdem abeundi et ad eadem reuertendi* (F below). Cp. Eusebius ("Praep. Euang.," xiii. 16, 11).

2. Plotinus. Cp. "Ennead," iii. 4, 2.

3. Porphyrio . . . displicuit. Cp. xiii. 19 D. The doctrine of Porphyrius himself is expounded in Stobaeus ("Eclog. Phys.," i. 52-54).

4. ueraces angeli. Cp. x. 7.

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* John i. 14.

(c) Verum tamen, ut dixi, ex magna parte correctus est in hac opinione Porphyrius, ut saltem in solos homines humanas animas praecipitari posse sentiret, beluinos autem carceres euertere minime dubitaret. Dicit etiam ad hoc Deum animam mundo dedisse, ut materiae cognoscens mala ad Patrem recurreret nec aliquando iam talium polluta contagione teneretur. Ubi etsi [5]aliquid inconuenienter sapit (magis enim data est corpori, ut bona faceret; non enim mala disceret, si non faceret), in eo tamen aliorum Platonicorum opinionem et non in re parua emendauit, quod mundatam ab omnibus malis animam et cum Patre constitutam numquam iam mala mundi huius passuram esse confessus est.

(d) Qua sententia profecto abstulit, [6]quod esse Platonicus maxime perhibetur, ut mortuos ex uiuis, ita uiuos ex mortuis semper fieri; falsumque esse ostendit, quod Platonice uidetur dixisse Vergilius, in campos Elysios purgatas animas missas (quo nomine tamquam per fabulam uidentur significari gaudia beatorum) ad fluuium Letheum euocari, hoc est ad obliuionem praeteritorum:

*Scilicet inmemores [7]supera ut conuexa reuisant
Rursus et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti.

(e) Merito displicuit hoc Porphyrio, quoniam re uera credere stultum est ex illa uita, quae beatissima esse non poterit nisi de sua fuerit aeternitate certissima, desiderare animas corruptibilium corporum labem et inde ad ista remeare, tamquam hoc agat summa purgatio, ut inquinatio requiratur. Si enim quod perfecte mundantur hoc efficit, ut omnium obliuiscantur malorum, malorum autem obliuio facit corporum desiderium, ubi rursus inplicentur malis; profecto erit infelicitatis causa summa felicitas et stultitiae causa perfectio sapientiae et inmunditiae causa summa mundatio.

(f) Nec ueritate ibi beata erit anima, quamdiucumque erit, ubi oportet fallatur, ut beata sit. Non enim beata erit nisi secura; ut autem secura sit, falso putabit semper se beatam fore, quoniam aliquando erit et misera. Cui ergo gaudendi causa falsitas erit, quo modo de ueritate gaudebit? Vidit hoc Porphyrius purgatamque animam ob hoc reuerti dixit ad Patrem, ne aliquando iam malorum polluta contagione teneatur. Falso igitur a quibusdam est Platoni-

5. aliquid inconuenienter sapit="There is something illogical in his theory."

6. quod esse Platonicus, etc.—*e.g.*, "Phaed.," pp. 70, 71. Tertullian alludes to this Platonic doctrine ("De Anima," 28).

7. supera ut conuexa—*i.e.*, the vault of heaven above the earth or rather the earth vaulted over by the heaven. The Virgilian lines are quoted again, in the same connexion as here, xiii. 19 b.

* "Aen.," vi. 750-1.

cis creditus quasi necessarius orbis ille ab eisdem abeundi et ad eadem reuertendi.

(G) Quod etiamsi uerum esset, quid hoc scire prodesset, nisi forte inde se nobis auderent praeferre Platonici, quia id nos in hac uita iam nesciremus, quod ipsi in alia meliore uita purgatissimi et sapientissimi fuerant nescituri et falsum credendo beati futuri? Quod si absurdissimum et stultissimum est dicere, Porphyrii profecto est praeferenda sententia his, qui animarum circulo alternantem semper beatitudinem et miseriam suspicati sunt. Quod si ita est, ecce Platonicus in melius a Platone dissentit; ecce uidit, quod ille non uidit, nec post talem ac tantum magistrum refugit correctionem, sed [8]homini praeposuit ueritatem.

CAPUT XXXI.

CONTRA ARGUMENTUM PLATONICORUM, QUO ANIMAM HUMANAM DEO ADSERUNT ESSE COAETERNAM.

(A) Quur ergo non potius diuinitati credimus de his rebus, quas humano ingenio peruestigare non possumus, quae animam quoque ipsam non Deo coaeternam, sed creatam dicit esse, quae non erat? Ut enim hoc Platonici nollent credere, hanc utique causam idoneam sibi uidebantur adferre, quia, [1]nisi quod semper antea fuisset, sempiternum deinceps esse non posset; quamquam et de mundo et de his, quos in mundo [2]deos a Deo factos *scribit Plato, apertissime dicat eos esse coepisse et habere initium, finem tamen non habituros, sed per conditoris potentissimam uoluntatem in aeternum mansuros esse perhibeat.

(B) Verum id quo modo intellegant inuenerunt, non esse hoc uidelicet temporis, sed [3]substitutionis initium. "Sicut enim,"

8. **homini praeposuit ueritatem.** *Amicus Plato; magis amica ueritas.* Cp. Cicero ("Tusc. Disp.," i. 17, 39).

CHAPTER XXXI.

Against the argument of the Platonists, on the strength of which they assert that the human soul is co-eternal with God.

1. **nisi quod semper antea,** etc. That the everlasting post-existence of the soul necessarily involved its everlasting pre-existence, is the argument or assumption of Plato in the "Phaedo." Christian Theology has not generally accepted it; but neither does Christian Theology forbid it. It has upon the whole followed A.'s opinion as expressed in this chapter.

2. **deos a Deo factos.** Apart from Plato, "Tim.," p. 41 A, it is worth while to compare with A.'s statement Cicero, "Tim.," 10 and 11.

3. **substitutionis** = "succession" or (as De Ceriziers), "dependence." A. explains the word immediately, *subesset uestigium.* See note on A.'s use of *substi-*

* "Tim.," p. 41 A.

inquiunt, "si pes ex aeternitate semper fuisset in puluere, semper ei subesset uestigium, quod tamen uestigium a calcante factum nemo dubitaret, nec alterum altero prius esset, quamuis alterum ab altero factum esset: sic," inquiunt, "et mundus adque in illo di creati et semper fuerunt semper existente qui fecit, et tamen facti sunt." Numquid ergo, si anima semper fuit, etiam miseria eius semper fuisse dicenda est? Porro si aliquid in illa, quod ex aeterno non fuit, esse coepit ex tempore, quur non fieri potuerit, ut ipsa esset ex tempore quae antea non fuisset?

(C) Deinde beatitudo quoque eius post experimentum malorum firmior et sine fine mansura, sicut iste confitetur, procul dubio coepit ex tempore, et tamen semper erit, cum antea non fuerit. Illa igitur omnis argumentatio dissoluta est, qua putatur nihil esse posse sine fine temporis, nisi quod initium non habet temporis. Inuenta est enim animae beatitudo, quae, cum initium temporis habuerit, finem temporis non habebit.

(D) Quapropter diuinae auctoritati humana cedat infirmitas, eisque beatis et inmortalibus de uera religione credamus, qui sibi honorem non expetunt, quem Deo suo, qui etiam noster est, deberi sciunt, nec iubent, ut sacrificium faciamus, nisi ei tantum, cuius et nos cum illis, [4]ut saepe dixi et saepe dicendum est, [5]sacrificium esse debemus, per eum sacerdotem offerendi, qui in homine, quem suscepit, [6]secundum quem et sacerdos esse uoluit, etiam usque ad mortem sacrificium pro nobis dignatus est fieri.

CAPUT XXXII.

DE UNIVERSALI VIA ANIMAE LIBERANDAE, QUAM PORPHYRIUS MALE QUAERENDO NON REPPERIT, ET QUAM SOLA GRATIA CHRISTIANA RESERAVIT.

(A) Haec est religio, quae uniuersalem continet uiam animae liberandae, quoniam nulla nisi hac liberari potest. Haec est enim quodam modo regalis uia, quae una ducit ad regnum, non temporali fastigio nutabundum, sed aeternitatis firmitate securum. Cum autem dicit Porphyrius in primo iuxta finem de regressu animae

tuere (vii. 3). A. expresses a similar idea, although in different language, when he says that certain thinkers *non . . . temporis uolunt habere* (*mundum*) *sed suae creationis initium* (xi. 4 D). But this he calls not unfairly *modus uix intellegibilis*.

4. ut saepe dixi—*e.g.*, x. 16 1.

5. sacrificium esse debemus. A.'s doctrine of sacrifice is fully discussed in Appendix D.

6. secundum quem—sc. *hominem*. The conception of Our Lord as both sacrificing priest and sacrifice occurs in x. 6 D as elsewhere. It is based upon Hebr. v. 5, 6; viii. 1-3; ix. 11-14.

libro [1]nondum receptam in unam quandam sectam, quae uniuersalem contineat uiam animae liberandae, uel a philosophia uerissima aliqua uel [2]ab Indorum moribus ac disciplina, aut [3]inductione Chaldaeorum aut alia qualibet uia, nondumque in suam notitiam eandem uiam historiali cognitione perlatam: procul dubio confitetur esse aliquam, sed nondum in suam uenisse notitiam.

(B) Ita ei non sufficiebat quidquid de anima liberanda studiosissime didicerat sibique uel potius aliis nosse ac tenere uidebatur. Sentiebat enim adhuc sibi deesse aliquam praestantissimam auctoritatem, quam de re tanta sequi oporteret. Cum autem dicit uel a philosophia uerissima aliqua nondum in suam notitiam peruenisse sectam, quae uniuersalem contineat uiam animae liberandae: satis, quantum arbitror, ostendit uel eam philosophiam, in qua ipse philosophatus est, non esse uerissimam, uel ea non contineri talem uiam.

(C) Et quo modo iam potest esse uerissima, qua non continetur haec uia? Nam quae alia uia est uniuersalis animae liberandae, nisi qua uniuersae animae liberantur ac per hoc sine illa nulla anima liberatur? Cum autem addit et dicit: "Vel ab Indorum moribus ac disciplina, uel ab [3]inductione Chaldaeorum uel alia qualibet uia," manifestissima uoce testatur neque illis quae ab Indis neque illis quae a Chaldaeis didicerat hanc uniuersalem uiam liberandae animae contineri; et utique se a Chaldaeis oracula diuina sumsisse, quorum adsiduam commemorationem facit, tacere non potuit.

(D) Quam uult ergo intellegi animae liberandae uniuersalem uiam nondum receptam uel ex aliqua uerissima philosophia uel ex earum gentium doctrinis, quae magnae uelut in diuinis rebus habebantur, quia plus aput eas curiositas ualuit quorumque angelorum cognos-

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the universal method of liberating the soul, which Porphyrius failed to find, because he did not seek it aright, and which the Christian grace alone has disclosed.

1. nondum receptam in unam quandam sectam. This reading, although it is less simple, perhaps, than the variant *nondum receptam unam quandam sectam* (which has been generally adopted—*e.g.*, by the Benedictine editors), yet admits an easy explanation. A. says below: *hoc tantum bonum tantumque adiutorium nondum receptum* (E) and again *nondum receptum hoc donum Dei* (G). The subject of *receptam* is *regalem uiam*, repeated in *eandem uiam* below. It was because the Participle was taken as agreeing with *sectam* that *in* was omitted. *Receptum* was an emendation intended to justify *in* by separating the Participle from *sectam*. Cp. I below: *animae liberandae uniuersalem uiam nondum receptam.*

2. ab Indorum moribus ac disciplina—with reference to the Indian *gymnosophistae* whom A. mentions (xiv. 17 F; xv. 20 C). He refers no doubt to the Brahmins.

3. inductione Chaldaeorum = "the logic of the Chaldaeans." *Inductio*, like the Greek ἐπαγωγή, of which it is a translation, was properly the mode of arguing from particular instances to a general law (see Cicero, "Topic.," x. 42); but it not infrequently conveyed a wider meaning. The relation of Chaldaean thought to the Neo-Platonic philosophy is suggested by x. 9 E; 10 C; 27 B.

cendorum et colendorum, nondumque in suam notitiam historiali cognitione perlatam ?

(E) Quaenam ista est uniuersalis uia, nisi quae non suae cuique genti propria, sed uniuersis gentibus quae communis esset diuinitus inpertita est ? Quam certe iste homo non mediocri ingenio praeditus esse non dubitat. Prouidentiam quippe diuinam sine ista uniuersali uia liberandae animae genus humanum relinquere potuisse non credit. Neque enim ait non esse, sed hoc tantum bonum tantumque adiutorium nondum receptum, nondum in suam notitiam esse perlatum; nec mirum.

(F) Tunc enim Porphyrius erat in rebus humanis, quando ista liberandae animae uniuersalis uia, quae non est alia quam religio Christiana, [4]obpugnari permittebatur ab idolorum daemonumque cultoribus regibusque terrenis, propter adserendum et consecrandum martyrum numerum, hoc est testium ueritatis, per quos ostenderetur omnia corporalia mala pro fide pietatis et commendatione ueritatis esse toleranda. Videbat ergo ista Porphyrius et per huius modi persecutiones cito [5]istam uiam perituram et propterea non esse ipsam liberandae animae uniuersalem putabat, non intellegens hoc, quod eum mouebat et quod in eius electione perpeti metuebat, ad eius confirmationem robustioremque commendationem potius pertinere.

(G) Haec est igitur animae liberandae uniuersalis uia, id est uniuersis gentibus diuina miseratione concessa, cuius profecto notitia ad quoscumque iam uenit et ad quoscumque uentura est, nec debuit nec debebit ei dici: Quare modo ? et: [6]Quare sero ? quoniam mittentis consilium non est humano ingenio penetrabile. Quod sensit etiam iste, cum dixit, nondum receptum hoc donum Dei et nondum in suam notitiam fuisse perlatum. Neque enim propterea uerum non esse iudicauit, quia nondum in fidem suam receptum fuerat uel in notitiam nondum peruenerat.

(H) Haec est, inquam, liberandorum credentium uniuersalis uia, de qua fidelis Abraham diuinum accepit oraculum: **In semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes.* Qui fuit quidem [7]gente Chaldaeus, sed ut

4. obpugnari permittebatur. The life of Porphyrius fell within the reigns of the Emperor Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) and Maximianus whom he appointed as his colleague (A.D. 286), both persecutors of Christianity.

5. istam uiam. "The way" as a designation of Christianity sprang from the use of ἡ ὁδός in the Acts of the Apostles—*e.g.*, xix. 9 and 23.

6. Quare sero ? A. replies to the question *Quid egerunt tot saeculorum homines ante Christum ?* in "Epist.," cii. 8.

7. gente Chaldaeus. For Abraham's home in "Ur of the Chaldees" see Gen. xi. 28; xv. 7; cp. Josephus, "Antiqq.," i. 6 and 7.

* Gen. xxii. 18.

talia promissa perciperet et ex illo propagaretur [8]semen *dispositum per angelos in manu Mediatoris, in quo esset ista liberandae animae uniuersalis uia, hoc est omnibus gentibus data, †iussus est discedere de terra sua et de cognatione sua et de domo patris sui.

(I) Tunc ipse primitus [9]a Chaldaeorum superstitionibus liberatus unum uerum Deum sequendo coluit, cui haec promittenti fideliter credidit. Haec est uniuersalis uia, de qua in sancta [10]prophetia dictum est: ‡*Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nos; inluminet uultum suum super nos* [11]*et misereatur nostri, ut cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.* Unde tanto post ex Abrahae semine carne suscepta de ipso ait ipse Saluator: §*Ego sum uia,* [12]*ueritas et uita.*

(K) Haec est uniuersalis uia, de qua tanto ante praedictum est: ‖*Erit in nouissimis diebus* [13]*manifestatus mons domus Domini,* [14]*paratus super cacumina montium et extolletur super colles, et uenient ad eum uniuersae gentes et ingredientur nationes multae et dicent: Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini et in domum Dei Iacob; et adnuntiabit nobis uiam suam, et* [15]*ingrediemur in eam. Ex Sion enim prodiet lex et uerbum Domini ab Hierusalem.*

(L) Via ergo ista non est unius gentis, sed uniuersarum gentium; et lex uerbumque Domini non in Sion et Hierusalem remansit, sed inde processit, ut se per uniuersa diffunderet. Unde ipse Mediator post resurrectionem suam discipulis trepidantibus ait: ¶[16]*Oportebat inpleri quae scripta sunt in lege et prophetis et psalmis de me. Tunc aperuit illis* [17]*sensum, ut intellegerent scripturas, et dixit eis,* [18]*quia oportebat Christum pati et resurgere a mortuis tertio die et praedicari* [19]*in nomine eius paenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum per omnes gentes incipientibus ab Hierusalem.*

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8. semen dispositum per angelos. Cp. x. 24 E (note). A. adds here *in manu Mediatoris*=ἐν χειρὶ Μεσίτου (Gal. iii. 19).

9. a Chaldaeorum superstitionibus. Cp. xvi. 12 A.

10. prophetia. The psalmists are in A.'s eyes always prophets. See note on viii. 24 L.

11. et misereatur nostri=καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς; but the authority of LXX does not support the words.

12. ueritas=καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια.

13. manifestatus=ἐμφανές (LXX).

14. paratus super cacumina montium=ἐπ' ἄκρου τῶν ὀρέων (LXX).

15. ingrediemur in eam=πορευσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ (LXX).

16. Oportebat, etc.=δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσεώς κ.τ.λ.

17. sensum=νοῦν.

18. quia oportebat=οὕτω γέγραπται καὶ οὕτως ἔδει, but the last three words should be omitted from the Greek text.

19. in nomine eius=ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

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* Gal. iii. 19. † Gen. xii. 1. ‡ Ps. lxvii. 1, 2.
§ John xiv. 6. ‖ Is. ii. 2, 3. ¶ Luke xxiv. 44-47.

(M) Haec est igitur uniuersalis animae liberandae uia, quam sancti angeli sanctique prophetae prius in paucis hominibus ubi potuerunt Dei gratiam reperientibus et [20]maxime in Hebraea gente, cuius erat ipsa quodam modo sacrata res publica in prophetationem et praenuntiationem ciuitatis Dei ex omnibus gentibus congregandae, et tabernaculo et templo et sacerdotio et sacrificiis significauerunt et [21]eloquiis quibusdam manifestis, plerisque mysticis praedixerunt: praesens autem in carne ipse Mediator et beati eius apostoli iam testamenti noui gratiam reuelantes apertius indicarunt, quae aliquanto occultius superioribus sunt significata temporibus, pro aetatum generis humani distributione, sicut eam Deo sapienti placuit ordinare, mirabilium operum diuinorum, quorum superius [22]pauca iam posui, contestantibus signis.

(N) Non enim apparuerunt tantummodo uisiones angelicae et caelestium ministrorum sola uerba sonuerunt, uerum etiam [23]hominibus Dei uerbo simplicis pietatis agentibus spiritus inmundi de hominum corporibus ac sensibus pulsi sunt, uitia corporis languoresque sanati, fera animalia terrarum et aquarum, uolatilia caeli, ligna, elementa, sidera diuina iussa fecerunt, inferna cesserunt, mortui reuixerunt; exceptis ipsius Saluatoris propriis singularibusque miraculis, maxime natiuitatis et resurrectionis, quorum in uno maternae uirginitatis tantummodo [24]sacramentum, in altero autem etiam eorum, qui in fine resurrecturi sunt, demonstrauit exemplum.

(O) Haec uia totum hominem mundat et inmortalitati mortalem ex omnibus quibus constat partibus praeparat. Ut enim non alia purgatio ei parti quaereretur, quam uocat intellectualem Porphyrius, alia ei, quam uocat spiritalem, aliaque ipsi corpori, propterea totum suscepit ueracissimus potentissimusque mundator adque saluator. Praeter hanc uiam, quae, partim cum haec futura praenuntiantur, partim cum facta nuntiantur, numquam generi humano defuit, nemo liberatus est, nemo liberatur, nemo liberabitur.

(P) Quod autem Porphyrius uniuersalem uiam animae liberandae nondum in suam notitiam historiali cognitione dicit esse perlatam,

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20. maxime in Hebraea gente—the Jews being in A.'s view the principal, but not the only, recipients of Divine truth.

21. eloquiis="oracles" (λόγια)—a word often used by A. as descriptive of the Scriptures. See note on ii. 18 F.

22. pauca iam posui—*e.g.*, X. 8 C *sqq.*

23. hominibus Dei uerbo, etc. A., in his enumeration of the miracles wrought by men, goes beyond the record of the New Testament—*e.g.*, in the words *fera animalia . . . iussa fecerunt.*

24. sacramentum="mystery"—one of the senses in which A. uses *sacramentum.* See note on iv. 33 B.

quid hac historia uel inlustrius inueniri potest, quae uniuersum orbem tanto apice auctoritatis obtinuit, uel fidelius, in qua ita narrantur praeterita, [25]ut futura etiam praedicantur, quorum multa uidemus inpleta, ex quibus ea quae restant sine dubio speremus inplenda ?

(Q) [26]Non enim potest Porphyrius uel quicumque Platonici etiam in hac uia quasi terrenarum rerum et ad uitam istam mortalem pertinentium diuinationem praedictionemque contemnere, quod merito in aliis uaticinationibus et quorumlibet modorum uel artium diuinationibus faciunt. Negant enim haec uel magnorum hominum uel magni esse pendenda, et recte. Nam uel inferiorum fiunt praesensione causarum, sicut arte medicinae quibusdam antecedentibus signis plurima euentura ualetudini praeuidentur; [27]uel inmundi daemones sua disposita facta praenuntiant, quorum ius et in mentibus adque cupiditatibus iniquorum ad quaeque congruentia facta ducendis quodam modo sibi uindicant, et in materia infima fragilitatis humanae.

(R) Non talia sancti homines in ista uniuersali animarum liberandarum uia gradientes tamquam magna prophetare curarunt, quamuis et ista eos non fugerint et ab eis saepe praedicta sint ad eorum fidem faciendam, quae mortalium sensibus non poterant intimari nec ad experimentum celeri facilitate perduci. Sed alia erant uere magna adque diuina, quae quantum dabatur cognita Dei uoluntate futura nuntiabant.

(S) Christus quippe in carne uenturus et quae in illo tam clara perfecta sunt adque in eius nomine inpleta, paenitentia hominum et ad Deum conuersio uoluntatum, remissio peccatorum, gratia iustitiae, fides piorum et per uniuersum orbem in ueram diuinitatem multitudo credentium, culturae simulacrorum daemonumque subuersio et a tentationibus exercitatio, proficientium purgatio et liberatio ab omni malo, iudicii dies, resurrectio mortuorum, societatis inpiorum aeterna damnatio regnumque aeternum gloriosissimae ciuitatis Dei conspectu eius inmortaliter perfruentis in huius uiae scripturis praedicta adque promissa sunt; quorum tam multa inpleta conspicimus, ut recta pietate futura esse cetera confidamus.

(T) Huius uiae rectitudinem usque ad Deum uidendum eique in aeternum cohaerendum in sanctarum scripturarum qua praedi-

25. ut futura etiam praedicantur. A. lays frequent stress on the fulfilment of prophecy, as in S below. See Appendix G.

26. Non enim potest, etc. With A.'s statement compare Cicero ("De Diuin.," i. 3 and 4).

27. uel inmundi daemones, etc. Cp. A. ("De Diuin. Daem.," 7 [iii.]). *suas disposita facta*="their own appointed actions."

catur adque adseritur ueritate quicumque non credunt et ob hoc nec intellegunt, [28]obpugnare possunt, sed expugnare non possunt.

(U) Quapropter in decem istis libris, etsi minus quam nonnullorum de nobis expectabat intentio, tamen quorundam studio, quantum uerus Deus et Dominus adiuuare dignatus est, satisfecimus, refutando contradictiones inpiorum, qui conditori sanctae ciuitatis de qua disputare instituimus, deos suos praeferunt. Quorum decem librorum quinque superiores aduersus eos conscripti sunt, qui propter bona uitae huius deos colendos putant; quinque autem posteriores aduersus eos, qui cultum deorum propter uitam, quae post mortem futura est, seruandum existimant. Deinceps itaque, ut in primo libro polliciti sumus, de duarum ciuitatum, quas in hoc saeculo [29]perplexas diximus inuicemque permixtas, exortu et procursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum diuinitus adiuuabor, expediam.

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28. obpugnare possunt, etc. = "They may storm at our position, but they cannot storm it" (Dods). Better, perhaps, "they may succeed in storming our position, but they cannot succeed in taking it by storm."

29. perplexas diximus. A. uses the same expression in regard to the two States (xi. 1 c).

LIBER XI

CAPUT I.

DE EA PARTE OPERIS, QUA DUARUM CIVITATUM, ID EST CAELESTIS ADQUE TERRENAE, INITIA ET FINES INCIPIENT DEMONSTRARI.

(A) Ciuitatem Dei dicimus, cuius ea scriptura testis est, quae non fortuitis motibus animorum, sed plane summae dispositione prouidentiae [1]super omnes omnium gentium litteras omnia sibi genera ingeniorum humanorum diuina excellens auctoritate subiecit. Ibi quippe scriptum est: *[2]*Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, ciuitas Dei;* et in alio psalmo legitur: †*Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis in ciuitate Dei nostri, in monte sancto eius,* [3]*dilatans exultationes uniuersae terrae;* et paulo post in eodem psalmo: *Sicut audiuimus, ita et uidimus, in ciuitate* [4]*domini uirtutum, in ciuitate Dei nostri; Deus fundauit eam* [5]*in aeternum;* item in alio: ‡[6]*Fluminis inpetus laeti-*

A., who, in his own mind, divided the *D.C.D.* into two parts—viz., Books I.-X. and Books XI.-XXII.—as indeed he indicates at the end of x. 32—says of the Second Part in his "Retractationes" (ii. 43):

Sed ne quisquam nos aliena tantum redarguisse, non autem nostra adseruisse reprehenderet, id agit pars altera operis huius, quae libris duodecim continetur. Quamquam, ubi opus est, et in prioribus decem quae nostra sunt adseramus, et in duodecim posterioribus redarguamus aduersa. Duodecim ergo librorum sequentium primi quatuor continent oxortum duarum ciuitatum, quarum est una Dei, altera huius mundi. Secundi quatuor, excursum earum siue procursum. Tertii uero, qui et postremi, debitos fines. Ita omnes uiginti et duo libri cum sint de utraque ciuitate conscripti, titulum tamen a meliore acceperunt, ut de Ciuitate Dei potius uocarentur.

Orosius, in the Preface to his "History" (which was written at A.'s instance), says: *maxime cum reuerentiam tuam, perficiendo aduersus hos ipsos paganos undecimo libro insistentem (quorum iam decem Orientis radii, mox ut de specula ecclesiasticae claritatis elati sunt, toto urbe fulserunt) leui opusculo occupari non oporteret,* referring to the year A.D. 416 or 417.

CHAPTER I.

Of that part of the work in which the origins and the ends of the two cities—i.e., the heavenly and the earthly—will begin to be demonstrated.

1. super omnes omnium gentium litteras. There is a noble passage upon the superiority of Holy Scripture in "De Doctr. Christ.," ii. 63 (xlii.).

2. Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, etc. This is the keynote of *D.C.D.*, Cp. 1 "Praef."; already quoted (ii. 21 N) and (with *gloriosissima* instead of *gloriosa*) (x. 7 A).

3. dilatans exultationes = εὐρίζων ἀγαλλιάματι (LXX).

4. domini uirtutum = κυρίου τῶν δυναμέων (LXX), which shows that by *uirtutes* are meant the "powers" or "hosts of heaven." Cp. "Lord God of Sabaoth" in the *Te Deum.*

5. in aeternum = εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (LXX).

6. Fluminis inpetus = τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ὁρμήματα (LXX).

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* Ps. lxxxvii. 3. † Ps. xlviii. 1, 2, 8. ‡ Ps. xlvi. 4, 5.

ficat ciuitatem Dei, sanctificauit tabernaculum suum Altissimus; Deus in medio eius non commouebitur.

(B) His adque huius modi testimoniis, quae omnia commemorare nimis longum est, didicimus esse quandam ciuitatem Dei, cuius ciues esse concupiscimus illo amore, quem nobis illius conditor inspirauit. Huic conditori sanctae ciuitatis ciues terrenae ciuitatis deos suos praeferunt, ignorantes eum esse Deum deorum, non deorum falsorum, hoc est inpiorum et superborum, qui eius incommutabili omnibusque communi luce priuati et ob hoc ab quandam egenam potestatem redacti suas quodam modo priuatas potentias consectantur honoresque diuinos a deceptis subditis quaerunt; sed [7]deorum piorum adque sanctorum, qui potius se ipsos uni subdere quam multos sibi, potiusque Deum colere quam pro Deo coli delectantur.

(C) Sed huius sanctae ciuitatis inimicis decem superioribus libris, quantum potuimus, domino et rege nostro adiuuante respondimus. Nunc uero quid a me iam expectetur agnoscens meique non inmemor debiti de duarum ciuitatum, terrenae scilicet et caelestis, quas[8] in hoc interim saeculo perplexas quodam modo diximus inuicemque permixtas, exortu et excursu et debitis finibus, quantum ualuero, disputare eius ipsius domini et regis nostri ubique opitulatione fretus adgrediar, primumque dicam, quem ad modum exordia duarum istarum ciuitatum in angelorum diuersitate praecesserint.

CAPUT II.

DE COGNOSCENDO DEO, AD CUIUS NOTITIAM NEMO HOMINUM PERVENIT, NISI PER MEDIATOREM DEI ET HOMINUM, HOMINEM CHRISTUM IESUM.

(A) Magnum est et admodum rarum uniuersam creaturam corpoream et incorpoream consideratam conpertamque mutabilem [1]intentione mentis excedere adque ad incommutabilem Dei substantiam peruenire et illic discere ex ipso, quod cunctam naturam quae non est quod ipse, non fecit nisi ipse. Sic enim Deus cum homine non per aliquam creaturam loquitur corporalem, corporalibus instrepens auribus, ut inter sonantem et audientem aeria spatia uerberentur, neque per eius modi spiritalem, quae corporum similitudinibus figuratur, sicut in somnis uel quo alio tali modo (nam et

7. **deorum piorum**—*sc.* angels. Cp. ix. 23 c; x. 1 c.
8. **in hoc interim saeculo** = "in this transitory world."

CHAPTER II.

Of the knowledge of God which no man attains save through the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

1. **intentione** = "speculation."

sic uelut corporis auribus loquitur, quia uelut per corpus loquitur et uelut interposito corporalium locorum interuallo; multum enim similia sunt talia uisa corporibus); sed loquitur ipsa ueritate, si quis sit idoneus ad audiendum mente, non corpore.

(B) Ad illud enim hominis ita loquitur, quod in homine ceteris, quibus homo constat, est melius, et quo ipse Deus solus est melior. Cum enim homo rectissime intellegatur uel, si hoc non potest, saltem credatur factus ad imaginem Dei: profecto ea sui parte est propinquior superiori Deo, qua superat inferiores suas, quas etiam cum pecoribus communes habet. Sed quia ipsa mens, cui ratio et intellegentia naturaliter inest, uitiis quibusdam tenebrosis et ueteribus inualida est, non solum ad inhaerendum fruendo, uerum etiam ad perferendum incommutabile lumen, donec de die in diem renouata adque sanata fiat tantae felicitatis capax, fide primum fuerat inbuenda adque purganda.

(C) In qua ut fidentius ambularet ad ueritatem, ipsa ueritas, Deus Dei filius,[2] homine adsumto, non Deo consumto, eandem constituit et fundauit fidem, ut ad hominis Deum iter esset homini per hominem Deum. Hic est enim *mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. Per hoc enim mediator, per quod homo, per hoc et uia. Quoniam si inter eum qui tendit et illud quo tendit uia media est, spes est perueniendi; si autem desit aut ignoretur qua eundum sit, quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit? Sola est autem aduersus omnes errores uia munitissima, ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo;[3] quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.

CAPUT III.

DE AUCTORITATE CANONICAE SCRIPTURAE DIVINO SPIRITU CONDITAE.

(A) Hic prius per prophetas, deinde per se ipsum, postea per apostolos, quantum satis esse iudicauit, locutus etiam scripturam condidit,[1] quae canonica nominatur, eminentissimae auctoritatis, cui

2. **homine adsumto, non Deo consumto**—a phrase as extravagant, I suppose, in Latin as an exact translation of it would be in English. In it A.'s love of paronomasia runs wild. *Hominem adsumere* is, however, one of his constant phrases for Our Lord's Incarnation. So, too, *hominis Deum* is a rather strained expression standing as a parallel or antithesis to *hominem Deum*. Translate "that there might be a path for man to man's God through the man-God."

3. **quo itur Deus, qua itur homo**="God as the goal, but man as the road."

CHAPTER III.

Of the authority of the Canonical Scripture composed by the Divine Spirit.

1. **quae canonica nominatur.** For A.'s use of *canon* and *canonicus* see note on i. 26 A.

* 1 Tim. ii. 5.

fidem habemus de his rebus, quas ignorare non expedit nec per nos ipsos nosse idonei sumus. Nam si ea sciri possunt testibus nobis, quae remota non sunt a sensibus nostris [2]siue interioribus siue etiam exterioribus (unde et [3]praesentia nuncupantur, quod ita ea dicimus esse prae sensibus, sicut prae oculis quae praesto sunt oculis): profecto ea, quae remota sunt a sensibus nostris, quoniam nostro testimonio scire non possumus, de his alios testes requirimus eisque credimus, a quorum sensibus remota esse uel fuisse non credimus.

(B) Sicut ergo de uisibilibus, quae non uidimus, eis credimus, qui uiderunt, adque ita de ceteris, quae ad suum quemque sensum corporis pertinent: ita de his, quae animo ac mente sentiuntur (quia et [4]ipse rectissime dicitur sensus, unde et sententia uocabulum accepit), hoc est de inuisibilibus quae a nostro sensu interiore remota sunt, his nos oportet credere, qui haec in illo incorporeo lumine disposita didicerunt uel manentia contuentur.

CAPUT IV.

DE CONDITIONE MUNDI, QUAE NEC INTEMPORALIS SIT, NEC NOVO DEI ORDINATA CONSILIO, QUASI POSTEA VOLUERIT, QUOD ANTE NOLUERAT.

(A) Visibilium omnium maximus mundus est, inuisibilium omnium maximus Deus est. Sed mundum esse conspicimus, Deum esse credimus. Quod autem Deus fecerit mundum, nulli tutius credimus quam ipsi Deo. Ubi eum audiuimus? Nusquam [1]interim nos melius quam in scripturis sanctis, ubi dixit [2]propheta eius: **In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram.* Numquidnam ibi fuit iste propheta, quando fecit Deus caelum et terram? Non; sed [3]ibi fuit sapientia Dei, per quam facta sunt omnia, quae †in animas

2. siue interioribus—sc. *animus et mens*, as A. explains (B below).

3. praesentia nuncupantur. A.'s etymology is, as usual, at fault; but *sensus* and *sententia* are etymologically connected. Cp. Quintil. ("Instit. Orat.," viii. 5, 1).

4. ipse rectissime dicitur sensus. It is so that conscience has in modern speculation been sometimes called "the sixth sense" or "the soul's sense."

CHAPTER IV.

Of the condition of the world which is neither independent of time nor ordered by a new counsel of God, as if what He had formerly willed not to do He afterwards willed to do.

1. interim="up to the present time."

2. propheta. As the Old Testament is all Messianic, so any writer of any book in it might be called *propheta*. See note on viii. 24 L.

3. ibi fuit sapientia Dei. Cp. Prov. viii. 27. But A.'s quotation is taken from Wisd. vii. 27.

* Gen. i. 1. † Wisd. vii 27.

sanctas [4]etiam se transferens amicos Dei et prophetas constituit eisque opera sua sine strepitu intus enarrat.

(B) Loquuntur eis quoque angeli Dei, [5]qui **semper uident faciem Patris* uoluntatemque eius quibus oportet adnuntiant. Ex his unus erat iste propheta, qui dixit et scripsit: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram.* Qui tam idoneus testis est, per quem Deo credendum sit, ut eodem spiritu Dei, quo haec sibi reuelata cognouit, etiam ipsam fidem nostram futuram tanto ante praedixerit.

(C) Sed [6]quid placuit aeterno Deo tunc facere caelum et terram, quae antea non fecisset ? Qui hoc dicunt, si mundum aeternum sine ullo initio et ideo nec a Deo factum uideri uolunt, nimis auersi sunt a ueritate et letali morbo inpietatis insaniunt. [7]Exceptis enim propheticis uocibus [8]mundus ipse ordinatissima sua mutabilitate et mobilitate et uisibilium omnium pulcherrima specie quodam modo tacitus et factum se esse et non nisi a Deo ineffabiliter adque inuisibiliter magno et ineffabiliter adque inuisibiliter pulchro fieri se potuisse proclamat.

(D) [9]Qui autem a Deo quidem factum fatentur, non tamen eum temporis uolunt habere sed suae creationis initium, ut modo quodam uix intellegibili [10]semper sit factus, dicunt quidem aliquid, unde sibi Deum uidentur uelut a fortuita temeritate defendere, ne subito illi uenisse credatur in mentem, quod numquam ante uenisset, facere mundum, et accidise illi nouam uoluntatem, cum in nullo sit omnino mutabilis; sed non uideo quo modo eis possit in ceteris rebus ratio ista subsistere maximeque in anima, quam si Deo coaeternam esse contenderint, unde illi acciderit noua miseria, quae numquam antea per aeternum, nullo modo poterunt explicare.

(E) Si enim alternasse semper eius miseriam et beatitudinem dixerint, necesse est dicant etiam semper alternaturam; unde illa eos sequetur absurditas, ut etiam cum beata dicitur in hoc utique

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4. etiam se transferens = *μεταβαίνουσα* (LXX).

5. qui semper uident faciem Patris. A. seems to generalise Our Lord's words regarding *οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν μικρῶν τούτων* (Matt. xviii. 10).

6. quid placuit aeterno Deo, etc.—a question frequently propounded by some ancient philosophers—*e.g.*, by the Epicureans (Cic., "De Nat. Deor.," i. 9, 21), and after them by the Manichaeans (A. "De Gen. c. Manich.," 13 [ii.]). A. himself ("Confess.," xi. 12) raises and answers it in the form: *Quid faciebat Deus antequam faceret caelum et terram?*

7. Exceptis enim propheticis uocibus = "apart from the voices of the prophets."

8. mundus ipse, etc. Cp. Rom. i. 20.

9. Qui autem a Deo quidem, etc.—the Neo-Platonists. See 31 B (note), a passage which is necessary to the explanation of this.

10. semper sit factus = "made but made everlastingly."

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* Matt. xviii. 10.

non sit beata, si futuram suam miseriam et turpitudinem praeuidet; si autem non praeuidet nec se turpem ac miseram fore, sed beatam semper existimat, falsa opinione sit beata; quo dici stultius nihil potest.

(F) Si autem semper quidem per[11] saecula retro infinita cum beatitudine alternasse animae miseriam putant, sed nunc iam[12] de cetero, cum fuerit liberata, ad miseriam non esse redituram, nihilo minus conuincuntur numquam eam fuisse uere beatam, sed deinceps esse incipere noua quadam nec fallaci beatitudine; ac per hoc fatebuntur accidere illi aliquid noui, et hoc magnum adque praeclarum, quod numquam retro per aeternitatem accidisset. Cuius nouitatis causam si Deum negabunt in aeterno habuisse consilio, simul eum negabunt beatitudinis eius auctorem, quod nefandae inpietatis est; si autem dicent etiam ipsum nouo consilio excogitasse, ut de cetero sit anima in aeternum beata, quo modo eum alienum ab ea, quae illis quoque displicet, mutabilitate monstrabunt ?

(G) Porro si ex tempore creatam, sed nullo ulterius tempore perituram, [13]tamquam numerum, habere initium, sed non habere finem fatentur, et ideo semel expertam miserias, si ab eis fuerit liberata, numquam miseram postea futuram; non utique dubitabunt hoc fieri manente incommutabilitate consilii Dei. Sic ergo credant et mundum ex tempore fieri potuisse, nec tamen ideo Deum in eo faciendo aeternum consilium uoluntatemque mutasse.

CAPUT V.

TAM NON ESSE COGITANDUM DE INFINITIS TEMPORUM SPATIIS ANTE MUNDUM, QUAM NEC DE INFINITIS LOCORUM SPATIIS EXTRA MUNDUM, QUIA, SICUT NULLA ANTE IPSUM SUNT TEMPORA, ITA NULLA EXTRA IPSUM SUNT LOCA.

(A) Deinde uidendum est, isti, qui Deum conditorem mundi esse consentiunt et tamen quaerunt de mundi tempore quid respondeamus, quid ipsi respondeant de mundi loco. Ita enim quaeritur, quur potius tunc et non antea factus sit, quem ad modum quaeri potest, quur hic potius ubi est et non alibi. Nam si infinita spatia temporis ante mundum cogitant, in quibus eis non uidetur Deus ab opere cessare potuisse, similiter cogitent extra mundum infinita spatia locorum, in quibus si quisquam dicat non potuisse uacare Omnipotentem;

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11. saecula retro infinita = "infinite ages of the past." A.'s use of *retro* and *retrorsum* is illustrated in the note on iv. 18 B.

12. de cetero = "henceforward"—a phrase common in A.'s writings—*e.g.*, "Con. Faust. Manich.," xxxi. 3.

13. tamquam numerum—which begins with one but never ends.

(B) Nonne consequens erit, ut innumerabiles mundos [1]cum Epicuro somniare cogantur (ea tantum differentia, quod eos ille fortuitis motibus atomorum gigni adserit et resolui, [2]isti autem opere Dei factos dicturi sunt), si eum per interminabilem inmensitatem locorum extra mundum circumquaque patentium uacare noluerint, nec eosdem mundos, quod etiam de isto sentiunt, ulla causa posse dissolui ?

(C) Cum his enim agimus, qui et Deum incorporeum et omnium naturarum, quae non sunt quod ipse, creatorem nobiscum sentiunt; alios autem nimis indignum est ad istam disputationem religionis admittere, maxime quod aput eos, qui multis dis sacrorum obsequium deferendum putant, isti philosophos ceteros nobilitate adque auctoritate uicerunt, non ob aliud, nisi quia longo quidem interuallo, uerum tamen reliquis propinquiores sunt ueritati.

(D) An forte substantiam Dei, [3]quam nec includunt nec determinant nec distendunt loco, sed eam, sicut de Deo sentire dignum est, fatentur incorporea praesentia ubique totam, a tantis locorum extra mundum spatiis absentem esse dicturi sunt, et uno tantum adque in conparationem illius infinitatis tam exiguo loco, in quo mundus est, occupatam ? Non opinor eos in haec uaniloquia progressuros.

(E) Cum igitur unum mundum ingenti quidem mole corporea, finitum tamen et loco suo determinatum et operante Deo factum esse dicant; quod respondent de infinitis extra mundum locis, quur in eis ab opere Deus cesset, hoc sibi respondeant de infinitis ante mundum temporibus, quur in eis ab opere Deus cessauerit. Et sicut non est consequens, ut fortuito potius quam ratione diuina Deus non alio, sed isto in quo est loco mundum constituerit, cum pariter infinitis ubique patentibus nullo excellentiore merito posset hic eligi, quamuis eandem diuinam rationem, qua id factum est, nulla possit humana conprehendere.

CHAPTER V.

That it is the more right to think of infinite ages of time before the world than of infinite regions of space outside the world, because, as there is no time when the world was not, so there is no space where the world is not.

[With this whole chapter may be compared "Confess.," xi. 13 *sqq.*]

1. cum Epicuro. The doctrine of Epicurus was, or seems to have been, that, as there is an infinite number of atoms in infinite space, so there must also be an infinite number of worlds. It is the doctrine scientifically advanced by Diogenes Laertius ("De Vit. Dogm. et Apophthegm.," x. 45) and positively expressed by Lucretius ("De Rer. Nat.," ii. 1048-1089). See Zeller: "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," chap. xvii., pp. 422-423.

2. isti—the Neo-Platonists. A.'s favourable opinion of them, in contrast with the pagans, appears not infrequently in *D.C.D.*—*e.g.*, x. 1 and 2.

3. quam nec includunt, etc. "Which they neither confine in any place nor limit by any boundary nor extend over any area."

(F) Ita non est consequens, ut Deo aliquid existimemus accidisse fortuitum, quod illo potius quam anteriore tempore condidit mundum, cum aequaliter anteriora tempora per infinitum retro spatium praeterissent nec fuisset aliqua differentia, unde tempus tempori eligendo praeponeretur. Quod si dicunt inanes esse hominum cogitationes, quibus infinita imaginantur loca, cum locus nullus sit praeter mundum, respondetur eis isto modo: inaniter homines cogitare praeterita tempora uacationis Dei, cum tempus nullum sit ante mundum.

CAPUT VI.

CREATIONIS MUNDI ET TEMPORUM UNUM ESSE PRINCIPIUM NEC ALIUD ALIO PRAEVENIRI.

(A) Si enim recte discernuntur aeternitas et tempus, quod tempus sine aliqua mobili mutabilitate non est, [1]in aeternitate autem nulla mutatio est: quis non uideat, quod tempora non fuissent, nisi creatura fieret, quae aliquid aliqua motione mutaret, cuius motionis et mutationis cum aliud adque aliud, quae simul esse non possunt, cedit adque succedit, in breuioribus uel productioribus morarum interuallis tempus sequeretur? Cum igitur Deus, in cuius aeternitate nulla est omnino mutatio, creator sit temporum et ordinator, quo modo dicatur post temporum spatia mundum creasse non uideo, nisi dicatur ante mundum iam aliquam fuisse creaturam, [2]cuius motibus tempora currerent.

(B) Porro si litterae sacrae maximeque ueraces ita dicunt, in principio fecisse Deum caelum et terram, ut nihil antea fecisse intellegatur, quia hoc potius in principio fecisse diceretur, si quid fecisset ante cetera cuncta quae fecit; procul dubio non est mundus factus in tempore, sed cum tempore. Quod enim fit in tempore, et post aliquod fit et ante aliquod tempus; post id quod praeteritum est, ante id quod futurum est; nullum autem posset esse praeteritum, quia nulla erat creatura, cuius mutabilibus motibus ageretur.

(C) Cum tempore autem factus est mundus, si [3]in eius conditione

CHAPTER VI.

That the creation of the world and the creation of time began together; neither of the two was anterior to the other.

1. in aeternitate . . . nulla mutatio est. A. frequently insists upon the essential characteristics of eternity as distinguished from time—*e.g., In aeternitate stabilitas est, in tempore autem uarietas; in aeternitate omnia stant, in temporalia accedunt, alia succedunt* ("Serm.," cxvii. 10 [vii.]).

2. cuius motibus tempora currerent. Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," v. 12. Translate "whose movements should mark the flight of time." The same thought is expressed by *cuius mutabilibus motibus ageretur* (B below). Cp. xii. 16 1; 26 G.

3. in eius conditione="at the time of its foundation" or "creation."

factus est mutabilis motus, sicut uidetur se habere etiam ordo ille primorum sex uel septem dierum, in quibus et mane et uespera nominantur, donec omnia, quae his diebus Deus fecit, sexto perficiantur die septimoque [4]in magno mysterio Dei uacatio [5]commendetur. [6]Qui dies cuius modi sint, aut perdifficile nobis aut etiam inpossibile est cogitare, quanto magis dicere!

CAPUT VII.

DE QUALITATE PRIMORUM DIERUM, QUI ETIAM ANTEQUAM SOL FIERET VESPERAM ET MANE TRADUNTUR HABUISSE.

(A) Videmus quippe [1]istos dies notos non habere uesperam nisi de solis occasu nec mane nisi de solis exortu; illorum autem priores tres dies sine sole peracti sunt, qui die quarto factus refertur. Et primitus quidem lux uerbo Dei facta adque inter ipsam et tenebras Deus separasse narratur et eandem lucem uocasse diem, tenebras autem noctem; sed qualis illa sit lux et quo alternante motu qualemque uesperam et mane fecerit, remotum est a sensibus nostris, nec ita ut est intellegi a nobis potest, quod tamen sine ulla haesitatione credendum est.

(B) Aut enim aliqua lux corporea est, siue in superioribus mundi partibus longe a conspectibus nostris siue [2]unde sol postmodum accensus est; [3]aut lucis nomine significata est sancta ciuitas in sanctis angelis et spiritibus beatis, de qua dicit apostolus: *[4]*Quae sursum est Hierusalem, mater nostra aeterna in caelis;* ait quippe et alio loco: †*Omnes enim uos filii lucis estis et filii diei; non sumus*

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4. in magno mysterio. Cp. Hebr. iv. 4-11.

5. commendetur="is represented" or "suggested," as in xi. 9 E. See note on the various meanings of *commendo* in A. (ix. 8 C).

6. Qui dies cuius modi sint, etc. That A. did not regard the days of Creation in Genesis as natural days is shown by the next chapter; cp. x. 9 and "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the character of the first days which are related to have had morning and evening before the creation of the sun.

[With this chapter and the next should be compared "De Gen. ad Lit.," especially Books I. and IV.]

1. istos dies notos="ordinary days as they now are."

2. unde sol postmodum, etc.="in the regions from which the sun afterwards derived its illumination."

3. aut lucis nomine, etc. For this interpretation (which would seem to be peculiarly A.'s own) see xi. 9 E; 19 A. There are in A.'s writings other passages which bear upon his interpretation of the light in Gen. i. 3—*e.g.*, "Confess.," xii. 15; "De Gen. ad Lit.," i. 32 and 33 (xvii.), iv. 45 *sqq.* (xxviii. *sqq.*).

4. Quae sursum est Hierusalem, etc.—a loose translation of ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ ἡμῶν (Gal. iv. 26).

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* Gal. iv. 26. † 1 Thess. v. 5.

noctis neque tenebrarum; [5]si tamen et uesperam diei huius et mane aliquatenus congruenter intellegere ualeamus.

(C) Quoniam scientia creaturae in conparationem scientiae Creatoris quodam modo uesperascit, itemque lucescit et mane fit, cum et ipsa refertur ad laudem dilectionemque Creatoris; nec in noctem uergitur, ubi non Creator creaturae dilectione relinquitur. Denique scriptura cum illos dies dinumeraret ex ordine, nusquam interposuit uocabulum noctis. Non enim ait alicubi: Facta est nox; sed: **Facta est uespera et factum est mane dies unus.* Ita dies secundus et ceteri. Cognitio quippe creaturae in se ipsa decoloratior est, ut ita dicam, quam cum in Dei sapientia cognoscitur, uelut in arte qua facta est. Ideo uespera quam nox congruentius dici potest; quae tamen, ut dixi, cum ad laudandum et ad amandum refertur Creatorem, recurrit in mane.

(D) Et hoc cum facit in cognitione sui ipsius, dies unus est; cum in cogitione firmamenti, quod inter aquas inferiores et superiores caelum appellatum est, dies secundus; cum in cognitione terrae ac maris omniumque gignentium, quae [6]radicibus continuata sunt terrae, dies tertius; cum in cognitione luminarium maioris et minoris omniumque siderum, dies quartus; cum in cognitione omnium ex aquis animalium natatilium adque uolatilium, dies quintus; cum in cognitione omnium animalium terrenorum adque ipsius hominis, dies sextus.

CAPUT VIII.

QUAE QUALISQUE INTELLEGENDA SIT DEI REQUIES, QUA POST OPERA SEX DIERUM REQUIEVIT IN SEPTIMO.

(A) Cum uero in die septimo requiescit Deus ab omnibus operibus suis et sanctificat eum, nequaquam est accipiendum pueriliter, tamquam Deus laborauerit operando, qui †*dixit et facta sunt* uerbo intellegibili et sempiterno, non sonabili et temporali. [1]Sed requies Dei requiem significat eorum qui requiescunt in Deo, sicut laetitia

5. si tamen et uesperam, etc. *Tamen* implies the difficulty of speaking of night and morning in relation to the *sancta ciuitas*="strange as it may appear."

6. radicibus continuata sunt terrae="which have roots struck into the ground." Cp. xi. 9 D. A. paraphrases the language of Gen. i. 11 and 12.

CHAPTER VIII.

How and in what sense is to be understood the rest of God by which, after the works of six days, He rested on the seventh day.

1. Sed requies Dei, etc. Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 15 (ix.), where A. says: *Sicut recte dicitur Deus fecere quidquid ipso in nobis operante fecerimus, ita recte dicitur Deus requiescere, cum eius munere requiescimus.*

* Gen. i. 5. † Ps. cxlviii. 5.

domus laetitiam significat eorum, qui laetantur in domo, etiamsi non eos domus ipsa, sed alia res aliqua laetos facit.

(B) Quanto magis, si eadem domus pulchritudine sua faciat laetos habitatores, ut non solum eo loquendi modo laeta dicatur, quo significamus per id quod continet id quod continetur (sicut theatra plaudunt, prata mugiunt, cum in illis homines plaudunt, in his boues mugiunt); sed etiam illo, quo significatur per efficientem id quod efficitur; sicut laeta epistula dicitur, significans eorum laetitiam, quos legentes efficit laetos.

(C) Conuenientissime itaque, cum Deum requieuisse [2]prophetica narrat auctoritas, significatur requies eorum, qui in illo requiescunt et quos facit ipse requiescere; hoc etiam hominibus, quibus loquitur et propter quos utique conscripta est, promittente prophetia, quod etiam ipsi post bona opera, quae in eis et per eos operatur Deus, si ad illum prius in ista uita per fidem quodam modo accesserint, in illo habebunt requeim sempiternam. Hoc enim et sabbati uacatione ex praecepto legis in uetere Dei populo figuratum est, unde [3]suo loco diligentius arbitror disserendum.

CAPUT IX.

DE ANGELORUM CONDITIONE QUID SECUNDUM DIVINA TESTIMONIA SENTIENDUM SIT.

(A) Nunc, quoniam de sanctae ciuitatis exortu dicere institui et prius quod [1]ad sanctos angelos adtinet dicendum putaui, quae huius ciuitatis et magna par est et eo beatior, [2]quod numquam peregrinata, quae [3]hinc [4]diuina testimonia subpetant, quantum satis uidebitur, Deo largiente explicare curabo. Ubi de mundi constitutione sacrae litterae loquuntur, non euidenter dicitur, utrum uel [5]quo ordine creati sint angeli; sed si praetermissi non sunt, uel caeli

2. **prophetica . . . auctoritas**—*i.e.*, the authority of the writer of Genesis. Cp. xi. 4 A.

3. **sua loco**—xxii. 30 M.

CHAPTER IX.

What opinion it is right to hold, in accordance with the Divine testimonies, about the condition of the angels.

1. **ad sanctos angelos.** The *Ciuitas Dei* consists of (1) angels; (2) saints in heaven; (3) Christians on earth. See Appendix A.

2. **quod numquam peregrinata**—whereas the life of the *Ciuitas Dei* on earth is essentially a *peregrinatio*. Cp. 1 "Praef.," A.

3. **hinc**="on this subject."

4. **diuina testimonia**—*sc.* the Holy Scriptures, so often called "testimonies" in Psalm cxix. (μαρτύρια, LXX).

5. **quo ordine creati sint angeli.** Upon the creation of angels see A.'s imperfect treatise, "De Genes.," x. 21.

nomine, ubi dictum est: **In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram*, uel potius lucis huius, de qua loquor, significati sunt.

(B) Non autem esse praetermissos hinc existimo, quod scriptum est, requieuisse Deum in die septimo ab omnibus operibus suis quae fecit, cum liber ipse ita sit exorsus: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram*, ut ante caelum et terram nihil aliud fecisse uideatur. Cum ergo a caelo et terra coeperit, adque ipsa terra, quam primitus fecit, sicut scriptura consequentur eloquitur, [6]inuisibilis et incomposita nondumque luce facta utique tenebrae fuerint super abyssum, id est super quandam terrae et aquae indistinctam confusionem (ubi enim lux non est, tenebrae sint necesse est); deinde si omnia creando disposita sunt, quae per sex dies consummata narrantur: quo modo angeli praetermitterentur, tamquam non essent in operibus Dei, a quibus in die septimo requieuit ?

(C) Opus autem Dei esse angelos hic quidem etsi non praetermissum, non tamen euidenter expressum est; sed alibi hoc sancta scriptura clarissima uoce testatur. Nam et in hymno [7]trium in camino uirorum cum praedictum esset: †*Benedicite omnia opera Domini Dominum*, in executione eorundem operum etiam angeli nominati sunt; et in psalmo canitur: ‡*Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum in excelsis; laudate eum omnes angeli eius, laudate eum omnes* [8]*uirtutes eius; laudate eum sol et luna, laudate eum omnes stellae et lumen; laudate eum caeli caelorum, et* [9]*aquae, quae super caelos sunt, laudent nomen Domini; quoniam ipse dixit, et* [10]*facta sunt; ipse mandauit, et creata sunt.*

(D) Etiam hic apertissime a Deo factos esse angelos diuinitus dictum est, cum eis inter cetera caelestia commemoratis infertur ad omnia: *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt.* Quis porro audebit opinari post omnia ista, quae sex diebus enumerata sunt, angelos factos ? Sed etsi quisquam ita desipit, redarguit istam uanitatem illa scriptura paris auctoritatis, ubis Deus dicit: §*Quando* [11]*facta sunt sidera, laudauerunt me uoce magna omnes angeli mei.* [12]Iam ergo erant

6. inuisibilis et incomposita=ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος (LXX).

7. trium in camino uirorum—the Three Holy Children.

8. uirtutes eius=αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ (LXX).

9. aquae=τὸ ὕδωρ (LXX).

10. facta sunt=ἐγενήθησαν (LXX).

11. facta sunt sidera=ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα (LXX). The LXX here differs widely from the Hebrew; but ἄγγελοί μου is probably a correct interpretation of בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים.

12. Iam ergo erant angeli. It may be worth while to quote Vives' note here:

* Gen. i. 1.

‡ Ps. cxlviii. 1-5.

† Dan. iii. 57 (LXX).

§ Job xxxviii. 7.

angeli, quando facta sunt sidera. Facta sunt autem quarto die. Numquidnam ergo die tertio factos esse dicemus? Absit. In promtu est enim, quid illo die factum sit. Ab aquis utique terra discreta est et distinctas sui generis species duo ista elementa sumserunt et produxit terra quidquid ei radicitus inhaeret.

(E) Numquidnam secundo? Ne hoc quidem. Tunc enim firmamentum factum est inter aquas superiores et inferiores caelumque appellatum est; in quo firmamento quarto die facta sunt sidera. Nimirum ergo si ad istorum dierum opera Dei pertinent angeli, ipsi sunt illa lux, quae diei nomen accepit, cuius unitas ut commendaretur, non est dictus dies primus, [13]sed dies unus. Nec alius est dies secundus aut tertius aut ceteri; [14]sed idem ipse unus ad inplendum senarium uel septenarium numerum repetitus est [15]propter senariam uel septenariam cognitionem; senariam scilicet operum, quae fecit Deus, et septenariam quietis Dei.

(F) Cum enim dixit Deus: *Fiat lux*, et facta est lux, si recte in hac luce creatio intellegitur angelorum, profecto facti sunt participes lucis aeternae, quod est ipsa incommutabilis sapientia Dei, per quam facta sunt omnia, quem dicimus unigenitum Dei filium; ut ea luce inluminati, qua creati, fierent lux et uocarentur dies participatione incommutabilis lucis et diei, quod est uerbum Dei, per quod et ipsi et omnia facta sunt.

(G) **Lumen* quippe *uerum, quod inluminat omnem hominem* [16]*uenientem* [17]*in hunc mundum*, hoc inluminat et [18]omnem angelum mundum, ut sit lux non in se ipso, sed in Deo; a quo si auertitur angelus, fit inmundus; sicut sunt omnes, qui uocantur inmundi spiritus, nec iam lux in Domino, sed in se ipsis tenebrae, priuati

Theologi Graeci res spiritales praecessisse corporeas uolunt, eisque uelut ministris usum esse mundi genitorem in reliquis proreandis: quam opinionem Plato in opificio mundi secutus est. Diuus Hieronymus Gregorium magistrum suosque secutus Graecos spiritalia corporalibus priora fuisse censuit. Basilius uero et Dionysius, Gracci et Latini prope omnes, Ambrosius, Beda, Cassiodorus et hic Augustinus cuncta simul a Deo progenita esse perhibent; quod cum illo congruere uidetur Ecclesiastici decimo octauo: Qui uiuit in aeternum, creauit omnia simul.

13. sed dies unus=יוֹם אֶחָד.

14. sed idem ipse unus. A.'s theory as here stated is that the days of Creation were not so many distinct, successive days; they were each and all the same day, but the same regarded differently in relation to the different created things.

15. propter scenariam uel septenariam cognitionem="as signifying the knowledge which is sixfold or sevenfold." T. H. (Healey) translates "doubled unto sixe or seaven."

16. uenientem. A. interprets ἐρχόμενον (John i. 9) as agreeing with ἄνθρωπον.

17. in hunc mundum=εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

18. omnem angelum mundum. Cp. vii. 26 F for the same juxtaposition of *mundus* (the world) and *mundus* (clean).

* John i. 9.

participatione lucis aeternae. [19]Mali enim nulla natura est; sed amissi boni mali nomen accepit.

CAPUT X.

DE SIMPLICI ET INCOMMUTABILI TRINITATE DEI PATRIS ET DEI FILII ET DEI SPIRITUS SANCTI, UNIUS DEI, CUI NON EST ALIUD QUALITAS ALIUDQUE SUBSTANTIA.

(A) Est itaque bonum solum simplex et ob hoc solum incommutabile, quod est Deus. Ab hoc bono creata sunt omnia bona, sed non simplicia et ob hoc mutabilia. Creata sane, inquam, id est facta, non genita. Quod enim de simplici bono genitum est, pariter simplex est et hoc est quod illud de quo genitum est; quae duo Patrem et Filium dicimus; et utrumque hoc cum spiritu suo unus Deus est; [1]qui spiritus Patris et Filii Spiritus sanctus [2]propria quadam notione huius nominis in sacris litteris nuncupatur.

(B) Alius est autem quam Pater et Filius, quia nec Pater est nec Filius; sed "alius" dixi, non "aliud," quia et hoc pariter simplex pariterque incommutabile bonum est et coaeternum. Et haec trinitas unus est Deus; nec ideo non simplex, quia trinitas. Neque enim propter hoc naturam istam boni simplicem dicimus, quia Pater in ea solus aut solus Filius aut solus Spiritus sanctus, aut uero sola est ista [3]nominis trinitas sine [4]subsistentia personarum, sicut [5]Sabelliani haeretici putauerunt; sed ideo simplex dicitur, quoniam [6]quod habet hoc est, [7]excepto quod relatiue quaeque persona ad alteram dicitur.

(C) Nam utique Pater habet Filium, nec tamen ipse est Filius

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19. Mali enim nulla natura est. Cp. "Enchirid.," 4: *Quid est aliud quod malum dicitur, nisi privatio boni?*; also "De Natura Boni. c. Manich.," 4. Evil, in A.'s view, is the privation of good, as darkness is the cessation of light. (Cp. xi. 10 G.) In this view he follows Plotinus, who says: ὅλως δὲ κακὸν ἔλλειψιν ἀγαθοῦ θετέον ("Ennead.," iii. 2, 5).

CHAPTER X.

Of the simple and unchangeable Trinity of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, one God in Whom quality and substance are the same.

1. qui spiritus Patris et Filii—the orthodox doctrine of the twofold Procession of the Holy Spirit (*a Patre et Filio*). Cp. xi. 24 A.

2. propria quadam notione. Cp. xi. 24 C. "Holy" is ἡ κυρία καὶ ἰδιάζουσα κλῆσις of the Spirit according to Basil ("De Spirit. Sanct.," 9).

3. nominis trinitas="a nominal Trinity."

4. subsistentia=ὑπόστασις, "essence" or "real existence."

5. Sabelliani haeretici. See x. 24 A (note).

6. quod habet hoc est. The Trinity is essence (or substance) without accidents; or, as A. says below (D), it has nothing *quod uel possit amittere.*

7. excepto quod relative, etc.="except the relation in which each Person is conceived as standing to another."

[8et Filius habet Patrem, nec tamen ipse est Pater]. In quo ergo ad semet ipsum dicitur, non ad alterum, hoc est quod habet; sicut ad se ipsum dicitur uiuus habendo utique uitam, et eadem uita ipse est.

(D) Propter hoc utique natura dicitur simplex, cui non sit aliquid habere, quod uel possit amittere; uel aliud sit habens, aliud quod habet; sicut uas aliquem liquorem aut corpus colorem aut aer lucem siue feruorem aut anima sapientiam. Nihil enim horum est id quod habet; nam neque uas liquor est, nec corpus color, nec aer lux siue feruor, neque anima sapientia est. Hinc est quod etiam priuari possunt rebus quas habent, et in alios habitus uel qualitates uerti adque mutari, ut et uas euacuetur umore quo plenum est, et corpus decoloretur et aer tenebrescat siue frigescat et anima desipiat. Sed etsi sit corpus incorruptibile, quale sanctis in resurrectione promittitur, habet quidem ipsius incorruptionis inamissibilem qualitatem, sed manente substantia corporali non hoc est, quod ipsa incorruptio.

(E) Nam illa etiam per singulas partes corporis tota est nec alibi maior, alibi minor; neque enim ulla pars est incorruptior quam altera; corpus uero ipsum maius est in toto quam in parte; et cum aliqua pars est in eo amplior, alia minor, non ea quae amplior est incorruptior quam ea quae minor. Aliud est itaque corpus, 9quod non ubique sui totum est, alia incorruptio, quae ubique eius tota est, quia omnis pars incorruptibilis corporis etiam ceteris inaequalis aequaliter incorrupta est. Neque enim uerbi gratia, quia digitus minor est quam tota manus, ideo incorruptibilior manus quam digitus. Ita cum sint inaequales manus et digitus, aequalis est tamen incorruptibilitas manus et digiti.

(F) Ac per hoc quamuis a corpore incorruptibili inseparabilis incorruptibilitas sit, aliud est tamen substantia, qua corpus dicitur, aliud qualitas eius, qua incorruptibile nuncupatur. Et ideo etiam sic non hoc est quod habet. Anima quoque ipsa, etiamsi semper sit sapiens, sicut erit cum liberabitur in aeternum, participatione tamen incommutabilis sapientiae sapiens erit, quae non est quod ipsa. Neque enim si aer infusa luce numquam deseratur, ideo non aliud est ipse, aliud lux qua inluminatur. Neque hoc ita dixerim, 10quasi

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8. [et Filius . . . Pater]. This clause, although it is omitted in some MSS., is necessary to the argument. If it is to be understood from the context, it is an extreme instance of A.'s habit of omitting words which are or may be mentally supplied. See note on vi. 5 H.

9. quod non ubique sui totum est = "which is not in each of its parts the whole body." *ubique sui* as *ubique eius* immediately afterwards.

10. quasi aer sit anima. Aristotle attributes this opinion to Diogenes and "some others" ("De Anim.," i. 2, 15). Some of the Stoics—*e.g.*, Chrysippus and Panaetius—held the same or a similar opinion; see Zeller, "Stoics, Epicuraeans, and

aer sit anima, quod putauerunt quidam qui non potuerunt incorpoream cogitare naturam.

(G) Sed habent[11] haec ad illa etiam in magna disparilitate quandam similitudinem, ut non inconuenienter dicatur sic inluminari animam incorpoream luce incorporea simplicis sapientiae Dei, sicut inluminatur aeris corpus luce corporea; et sicut aer tenebrescit ista luce desertus (nam nihil sunt aliud quae dicuntur locorum quorumcumque corporalium tenebrae quam [12]aer carens luce), ita tenebrescere animam sapientiae luce priuatam.

(H) Secundum hoc ergo dicuntur illa simplicia, quae [13]principaliter uereque diuina sunt, quod non aliud est in eis qualitas, aliud substantia, nec aliorum participatione uel diuina uel sapientia uel beata sunt. Ceterum dictus est in scripturis sanctis [14]Spiritus sapientiae multiplex, eo quod multa in sese habeat; sed quae habet, haec et est, et ea omnia unus est.

(I) Neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt [15]infiniti eidemque indefiniti thensauri rerum intellegibilium, [16]in quibus sunt omnes inuisibiles adque incommutabiles rationes rerum etiam uisibilium et mutabilium, quae per ipsam factae sunt. Quoniam Deus non aliquid nesciens fecit, quod nec de quolibet homine artifice recte dici potest; porro si sciens fecit omnia, ea utique fecit quae nouerat. Ex quo occurrit animo [17]quiddam mirum, sed tamen uerum, quod iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset, nisi esset; Deo autem nisi notus esset, esse non posset.

Sceptics," chap. ix., p. 199. Anaximenes, according to Plutarch, taught that air was the ἀρχή of τὰ ὄντα, and by way of illustration that ἡ ψυχη ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀὴρ οὖσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς (" De Placit. Philosoph.," i. 3); and Anaxagoras or his school also, according to Plutarch, taught that the soul was ἀεροειδὴς καὶ σῶμα (*ibid.*, iv. 3).

11. haec ad illa. *haec—sc.* the conditions of the soul. *illa—sc.* the conditions of the air.

12. aer carens luce. So A. argues against the Manichaeans who believed in the positive nature of darkness—*e.g.*, " De Gen. c. Manich.," i. 7 (iv.), *Ubi lux non est tenebrae sunt; non quia aliquid sunt tenebrae, sed ipsa lucis absentia tenebrae dicuntur.*

13. principaliter = " originally " or " essentially."

14. Spiritus sapientiae multiplex. The reference is probably to Wisd. vii. 22, *multiplex* = πολυμερής.

15. infiniti eidemque indefiniti. I offer this reading as conjectural. Hoffmann's *infiniti quidem eique finiti* is apparently a contradiction in terms. The variant readings suggest that *inmensi* was a gloss on *indefiniti*, and that, when it had found its way into the text, *infiniti* took the place of *indefiniti*. The common, but ill-supported, reading is *inmensi quidem atque infiniti.*

16. In quibus sunt omnes, etc. A.'s language is coloured by the Platonic doctrine of ἰδέαι.

17. quiddam mirum sed tamen uerum. Cp. *Nos ista quae fecisti uidemus, quia sunt; tu autem quia uides ea, sunt* (" Confess.," xiii. 38).

CAPUT XI.

AN EIUS BEATITUDINIS, QUAM SANCTI ANGELI AB INITIO SUI SEMPER HABUERUNT, ETIAM ILLOS SPIRITUS, QUI IN VERITATE NON STETERUNT, PARTICIPES FUISSE CREDENDUM SIT.

(A) Quae cum ita sint, [1]nullo modo quidem secundum spatium aliquod temporis prius erant spiritus illi tenebrae, quos angelos dicimus; sed simul ut facti sunt, lux facti sunt; non tamen tantum ita creati, [2]ut quoquo modo essent et quoquo modo uiuerent; sed etiam inluminati, ut sapienter beateque uiuerent. Ab hac inluminatione auersi quidam angeli non obtinuerunt excellentiam sapientis beataeque uitae, quae procul dubio non nisi aeterna est aeternitatisque suae certa adque secura; sed [3]rationalem uitam licet insipientem sic habent, ut eam non possint amittere, nec si uelint.

(B) Quatenus autem, antequam peccassent, illius sapientiae fuerint participes, definire quis potest? In eius tamen participatione aequales fuisse istos illis, qui propterea uere pleneque beati sunt, quoniam nequaquam de suae beatitudinis aeternitate falluntur, quo modo dicturi sumus? quando quidem si aequales in ea fuissent, etiam isti in eius aeternitate mansissent pariter beati, quia pariter certi. Neque enim sicut uita, quamdiucumque fuerit, ita aeterna uita ueraciter dici poterit, si finem habitura sit; si quidem uita tantummodo uiuendo, aeterna uero finem non habendo nominata est.

(C) Quapropter quamuis non, quidquid aeternum, continuo beatum sit (dicitur enim etiam poenalis ignis aeternus); tamen si uere perfecteque beata uita non nisi aeterna est, non erat talis istorum, quandoque desitura et propterea non aeterna, siue id scirent, siue nescientes aliud putarent; quia scientes timor, nescientes error beatos esse utique non sinebat. Si autem hoc ita nesciebant, ut falsis incertisue non fiderent, sed utrum sempiternum an quandoque finem habiturum esset bonum suum, in neutram partem firma adsensione ferrentur; ipsa de tanta felicitate cunctatio eam beatae uitae plenitudinem, quam in sanctis angelis esse credimus, non habebat.

(D) Neque enim beatae uitae uocabulum ita contrahimus ad quasdam significationis angustias, [4]ut solum Deum dicamus beatum;

CHAPTER XI.

Whether it ought to be believed that those spirits who abide not in the truth had been participants in that blessedness which the holy angels, since their beginning, have always enjoyed.

1. **nullo modo quidem,** etc. Cp. xii. 9 A-C.
2. **ut quoquo modo,** etc. = "that they might exist and live anyhow."
3. **rationalem uitam licet insipientem** = "a life of reason, although not of wisdom."
4. **ut solum Deum dicamus beatum.** That the beatitude of God is the only true

qui tamen uere ita beatus est, ut maior beatitudo esse non possit, in cuius conparatione, quod angeli beati sunt summa quadam sua beatitudine, quanta esse in angelis potest, quid aut quantum est ?

CAPUT XII.

DE CONPARATIONE BEATITUDINIS IUSTORUM NECDUM OBTINENTIUM PROMISSIONIS DIVINAE PRAEMIUM ET PRIMORUM IN PARADISO HOMINUM ANTE PECCATUM.

(A) Nec [1]ipsos tantum, quod adtinet ad rationalem uel intellectualem creaturam, beatos nuncupandos putamus. Quis enim primos illos homines in paradiso negare audeat beatos fuisse ante peccatum, quamuis sua beatitudo quam diuturna uel utrum aeterna esset incertos (esset autem aeterna, nisi peccassent), cum hodie [2]non inpudenter beatos uocemus, quos uidemus iuste ac pie cum spe futurae inmortalitatis hanc uitam ducere sine crimine uastante conscientiam, facile inpetrantes peccatis huius infirmitatis diuinam misericordiam.

(B) Qui licet de suae perseuerantiae praemio certi sint, de ipsa tamen perseuerantia sua reperiuntur incerti. Quis enim hominum se in actione prouectuque iustitiae perseueraturum usque in finem sciat, nisi aliqua reuelatione ab illo fiat certus, qui de hac re iusto latentique iudicio non omnes instruit, sed neminem fallit ?

(C) Quantum itaque pertinet ad delectationem praesentis boni, beatior erat primus homo in paradiso, quam quilibet iustus in hac infirmitate mortali; quantum autem ad spem futuri, beatior quilibet in quibuslibet cruciatibus corporis, cui non opinione, sed certa ueritate manifestum est, sine fine se habiturum omni molestia carentem societatem angelorum in participatione summi Dei, quam erat ille homo sui casus incertus in magna illa felicitate paradisi.

or perfect blessedness is a doctrine which was held and taught by many theologians, not only Christian but pre-Christian. See Thomas Aquinas ("Summa," i. 100-102).

CHAPTER XII.

Of the comparison between the blessedness of the just who have not yet obtained the reward of the Divine promise and the blessedness of the first human beings in Paradise before their sin.

[The subject of this chapter A. discusses also in "De Corrept. et Grat.," xi. 27-36 (xx.-xxiii.)]

1. ipsos—*sc.* the angels.

2. non inpudentur beatos uocemus. A.'s definition of *beatitudo* does not (like Cicero's in "Tusc. Disp.," v. 10, 29) exclude all possibility of pain or evil.

CAPUT XIII.

AN ITA UNIUS FELICITATIS OMNES ANGELI SINT CREATI, UT NEQUE LAPSUROS SE POSSENT NOSSE QUI LAPSI SUNT, ET POST RUINAM LABENTIUM PERSEVERANTIAE SUAE PRAESCIENTIAM ACCEPERINT QUI STETERUNT.

(A) Quocirca cuiuis iam non difficulter occurrit utroque coniuncto effici beatitudinem, quam recto proposito intellectualis natura desiderat, hoc est, ut et bono incommutabili, quod Deus est, sine ulla molestia perfruatur et in eo se in aeternum esse mansurum nec ulla dubitatione cunctetur nec ullo errore fallatur. [1]Hanc habere angelos lucis pia fide credimus; hanc nec antequam caderent habuisse angelos peccatores, qui sua prauitate illa luce priuati sunt, consequenti ratione colligimus; habuisse tamen aliquam, etsi non praesciam, beatitudinem, si uitam egerunt ante peccatum, profecto credendi sunt.

(B) Aut si durum uidetur, quando facti sunt angeli, alios credere ita factos ut non acciperent praescientiam uel perseuerantiae uel casus sui, alios autem ita ut ueritate certissima aeternitatem suae beatitudinis nossent, sed aequalis felicitatis omnes ab initio creati sunt, et ita fuerunt, donec isti, qui nunc mali sunt, ab illo bonitatis lumine sua uoluntate cecidissent: procul dubio multo est durius nunc putare angelos sanctos aeternae suae beatitudinis incertos, et ipsos de semet ipsis ignorare, quod nos de illis per scripturas sanctas nosse potuimus.

(C) Quis enim [2]catholicus Christianus ignorat nullum nouum diabolum ex bonis angelis ulterius futurum, sicut nec istum in societatem bonorum angelorum ulterius rediturum? [3]Veritas quippe in euangelio sanctis fidelibusque promittit, quod erunt *aequales angelis Dei; quibus etiam promittitur, quod †ibunt in

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CHAPTER XIII.

Whether all the angels were so created in one state of felicity that those who fell could not know they would fall and those who stood attained to a foreknowledge of their own perseverance after the ruin of the fallen.

1. Hanc habere angelos lucis, etc. Cp. the treatment of the same question as is raised here in "De Gen. ad Lit.," xi. 22 (xxii.), 30 (xxiii.).

2. catholicus Christianus. Quintilian ("Instit. Orat.," ii. 13-14) uses the word *καθολικά* in the sense of *uniuersalia uel perpetualia;* but in Christian literature *catholicus* soon acquired a specially ecclesiastical signification, and so A. always uses it. Catholicism is, of course, generally set in A. against Donatism. But he explains the meaning of *catholicus*, as he understands it, "Con. Litt. Petiliani" (ii. 90 [xxxviii.]).

3. Veritas = Christ, as being the Truth (John xiv. 6). Cp. xiv. 11 F; xxi. 10 E; xxii. 20 E.

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* Matt. xxii. 20. † Matt. xxv. 46.

uitam aeternam. Porro autem si nos certi sumus numquam nos ex illa inmortali felicitate casuros, illi uero si certi non sunt, iam potiores, non aequales eis erimus. Sed quia nequaquam Veritas fallit et aequales eis erimus, profecto etiam ipsi certi sunt suae felicitatis aeternae.

(D) Cuius illi alii quia certi non fuerunt (non enim erat eorum aeterna felicitas cuius certi essent, quae finem fuerat habitura), restat, ut aut inpares fuerint, aut, si pares fuerunt, post istorum ruinam illis certa scientia suae sempiternae felicitatis accesserit.

(E) Nisi forte quis dicat id, quod Dominus ait de diabolo in euangelio: **Ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit*, sic esse accipiendum, ut non solum homicida fuerit ab initio, id est initio humani generis, ex quo utique homo factus est, quem decipiendo posset occidere, uerum etiam ab initio suae conditionis in ueritate non steterit et ideo numquam beatus cum sanctis angelis fuerit, suo recusans esse subditus creatori et sua per superbiam uelut priuata potestate laetatus, ac per hoc falsus et fallax, quia nec quisquam potestatem Omnipotentis euadit, et qui per piam subiectionem noluit tenere quod uere est, adfectat per superbam elationem simulare quod non est, ut sic intellegatur etiam quod beatus Iohannes apostolus ait: *†Ab initio diabolus peccat*, hoc est, ex quo creatus est, iustitiam recusauit, quam nisi pia Deoque subdita uoluntas habere non posset.

(F) Huic sententiae quisquis adquiescit, non cum illis haereticis sapit, [4]id est Manichaeis, et si quae aliae pestes ita sentiunt, quod suam quandam propriam tamquam ex aduerso qoudam principio diabolus habeat naturam mali; qui tanta uanitate desipiunt, ut, cum uerba ista euangelica in auctoritate nobiscum habeant, non adtendant non dixisse Dominum: A ueritate alienus fuit; sed: *In ueritate non stetit*, ubi a ueritate lapsum intellegi uoluit, in qua utique si stetisset, eius particeps factus beatus cum sanctis angelis permaneret.

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4. id est Manichaeis. The reference is to the Manichaean dualism—"its co-ordination of a primaeval evil being with the good principle." (Ueberweg, "Hist. of Philosophy," vol. i., § 77). A., in his various writings against Manichaeism, and in his criticisms of it, shows something of the proverbial acrimony which belongs to perverts or converts. Cp. i. 26 D; xi. 22 E; xiv. 5 B. In such words as *desipere* and *insanire*, which he applies to the Manichaeans, he is probably influenced by the supposed etymological connexion between Μάνης and μανία. See "De Haeres.," 46.

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* John viii. 44. † 1 John iii. 8.

CAPUT XIV.

QUO GENERE LOCUTIONIS DICTUM SIT DE DIABOLO, QUOD IN VERITATE NON STETERIT, QUIA VERITAS NON EST IN EO.

(A) Subiecit autem indicium, quasi quaesissemus, unde ostendatur, quod in ueritate non steterit, adque ait: **Quia non est ueritas in eo.* Esset autem in eo, si in illa stetisset. Locutione autem dictum est minus usitata. Sic enim uidetur sonare: *In ueritate non stetit, quia ueritas non est in eo,* tamquam ea sit causa, ut in ueritate non steterit, quod in eo ueritas non sit; cum potius ea sit causa, ut in eo ueritas non sit, quod in ueritate non stetit.

(B) Ista locutio est et in psalmo: †*Ego clamaui, quoniam exaudisti me Deus;* cum dicendum fuisse uideatur: Exaudisti me Deus, quoniam clamaui. Sed cum dixisset: "*Ego clamaui,*" tamquam ab eo quaereretur, unde se clamasse monstraret, ab effectu exauditionis Dei clamoris sui ostendit [1]adfectum; tamquam diceret: "Hinc ostendo clamasse me, quoniam exaudisti me."

CAPUT XV.

QUID SENTIENDUM SIT DE EO, QUOD DICTUM EST : AB INITIO DIABOLUS PECCAT.

(A) [1]Illud etiam, quod ait de diabolo Iohannes: ‡*Ab initio diabolus peccat,* [2]non intellegunt, si natura talis est, nullo modo esse peccatum. Sed quid respondetur propheticis testimoniis, siue quod ait Esaias sub figurata persona principis Babyloniae diabolum notans: §*Quo modo cecidit* [3]*Lucifer,* [4]*qui mane oriebatur;* siue quod

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CHAPTER XIV.

In what kind of sense it is said of the devil that he abode not in the truth because the truth is not in him.

1. adfectum. If *adfectum* (not *effectum*) is the true reading, then *ab effectu . . . adfectum* is one of A.'s favourite plays upon words, and it may, perhaps, be represented by such a translation of the whole sentence as "he shows the affecting character of his cry by its effect in making itself heard of God."

CHAPTER XV.

What is to be thought of the saying, "The devil sinneth from the beginning."

1. Illud etiam, etc. The construction is rather loose. "As to the language of John about the devil."

2. non intellegunt—*sc.* Manichaei. The point is that, if the devil is by his nature bound to sin, there can be no perversion of his nature when he sins, and therefore no sin. Cp. *Vitium . . . non aliunde malum est nisi quia natura aduersatur eius ipsius rei cuius est uitium* ("De Lib. Arbitr.," iii., 14, 41).

3. Lucifer = ὁ ἑωσφόρος (LXX). A. omits the words ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

4. qui mane oriebatur = ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων (LXX), an interpretation (rather than a translation) of the Hebrew.

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* John viii. 44.
‡ 1 John iii. 8.
† Ps. xvii. 6.
§ Is. xiv. 12.

Hiezechiel: *[5]*In deliciis paradisi Dei fuisti*, [6]*omni lapide pretioso ornatus es?*

(B) Ubi intellegitur fuisse aliquando sine peccato. Nam expressius ei paulo post dicitur: [7]*Ambulasti in diebus tuis sine uitio.* Quae si aliter conuenientius intellegi nequeunt, oportet etiam illud, quod dictum est: *In ueritate non stetit*, sic accipiamus, quod in ueritate fuerit, sed non permanserit; et illud, quod *ab initio diabolus peccat*, non ab initio, ex quo creatus est, peccare putandus est, sed ab initio peccati, quod ab ipsius superbia coeperit esse peccatum.

(C) Nec illud, quod scriptum est in libro Iob, cum de diabolo sermo esset: †[8]*Hoc est initium figmenti Domini, quod fecit ad inludendum ab angelis suis* (cui consonare uidetur et psalmus, ubi legitur: ‡[9]*Draco hic, quem finxisti ad inludendum ei*), sic intellegendum est, ut existimemus talem ab initio creatum, cui ab angelis inluderetur, sed in hac poena post peccatum ordinatum. Initium ergo eius figmentum est Domini; non enim est ulla natura etiam in extremis infimisque bestiolis, quam non ille constituit, a quo est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo, sine quibus nihil rerum inueniri uel cogitari potest; quanto magis angelica creatura, quae omnia cetera, quae Deus condidit, naturae dignitate praecedit!

CAPUT XVI.

DE GRADIBUS ET DIFFERENTIIS CREATURARUM, QUAS ALITER PENDIT USUS UTILITATIS, ALITER ORDO RATIONIS.

(A) In his enim, [1]quae quoquo modo sunt et non sunt quod Deus est a quo facta sunt, praeponuntur uiuentia non uiuentibus, sicut

5. In deliciis paradisi Dei, etc. It is the king of Tyre who is the subject of Ezekiel's prophecy; but he is painted in language which A. regards as significant of or applicable to the Prince of Evil. He discusses the prophecy elsewhere ("De Gen. ad Lit.," xi. 32 [xxv.]).

6. omni lapide, etc. = πᾶν λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι (LXX).

7. Ambulasti, etc. ἐγενήθης σὺ ἄμωμος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις σου (LXX).

8. Hoc est initium, etc. *figmenti* = πλάσματος (LXX). The passage of Job refers to behemoth (probably the hippopotamus) as unapproachable by man, and conquerable by God alone. Yet behemoth, too, is in A.'s eyes a type of the devil. Cp. xi. 17 A. *Ipse est principium uiarum Dei* (Vulg.) is nearer to the Hebrew.

9. Draco hic, etc. Again A. identifies a monster—leviathan—with the devil, as also xi. 17 C. Cp. Rev. xii. 7 *sqq.* A.'s translation agrees with LXX (δράκων ὃν ἔπλασας ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ); but "to take his pastime therein" (R.V.) is probably a closer representation of the Hebrew. The meaning, as A. understands it, is explained below (xi. 17 B).

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the grades and differences of created things which are estimated in one way, by the law of practical utility and in another by the scale of logical theory.

1. quae quoquo modo sunt = "which somehow exist."

* Ezek. xxviii. 13, 15. † Job xl. 14. ‡ Ps. civ. 26.

ea, quae habent uim gignendi uel etiam adpetendi, his, quae isto motu carent; et in his, quae uiuunt, praeponuntur sentientia non sentientibus, sicut arboribus animalia; et in his, quae sentiunt, praeponuntur intellegentia non intellegentibus, sicut homines pecoribus; et in his, quae intellegunt, praeponuntur inmortalia mortalibus, sicut angeli hominibus.

(B) Sed ita praeponuntur naturae ordine; est autem alius adque alius pro suo cuiusque usu [2]aestimationis modus, quo fit, ut quaedam sensu carentia quibusdam sentientibus praeponamus, in tantum, ut si potestas esset ea prorsus de natura rerum auferre uellemus, siue quem in ea locum habeant ignorantes, siue, etiamsi sciamus, nostris ea commodis postponentes. Quis enim non domi suae panem habere quam mures, nummos quam pulices malit? Sed quid mirum, cum in ipsorum etiam hominum aestimatione, quorum certe natura tantae est dignitatis, plerumque carius conparetur [3]equus quam seruus, gemma quam famula?

(C) Ita libertate iudicandi plurimum distat ratio considerantis a necessitate indigentis seu uoluptate cupientis, cum [4]ista quid per se ipsum in rerum gradibus pendat, necessitas autem quid propter quid expetat cogitat, et ista quid uerum luci mentis appareat, uoluptas uero quid iucundum corporis sensibus blandiatur expectat. Sed tantum ualet in naturis rationalibus quoddam ueluti pondus uoluntatis et amoris, ut, cum ordine naturae angeli hominibus, tamen lege iustitiae boni homines malis angelis praeferantur.

CAPUT XVII.

VITIUM MALITIAE NON NATURAM ESSE, SED CONTRA NATURAM, CUI AD PECCANDUM NON CONDITOR CAUSA EST, SED VOLUNTAS.

(A) Propter naturam igitur, non propter malitiam diaboli, dictum recte intellegimus: [1]*Hoc est initium figmenti Domini.* Quia sine dubio, ubi esset uitium malitiae, [2]natura non uitiata praecessit.

2. **aestimationis modus** = "standard of value."

3. **equus quam seruus.** A. accepts slavery as an established institution, a slave being, like a horse, in Aristotle's words, κτῆμά τι ἐμψυχον ("Pol.," i. 4, 2). The ultimate effect of Christianity upon slavery did not occur to him. See, however, Lecky, "History of European Morals" (ii. 4, pp. 66 *sqq.*) for a discussion of the relation between the Gospel and slavery.

4. **ista**—sc. *ratio considerantis.*

CHAPTER XVII.

That the vice of wickedness is not nature but the opposite of nature and that as a motive to sin it springs not from the Creator but from the will.

1. **Hoc est initium,** etc. See note on xi. 15 C. Cp. also "De Gen. ad Lit.," xi. 29 (xxii.).

2. **natura non uitiata praecessit**—according to A.'s theory that all nature, as it comes from the hand of God, is good. Cp. xi. 19 C; 20 B; 22 B, etc.

Vitium autem ita contra naturam est, ut non possit nisi nocere naturae. Non itaque esset uitium recedere a Deo, nisi naturae, cuius id uitium est, potius conpeteret esse cum Deo. Quapropter etiam uoluntas mala grande testimonium est naturae bonae.

(B) Sed Deus sicut naturarum bonarum optimus creator est, ita malarum uoluntatum iustissimus ordinator, ut, cum illae male utuntur naturis bonis, ipse bene utatur etiam uoluntatibus malis. Itaque fecit, ut diabolus [3]institutione illius bonus, uoluntate sua malus, in inferioribus ordinatus inluderetur ab angelis eius, id est, ut prosint tentationes eius sanctis, quibus eas obesse desiderat.

(C) Et quoniam Deus, cum eum conderet, futurae malignitatis eius non erat utique ignarus et praeuidebat quae bona de malo eius esset ipse facturus; propterea psalmus ait: *Draco hic, quem finxisti ad inludendum ei*, ut in eo ipso quod eum finxit, licet per suam bonitatem bonum, iam per suam praescientiam praeparasse intellegatur [4]quo modo illo uteretur et malo.

CAPUT XVIII.

DE PULCHRITUDINE UNIVERSITATIS, QUAE PER ORDINATIONEM DEI ETIAM EX CONTRARIORUM FIT OBPOSITIONE LUCULENTIOR.

(A) Neque enim Deus ullum, non dico angelorum, sed uel hominum crearet, quem malum futurum esse praescisset, nisi pariter nosset quibus eos bonorum usibus commodaret adque ita ordinem saeculorum [1]tamquam pulcherrimum carmen etiam ex quibusdam quasi [2]antithetis honestaret. Antitheta enim quae appellantur in ornamentis elocutionis sunt decentissima, quae Latine uel appellantur obposita, uel, quod expressius dicitur, contraposita.

(B) Non est aput nos huius uocabuli consuetudo, cum tamen eisdem ornamentis locutionis etiam sermo Latinus utatur, immo linguae omnium gentium. His antithetis et Paulus apostolus in secunda ad

3. institutione illius bonus = "who was good as God created him."

4. quo modo illo uteretur et malo. On this subject cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," xi. 29 (xxii.). It is a doctrine which A. frequently enunciates. Cp. xi. 18 A.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the beauty of the Universe which is rendered, through the ordinance of God, still more brilliant by the opposition of contraries.

1. tamquam pulcherrimum carmen. The illustration is repeated, "Epist.," cxxxviii. 5; but *carmen* there may mean a piece of music, as it clearly does in "Epist.," clxvi. 13.

2. antithetis. Cicero defines an *ἀντίθετον* as *relatio contrariorum*—i.e., *cum contrario opponuntur contraria* ("Orat.," xlix. 166); and he gives several instances of *ἀντίθετα*. Other instances will be found in Quintilian ("Instit. Orat.," ix. 381 *sqq.*); for, according to Quintilian: *Contrapositum uel, ut quidam uocant, contentio* (*ἀντίθετον dicitur*) *non uno fit modo.* "Antithesis" is the best equivalent in English.

Corinthios epistula illum locum suauiter explicat, ubi dicit: **Per arma iustitiae dextra et sinistra, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam; ut seductores et ueraces, ut qui ignoramur et cognoscimur; quasi morientes et ecce uiuimus, ut [3]coherciti et non mortificati; ut [4]tristes, semper autem gaudentes; sicut egeni, multos autem ditantes; tamquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes.*

(C) Sicut ergo ista contraria contrariis obposita sermonis pulchritudinem reddunt, ita quadam non uerborum, sed rerum eloquentia contrariorum obpositione [5]saeculi pulchritudo conponitur. Apertissime hoc positum est in libro ecclesiastico isto modo: †*Contra malum bonum est et contra mortem uita; sic contra pium peccator. Et sic intuere in omnia opera Altissimi, [6]bina bina, unum contra unum.*

CAPUT XIX.

QUID SENTIENDUM VIDEATUR DE EO QUOD SCRIPTUM EST: DIVISIT DEUS INTER LUCEM ET TENEBRAS.

(A) Quamuis itaque diuini sermonis obscuritas etiam ad hoc sit utilis, quod plures sententias ueritatis parit et in lucem notitiae producit, dum alius eum sic, alius sic intellegit (ita tamen ut, quod in obscuro loco intellegitur, uel adtestatione rerum manifestarum uel aliis locis minime dubiis adseratur; siue, cum multa tractantur, ad id quoque perueniatur, quod sensit ille qui scripsit, siue id lateat, sed ex occasione tractandae profundae obscuritatis alia quaedam uera dicantur): non mihi uidetur ab operibus Dei absurda sententia, si, cum lux prima illa facta est, [1]angeli creati intelleguntur, inter sanctos angelos et inmundos fuisse discretum, ubi dictum est: ‡*Et diuisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras; et uocauit Deus lucem diem et tenebras uocauit noctem.* Solus quippe ille ista discernere potuit, qui potuit etiam priusquam caderent praescire casuros et priuatos lumine ueritatis [2]in tenebrosa superbia remansuros.

3. coherciti = παιδευόμενοι.

4. tristes = λυπούμενοι.

5. saeculi = "the world"—*i.e.*, of history. Cp. xv. 9 D. For *saeculum* and *saecularis* see note on vi. 2 A.

6. bina bina = δύο δύο (LXX).

CHAPTER XIX.

What is apparently to be understood by the phrase "God divided the light from the darkness."

1. angeli creati intelleguntur. Cp. xi. 7 B. A. seems to cast doubt upon this interpretation of "light" (xi. 33 D).

2. in tenebrosa superbia. From 1 "Praef.," A. onwards it is always pride that is the mark of fallen men and fallen angels.

* 2 Cor. vi. 7-10. † Ecclus. xxxiii. 14, 15. ‡ Gen. i. 4, 5.

(B) Nam inter istum nobis notissimum diem et noctem, id est inter hanc lucem et has tenebras, uulgatissima sensibus nostris luminaria caeli ut diuiderent imperauit: **Fiant*, inquit, *luminaria in firmamento caeli, ut luceant super terram et diuidant inter diem et noctem;* et paulo post: *Et fecit*, inquit, *Deus duo luminaria magna, luminare maius in principia diei, et luminare minus* [3]*in principia noctis, et stellas; et posuit illa Deus* [4]*in firmamento caeli lucere super terram et praeesse diei et nocti et diuidere inter lucem et tenebras.*

(C) Inter illam uero lucem, quae sancta societas angelorum est inlustratione ueritatis intellegibiliter fulgens, et ei contrarias tenebras, id est malorum angelorum auersorum a luce iustitiae taeterrimas mentes, ipse diuidere potuit, cui etiam futurum non naturae, sed uoluntatis malum occultum aut incertum esse non potuit.

CAPUT XX.

DE EO, QUOD POST DISCRETIONEM LUCIS ADQUE TENEBRARUM DICTUM EST: ET VIDIT DEUS LUCEM QUIA BONA EST.

(A) Denique nec illud est practereundum silentio, quod, ubi dixit Deus: †*Fiat lux, et facta est lux*, continuo subiunctum est: *Et uidit Deus lucem quia bona est;* non postea quam separauit inter lucem et tenebras et uocauit lucem diem et tenebras noctem, ne simul cum luce etiam talibus tenebris testimonium placiti sui perhibuisse uideretur. Nam ubi tenebrae inculpabiles sunt, inter quas et lucem istam his oculis conspicuam luminaria caeli diuidunt, non ante, sed post infertur: *Et uidit Deus quia bonum est.* ‡*Posuit illa*, inquit, *in firmamento caeli lucere super terram et praeesse diei et nocti et separare inter lucem et tenebras. Et uidit Deus quia bonum est.* Utrumque placuit, quia utrumque sine peccato est.

(B) Ubi autem dixit Deus: *Fiat lux, et facta est lux. Et uidit Deus lucem quia bona est;* et postmodum infertur: §*Et separauit Deus inter lucem et tenebras; et uocauit Deus lucem diem et tenebras uocauit noctem:* non hoc loco additum est: *Et uidit Deus quia bonum est*, ne utrumque appellaretur bonum, cum esset horum alterum mualm, [1]uitio

3. in principia = εἰς ἀρχάς (LXX).
4. in firmamento = ἐν τῷ στερεώματι (LXX).

CHAPTER XX.

Of the phrase which follows the separation between light and darkness "And God saw the light that it is good."

1. uitio proprio, non natura. Cp. xi. 17 A.

* Gen. i. 14, 16-18.
† Gen. i. 3, 4.
‡ Gen. i. 17, 18.
§ Gen. i. 4 5.

proprio, non natura. Et ideo sola ibi lux placuit Conditori; tenebrae autem angelicae, [2]etsi fuerant ordinandae, non tamen fuerant adprobandae.

CAPUT XXI.

DE AETERNA ET INCOMMUTABILI SCIENTIA DEI AC VOLUNTATE, QUA SEMPER ILLI UNIVERSA QUAE FECIT SIC PLACUERUNT FACIENDE, QUEM AD MODUM FACTA.

(A) Quid est enim aliud intellegendum in eo, quod per omnia dicitur: *Vidit Deus quia bonum est*, nisi operis adprobatio secundum artem facti, quae sapientia Dei est ? Deus autem usque adeo non, [1]cum factum est, tunc didicit bonum, [2]ut nihil eorum fieret, si ei fuisset incognitum. Dum ergo uidet quia bonum est, quod, nisi uidisset antequam fieret, non utique fieret; docet bonum esse, non discit. Et *[3]Plato quidem plus ausus est dicere, elatum esse scilicet Deum gaudio mundi uniuersitate perfecta.

(B) Ubi et ipse [4]non usque adeo desipiebat, ut putaret Deum sui operis nouitate factum beatiorem; sed sic ostendere uoluit artifici suo placuisse iam factum, quod placuerat in arte faciendum; non quod ullo modo Dei scientia uarietur, ut aliud in ea faciant quae nondum sunt, aliud quae iam sunt, aliud quae fuerunt; non enim more nostro ille uel quod futurum est prospicit, uel quod praesens est aspicit, uel quod praeteritum est respicit; sed alio modo quodam a nostrarum cogitationum consuetudine longe alteque diuerso.

(C) Ille quippe non ex hoc in illud cogitatione mutata, sed omnino incommutabiliter uidet; ita ut illa quidem, quae temporaliter fiunt, et futura nondum sint et praesentia iam sint et praeterita iam non sint, ipse uero haec omnia stabili ac sempiterna praesentia conpre-

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2. etsi fuerant ordinandae, etc. "Although it had been the proper subject of regulation, yet had not been the proper subject of approbation."

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the eternal and immutable knowledge and will of God, whereby it was always His pleasure that the Universe which He made should be so made as it was made.

1. cum factum est, tunc didicit bonum. This was the Manichaean doctrine against which A. argues ("De Gen. c. Manich.," i. 13 [viii.]). Upon God's pleasure in His work cp. Plotinus ("Ennead.," v. 8, 8).

2. ut nihil eorum fieret = "that no-one of them would have been made." See note on i. 1 A. For the doctrine cp. xi. 10 1.

3. Plato quidem, etc. It may be worth while to quote Plato's actual words. Speaking of the material universe, he says: *ὡς κινηθὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐνόησε τῶν αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὁ γεννήσας Πατήρ, ἠγάσθη τε καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς ἔτι δὴ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι* ("Tim.," p. 37 C).

4. non usque adeo desipiebat, etc. Cp. Plotinus ("Ennead.," v. 8, 8).

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* "Tim.," p. 37 C.

hendat; nec aliter oculis, aliter mente; non enim ex animo constat et corpore; nec aliter nunc et aliter antea et aliter postea; quoniam non sicut nostra, ita eius quoque scientia trium temporum, praesentis uidelicet et praeteriti uel futuri, uarietate mutatur, **aput quem non est*[5] *inmutatio nec momenti obumbratio.*

(D) Neque enim eius [6]intentio de cogitatione in cogitationem transit, in cuius incorporeo contuitu simul adsunt cuncta quae nouit; quoniam tempora ita nouit [7]nullis suis temporalibus notionibus, quem ad modum temporalia mouet nullis suis temporalibus motibus. Ibi ergo uidit bonum esse quod fecit, ubi bonum esse uidit ut faceret; nec, quia factum uidit, scientiam duplicauit uel ex aliqua parte auxit, tamquam minoris scientiae fuerit priusquam faceret quod uideret, qui tam perfecte non operaretur, nisi tam perfecta scientia, cui nihil ex eius operibus adderetur.

(E) Quapropter, si tantummodo nobis insinuandum esset quis fecerit lucem, sufficeret dicere, fecit Deus lucem; si autem non solum quis fecerit, uerum etiam per quid fecerit, satis esset ita enuntiari: *Et dixit Deus: Fiat lux, et facta est lux;* ut non tantum Deum, sed etiam [8]per Verbum, lucem fecisse nossemus. Quia uero tria quaedam maxime scienda de creatura nobis oportuit intimari, quis eam fecerit, per quid fecerit, quare fecerit: *Dixit Deus*, inquit: *Fiat lux, et facta est lux.*

(F) *Et uidit Deus lucem quia bona est.* Si ergo quaerimus, quis fecerit: *Deus est;* si per quid fecerit: *Dixit: Fiat, et facta est;* si quare fecerit: *Quia bona est.* Nec auctor est excellentior Deo, nec ars efficacior Dei uerbo, nec causa melior quam ut bonum crearetur [9]a Deo bono. Hanc etiam [10]Plato causam condendi mundi iustissimam dicit, ut a bono Deo bona opera fierent; [11]siue ista legerit, siue ab his qui legerant forte cognouerit; siue acerrimo ingenio †inuisibilia Dei per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspexerit, siue ab his qui ista conspexerant et ipse didicerit.

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5. inmutatio nec momenti obumbratio = παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα, a phrase which should probably be understood as meaning "variation or shadow of change."

6. intentio. Cp. xi. 24 C.

7. nullis suis temporalibus notionibus = "without any notion of time in Himself."

8. per Verbum. John i. 3.

9. a Deo bono—is the better and the better supported reading; but *a bono* is quite intelligible. *Creatura bona* is probably a corruption of *crearetur a bono.* Cp. xi. 23 B.

10. Plato. The whole passage ("Tim.," pp. 29 D-30 A) is worth consulting. God, says Plato, being free from envy, πάντα ὅ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ.

11. siue ista legerit. *ista*—the passage of Genesis.

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* James i. 17. † Rom. i. 20.

CAPUT XXII.

DE HIS, QUIBUS IN UNIVERSITATE RERUM A BONO CREATORE BENE CONDITARUM QUAEDAM DISPLICENT, ET PUTANT NONNULLAM MALAM ESSE NATURAM.

(A) Hanc tamen causam, id est ad bona creanda bōnitatem Dei, hanc, inquam, causam tam iustam adque idoneam, quae diligenter considerata et pie cogitata omnes controuersias quaerentium mundi originem terminat, [1]quidam haeretici non uiderunt, quia egenam carnis huius fragilemque mortalitatem iam [2]de iusto supplicio uenientem, dum ei non conueniunt, plurima offendunt, sicut ignis aut frigus aut fera bestia aut quid eius modi; nec adtendunt, quam uel in suis locis naturisque uigeant pulchroque ordine disponantur, quantumque uniuersitati rerum pro sui portione decoris tamquam in communem rem publicam conferant uel nobis ipsis, si eis congruenter adque scienter utamur, commoditatis adtribuant, ita ut uenena ipsa, quae per inconuenientiam perniciosa sunt, conuenienter adhibita in salubria medicamenta uertantur; quamque a contrario etiam haec, quibus delectantur, sicut cibus et potus et ista lux, inmoderato et inopportuno usu noxia sentiantur.

(B) Unde nos admonet diuina prouidentia non res insipienter uituperare, sed utilitatem rerum diligenter inquirere, et ubi nostrum ingenium uel infirmitas deficit, ita credere occultam, sicut erant quaedam, quae uix potuimus inuenire; quia et ipsa utilitatis occultatio aut humilitatis exercitatio est aut elationis adtritio; cum omnino natura nulla sit malum nomenque hoc non sit nisi priuationis boni. Sed a terrenis usque ad caelestia et a uisibilibus usque ad inuisibilia sunt aliis alia bona meliora, [3]ad hoc inaequalia, ut essent omnia;

(C) [4]Deus autem ita est artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in paruis; quae parua non sua granditate (nam nulla est), sed artificis sapientia metienda sunt; sicut in specie uisibilis hominis, si unum radatur supercilium, quam propemodum nihil corpori, et

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CHAPTER XXII.

Of those who are displeased at certain things in the Universe if it is regarded as the good product of a good Creator and who think there is such a thing as an evil nature.

1. quidam haeretici—*sc.* the Manichaeans, to whom A. replies elsewhere—*e.g.*, "De Gen. c. Manich.," i. 25 and 26 (xvi.).

2. de iusto supplicio uenientem—with reference to the judgment pronounced upon man at his Fall = "already sentenced to a just penalty."

3. ad hoc inaequalia, etc. = "And the reason of their inequality is the possibility of the existence of them all."

4. Deus autem ita est artifex, etc. Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," iii. 14, 22.

quam multum detrahitur pulchritudini, quoniam non mole constat, sed [5]parilitate ac dimensione membrorum !

(D) Nec sane multum mirandum est, quod hi, qui nonnullam malam putant esse naturam suo quodam contrario exortam propagatamque principio, nolunt accipere istam causam creationis rerum, ut bonus Deus conderet bona, credentes eum potius ad haec mundana molimina rebellantis aduersum se mali repellendi extrema necessitate perductum suamque naturam bonam malo cohercendo superandoque miscuisse, quam turpissime pollutam et crudelissime captiuatam et obpressam labore magno uix mundet ac liberet: non tamen totam, sed quod eius non potuerit ab illa inquinatione purgari, tegmen ac uinculum futurum hostis uicti et inclusi.

(E) Sic autem Manichaei [6]non desiperent uel potius insanirent, si Dei naturam, sicuti est, incommutabilem adque omnino incorruptibilem crederent, cui nocere nulla res possit; animam uero, quae uoluntate mutari in deterius et peccato corrumpi potuit adque ita incommutabilis ueritatis luce priuari, non Dei partem nec eius naturae, quae Dei est, sed ab illo conditam longe inparem Conditori [7]Christiana sanitate sentirent.

CAPUT XXIII.

DE ERRORE, IN QUO ORIGENIS DOCTRINA CULPATUR.

(A) Sed multo est mirandum amplius, quod etiam quidam, qui unum nobiscum credunt omnium rerum esse principium, ullamque naturam, quae non est quod Deus est, nisi ab illo conditore esse non posse, noluerunt tamen istam causam fabricandi mundi tam bonam ac simplicem bene ac simpliciter credere, ut Deus bonus conderet bona et essent [1]post Deum quae non essent quod est Deus, bona tamen, quae non faceret nisi bonus Deus; sed animas dicunt, non quidem partes Dei, sed factas a Deo, peccasse a Conditore recedendo et diuersis progressibus pro diuersitate peccatorum a caelis usque ad terras [2]diuersa corpora quasi uincula meruisse, et

5. parilitate ac dimensione membrorum = "the correspondence and proportion of the limbs."

6. non desiperent uel potius insanirent. See note on xi. 13 F.

7. Christiana sanitate = "with Christian orthodoxy," *sanitate* being the good sense of the true Christian Faith.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the error which is censurable in thè doctrine of Origen.

1. post Deum = "inferior to God."

2. diuersa corpora quasi uincula. Cp. Epiphanius ("Adu. Haeres.," 44).

hunc esse mundum eamque causam mundi fuisse faciendi, non ut conderentur bona, sed ut mala cohiberentur.

(B) Hinc Origenes iure culpatur. [3]In libris enim, quos appellat περὶ ἀρχῶν, id est de principiis, hoc sensit, hoc scripsit. Ubi plus quam dici potest miror hominem in ecclesiasticis litteris tam doctum et exercitatum non adtendisse, primum quam hoc esset contrarium [4]scripturae huius tantae auctoritatis intentioni, quae per omnia opera Dei subiungens: *Et uidit Deus, quia bonum est*, conpletisque omnibus inferens: *Et uidit Deus omnia, quae fecit, et ecce bona ualde*, nullam aliam causam faciendi mundi intellegi uoluit, nisi ut bona fierent a bono Deo.

(C) Ubi si nemo peccasset, tantummodo naturis bonis esset mundus ornatus et plenus; et quia peccatum est, non ideo cuncta sunt inpleta peccatis, cum bonorum longe maior numerus in caelestibus suae naturae ordinem seruet; nec mala uoluntas, quia naturae ordinem seruare noluit, ideo iusti Dei leges omnia bene ordinantis effugit; quoniam sicut pictura cum colore nigro loco suo posito, ita uniuersitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamuis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet.

(D) Deinde uidere debuit Origenes et quicumque ita sapiunt, si haec opinio uera esset, mundum ideo factum, ut animae pro meritis peccatorum suorum [5]tamquam ergastula, quibus poenaliter includerentur, corpora acciperent, superiora et leuiora quae minus, inferiora uero et grauiora quae amplius peccauerunt, daemones, quibus deterius nihil est, terrena corpora, quibus inferius et grauius nihil est, potius quam homines etiam bonos habere debuisse.

(E) Nunc uero, ut intellegeremus animarum merita non qualitatibus corporum esse pensanda, aerium pessimus daemon, homo autem, et nunc licet malus longe minoris mitiorisque malitiae, et certe ante peccatum, tamen luteum corpus accepit. Quid autem stultius dici potest, quam [6]isto sole, ut in uno mundo unus esset, non decori pulchritudinis uel etiam saluti rerum corporalium consuluisse

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3. In libris. The reference is to "De Princip.," i. 6.

4. scripturae huius tantae auctoritatis = "this highly authoritative passage of Scripture."

5. tamquam ergastula. A. is fond both of the word and of the figure which it imports. Cp. xii. 27 B.

6. isto sole. Hoffmann's emendation of *istum solem* is necessary unless *creando* or some such word has fallen out of the text; otherwise the anacoluthon is too abrupt and too awkward to be defended. There is some slight authority in the MSS. for *per istum solem*, which is the reading adopted by the Benedictine editors. Hoffmann cites some instances showing that the Accusative and the Ablative Singular are apt to be confused in the MSS. Translate "by counting our sun to be a single sun in a single world."

artificem Deum, sed hoc potius euenisse, quia [7]una anima sic peccauerat, ut tali corpore mereretur includi ? ac per hoc si contigisset, ut non una, sed duae; immo non duae, sed decem uel centum similiter aequaliterque peccassent, centum soles haberet hic mundus ?

(F) Quod ut non fieret, non opificis prouisione mirabili ad rerum corporalium salutem decoremque consultum est, sed contigit potius tanta unius animae progressione peccantis, ut sola corpus tale mereretur. Non plane animarum, de quibus nesciunt quid loquantur, sed eorum ipsorum, qui talia sapiunt multum longe a ueritate, [8]merito est cohercenda progressio.

(G) Haec ergo tria, quae *superius commendaui, cum in unaquaque creatura requirantur, quis eam fecerit, per quid fecerit, quare fecerit, ut respondeatur "Deus, per Verbum, quia bona est," utrum altitudine mystica nobis ipsa trinitas intimetur, hoc est Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, an aliquid occurrat, quod hoc loco scripturarum id accipiendum esse prohibeat, multi sermonis est quaestio, nec omnia uno uolumine ut explicemus urgendum est.

CAPUT XXIV.

DE TRINITATE DIVINA, QUAE PER OMNIA OPERA SUA SIGNIFICATIONIS SUAE SPARSIT INDICIA.

(A) Credimus et tenemus et fideliter praedicamus, quod Pater genuerit [1]Verbum, hoc est sapientiam, per quam facta sunt omnia, unigenitum Filium, unus unum, aeternus coaeternum, summe bonus aequaliter bonum; et quod Spiritus sanctus simul [2]et Patris et Filii sit Spiritus et ipse [3]consubstantialis et coaeternus ambobus; adque hoc totum et trinitas sit propter [4]proprietatem personarum et unus Deus propter inseparabilem diuinitatem, sicut unus Omnipotens propter inseparabilem omnipotentiam; ita tamen, ut etiam cum de singulis quaeritur unusquisque eorum et Deus et omnipotens esse

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7. una unima sic peccauerat—*una anima* = "one soul and one soul only."

8. et merito. The *et* before *merito*, although the MSS. generally support it, must be omitted. It was probably inserted by some copyist who did not see that the words *multum longe a ueritate* should be conjoined with *talia sapiunt*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Divine Trinity which has scattered evidences of its significance over all its works.

1. Verbum, hoc est sapientiam. Cp. x. 28 D; xi. 32 A.

2. et Patris et Filii sit Spiritus. Cp. xi. 10 A.

3. consubstantialis = ὁμοούσιος.

4. proprietatem = "individuality" or "distinction." Cp. the language of the *Quicumque Vult*—*Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus una est Diuinitas.*

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* xi. 21 E.

respondeatur; cum uero de omnibus simul, non tres di uel tres omnipotentes, sed unus Deus omnipotens; tanta ibi est in tribus inseparabilis unitas, quae sic se uoluit praedicari.

(B) Utrum autem boni Patris et boni Filii Spiritus sanctus, quia communis ambobus est, recte bonitas dici possit amborum, non audeo temerariam praecipitare sententiam; uerum tamen amborum eum dicere sanctitatem facilius ausus fuero, non amborum [5]quasi qualitatem, sed ipsum quoque substantiam et tertiam in trinitate personam.

(C) Ad hoc enim me probabilius ducit, quod, cum sit et Pater spiritus et Filius spiritus, et Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus, [6]proprie tamen ipse uocatur Spiritus sanctus, tamquam sanctitas substantialis et consubstantialis amborum. Sed si nihil est aliud bonitas diuina quam sanctitas, profecto et [7]intellegentia rationis est, non praesumtionis audacia, ut in operibus Dei secreto quodam loquendi modo, quo nostra exerceatur [8]intentio, eadem nobis [9]insinuata intellegatur trinitas, unamquamque creaturam quis fecerit, per quid fecerit, propter quid fecerit.

(D) Pater quippe intellegitur Verbi, qui dixit ut fiat; quod autem illo dicente factum est, procul dubio per Verbum factum est; in eo uero quod dicitur: *Vidit Deus, quia bonum est*, satis significatur Deum nulla necessitate, nulla suae cuiusquam utilitatis indigentia, sed sola bonitate fecisse quod factum est, id est, quia bonum est; quod ideo postea quam factum est dicitur, ut res, quae facta est, congruere bonitati, propter quam facta est, indicetur.

(E) Quae bonitas si Spiritus sanctus recte intellegitur, uniuersa nobis trinitas in suis operibus intimatur. Inde est ciuitatis sanctae, quae in sanctis angelis sursum est, et origo et [10]informatio et beatitudo. Nam si quaeratur unde sit: Deus eam condidit; si unde sit sapiens: a Deo inluminatur; si unde sit felix; Deo fruitur; [11]subsistens modificatur, contemplans inlustratur, inhaerens iucundatur; est, uidet, amat; in aeternitate Dei uiget, in ueritate Dei lucet, in bonitate Dei gaudet.

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5. **quasi qualitatem**—as the Macedonians taught, of whom A. says that: *a nonnullis perhibentur non Deum sed deitatem Patris et Filii dicere Spiritum Sanctum, et nullam propriam habere substantiam* ("De Haeres.," 52).

6. **proprie . . . Spiritus sanctus.** See xi. 10 A, note.

7. **intellegentia rationis,** etc. = "it is rationally intelligent, not overweeningly presumptuous to suppose."

8. **intentio** = "apprehension" or "speculation."

9. **insinuata** = "suggested." For *insinuare* see note on ii. 28 B.

10. **informatio** = "enlightenment," as the words immediately following *a Deo illuminatur* show.

11. **subsistens modificatur** = "by subsisting in Him it receives its character."

CAPUT XXV.

DE TRIPERTITA TOTIUS PHILOSOPHIAE DISCIPLINA.

(A) Quantum intellegi datur, [1]hinc philosophi sapientiae disciplinam tripertitam esse uoluerunt, immo tripertitam esse animaduertere potuerunt (neque enim ipsi instituerunt ut ita esset, sed ita esse potius inuenerunt), cuius una pars appellaretur physica, altera logica, tertia ethica (quarum nomina Latina iam multorum litteris frequentata sunt, ut naturalis, rationalis moralisque uocarentur; quas etiam *in octauo libro breuiter strinximus); non quo sit consequens, ut isti in his tribus aliquid [2]secundum Deum de trinitate cogitauerint, quamuis [3]Plato primus istam distributionem repperisse et commendasse dicatur, [4]cui neque naturarum omnium auctor nisi Deus uisus est neque intellegentiae dator neque amoris, quo bene beateque uiuitur, inspirator.

(B) Sed certe cum et [5]de natura rerum et [6]de ratione indagandae ueritatis et [7]de boni fine, ad quem cuncta quae agimus referre debemus, diuersi diuersa sentiant; in his tamen tribus magnis et generalibus quaestionibus omnis eorum uersatur intentio. Ita cum in unaquaque earum quid quisque sectetur multiplex discrepantia sit opinionum, esse tamen aliquam naturae causam, scientiae formam, uitae summam nemo cunctatur. Tria etiam sunt, quae in unoquoque homine artifice spectantur, ut aliquid efficiat: natura, doctrina, usus, natura ingenio, doctrina scientia, usus fructu diiudicandus est.

(C) Nec ignoro, quod proprie fructus fruentis, usus utentis sit, adque hoc interesse uideatur, quod ea re frui dicimur, quae nos non ad aliud referenda per se ipsa delectat; uti uero ea re, quam propter aliud quaerimus (unde temporalibus magis utendum est, quam fruendum, ut frui mereamur aeternis; non sicut peruersi, qui frui uolunt nummo, uti autem Deo; quoniam non nummum propter Deum inpendunt, sed Deum propter nummum colunt); uerum tamen

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CHAPTER XXV.

Of the tripartite system of philosophy as a whole.

1. **hinc** = "on this account."
2. **secundum Deum** – "in respect of God"—*i.e.*, of the Divine Nature.
3. **Plato.** See note on viii. 4 c.
4. **cui neque naturarum omnium,** etc. If there is a special passage of Plato which A. has in mind, it may be "Tim.," pp. 28 *sqq.*
5. **de natura rerum**—Physics.
6. **de ratione indagandae ueritatis**—Logic.
7. **de boni fine**—Ethics.

* viii. 4-8.

eo loquendi modo, quem plus obtinuit consuetudo, et fructibus utimur et usibus fruimur; nam et fructus iam proprie dicuntur agrorum, quibus utique omnes temporaliter utimur.

(D) Hoc itaque more usum dixerim in his tribus, quae in homine spectanda commonui, quae sunt natura, doctrina, usus. Ex his propter obtinendam beatam uitam tripertita, ut dixi, a philosophis inuenta est disciplina, naturalis propter naturam, rationalis propter doctrinam, moralis propter usum. Si ergo natura nostra esset a nobis, profecto et nostram nos genuissemus sapientiam, nec eam doctrina, id est aliunde discendo, percipere curaremus; et noster amor a nobis profectus et ad nos relatus ad beate uiuendum sufficeret, nec bono alio quo frueremur ullo indigeret; nunc uero quia natura nostra, ut esset, Deum habet auctorem, procul dubio ut uera sapiamus ipsum debemus habere doctorem, ipsum etiam ut beati simus suauitatis intimae largitorem.

CAPUT XXVI.

DE IMAGINE SUMMAE TRINITATIS, QUAE SECUNDUM QUENDAM MODUM IN NATURA ETIAM NECDUM BEATIFICATI HOMINIS INVENITUR.

(A) Et nos quidem in nobis, tametsi non aequalem, immo ualde longeque distantem, neque coaeternam et, quo breuius totum dicitur, non eiusdem substantiae, cuius Deus est, tamen qua Deo nihil sit in rebus ab eo factis natura propinquius, imaginem Dei, hoc est illius summae trinitatis, agnoscimus, adhuc reformatione perficiendam, ut sit etiam similitudine proxima. Nam et sumus et nos esse nouimus et id esse ac nosse diligimus. In his autem tribus, quae dixi, nulla nos falsitas ueri similis turbat.

(B) Non enim ea sicut illa, quae foris sunt, ullo sensu corporis tangimus, uelut colores uidendo, sonos audiendo, odores olfaciendo, sapores gustando, dura et mollia contrectando sentimus, quorum sensibilium etiam imagines eis simillimas nec iam corporeas cogitatione uersamus, memoria tenemus et per ipsas in istorum desideria concitamur; sed sine ulla[1] phantasiarum uel phantasmatum imaginatione ludificatoria mihi esse me idque nosse et amare certissimum est.

(C) Nulla in his ueris [2]Academicorum argumenta formido dicen-

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the image of the Supreme Trinity which is found after some sort in the nature of man even before he attains to a state of blessedness.

1. phantasiarum uel phantasmatum. See note on viii. 7 A. A. defines *phantasiae* as *animi uisa* (IX. 4 F).

2. Academicorum. The Academics were in philosophy the sceptics of the ancient world. Cp. xix. 18 A. Cicero describes the basis of their scepticism in several

tium: Quid si falleris ? [3]Si enim fallor, sum. Nam qui non est, utique nec falli potest: ac per hoc sum, si fallor. Quia sum ergo si fallor, quo modo [4]esse me fallor, quando certum est me esse, si fallor ? Quia igitur essem qui fallerer, etiamsi fallerer, procul dubio in eo, quod me noui esse, non fallor. Consequens est autem, ut etiam in eo, quod me noui nosse, non fallar. Sicut enim noui esse me, ita noui etiam hoc ipsum, nosse me. Eaque duo cum amo, eundem quoque amorem, quiddam tertium nec inparis aestimationis, eis quas noui rebus adiungo.

(D) Neque enim fallor amare me, cum in his quae amo non fallar; quamquam etsi illa falsa essent, falsa me amare uerum esset. Nam quo pacto recte reprehenderer et recte prohiberer ab amore falsorum, si me illa amare falsum esset ? Cum uero et illa uera adque certa sint, quis dubitet quod eorum, cum amantur, et ipse amor uerus et certus est ? Tam porro nemo est qui esse se nolit, quam nemo est qui non esse beatus uelit. Quo modo enim potest beatus esse, si nihil sit ?

CAPUT XXVII.

DE ESSENTIA ET SCIENTIA ET UTRIUSQUE AMORE.

(A) Ita uero ui quadam naturali ipsum esse iucundum est, ut non ob aliud et hi qui miseri sunt nolint interire et, cum se miseros esse sentiant, non se ipsos de rebus, sed miseriam suam potius auferri uelint. Illis etiam, qui et sibi miserrimi apparent et plane sunt et non solum a sapientibus, quoniam stulti, uerum et ab his, qui se beatos putant, miseri iudicantur, quia pauperes adque mendici sunt si quis inmortalitatem daret, qua nec ipsa miseria moreretur, proposito sibi quod, is in eadem miseria semper esse nollent, nulli et nusquam essent futuri, sed omni modo perituri, profecto exultarent laetitia et [1]sic semper eligerent esse quam omnino non esse.

(B) Huius rei testis est notissimus sensus illorum. Unde enim mori metuunt et malunt in illa aerumna uiuere, quam eam morte finire, nisi quia satis apparet quam refugiat natura non esse ?

passages—*e.g.*, "Acad. Prior.," ii. 13, 40-42; 26, 83. See Zeller ("Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics," chap. xxiii.).

3. Si enim fallor sum. This is the same argument as that of Descartes' famous saying: *Cogito, ergo sum.*

4. esse me fallor = "I am deceived in thinking that I exist."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of existence and knowledge and the love of both.

1. sic semper eligerent esse. A. recognises the instinctive human dread, not so much of "something after death," as of annihilation.

Adque ideo cum se nouerint esse morituros, pro magno beneficio sibi hanc inpendi misericordiam desiderant, ut aliquanto productius eadem miseria uiuant tardiusque moriantur. Procul dubio ergo indicant, inmortalitatem, saltem talem quae non habeat finem mendicitatis, quanta gratulatione susciperent.

(C) Quid ? animalia omnia etiam inrationalia, quibus datum non est ista cogitare, ab inmensis draconibus usque ad exiguos uermiculos, nonne se esse uelle adque ob hoc interitum fugere omnibus quibus possunt motibus indicant ? Quid ? arbusta omnesque frutices, quibus nullus est sensus ad uitandam manifesta motione perniciem, nonne ut in auras tutum cacuminis germen emittant,[2] aliud terrae radicis adfigunt, quo alimentum trahant adque ita suum quodam modo esse conseruent ? [3]Ipsa postremo corpora, quibus non solum sensus, sed nec ulla saltem seminalis est uita, ita tamen uel exiliunt in superna uel in ima descendunt uel librantur in mediis, ut essentiam suam, ubi secundum naturam possunt esse, custodiant.

(D) Iam uero nosse quantum ametur quamque falli nolit humana natura, uel hinc intellegi potest, quod lamentari quisque sana mente mauult quam laetari in amentia. Quae uis magna adque mirabilis mortalibus praeter homini animantibus nulla est, licet eorum quibusdam ad istam lucem contuendam multo quam nobis sit acrior sensus oculorum; sed lucem illam incorpoream contingere nequeunt, qua mens nostra quodam modo radiatur, ut de his omnibus recte iudicare possimus. Nam in quantum eam capimus, in tantum id possumus.

(E) Verum tamen inest in sensibus inrationalium animantium, etsi scientia nullo modo, at certe quaedam scientiae similitudo; cetera autem rerum corporalium, non quia sentiunt, sed quia sentiuntur, sensibilia nuncupata sunt. Quorum in arbustis hoc simile est sensibus, quod aluntur et gignunt. Verum tamen et haec et omnia corporalia latentes in natura causas habent; sed formas suas, quibus mundi huius uisibilis structura formosa est, sentiendas sensibus praebent, ut pro eo, quod nosse non possunt, quasi innotescere uelle uideantur. Sed nos ea sensu corporis ita capimus, ut de his non sensu corporis iudicemus.

(F) Habemus enim alium interioris hominis sensum isto longe

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2. **aliud terrae radicis.** If *aliud . . . radicis* (not *altius . . . radices*) is the true reading, *aliud radicis* must correspond with *cacuminis germen;* but *radice* or *radicibus* would be more natural.

3. **Ipsa postremo corpora,** etc. A. expresses the same meaning more practically *uelut amores corporum momenta sunt ponderum* (xi. 28 C) in reference to the specific gravity of particular objects.

praestantiorem, quo iusta et iniusta sentimus, iusta [4]per intellegibilem speciem, iniusta per eius priuationem. Ad huius sensus officium non acies pupulae, non foramen auriculae, non spiramenta narium, non gustus faucium, non ullus corporeus tactus accedit. Ibi me et esse et hoc nosse certus sum, et haec amo adque amare me similiter certus sum.

CAPUT XXVIII.

AN ETIAM IPSUM AMOREM, QUO ET ESSE ET SCIRE DILIGIMUS, DILIGERE DEBEAMUS, QUO MAGIS DIVINAE TRINITATIS IMAGINI PROPINQUEMUS.

(A) Sed de duobus illis, essentia scilicet et notitia, quantum amentur in nobis, et quem ad modum etiam in ceteris rebus, quae infra sunt, eorum reperiatur, etsi differens, quaedam tamen similitudo, quantum suscepti huius operis ratio uisa est postulare, satis diximus; de amore autem, quo amantur, utrum et ipse amor ametur, non dictum est. Amatur autem; et hinc probamus, quod in hominibus, qui rectius amantur, ipse magis amatur. Neque enim uir bonus merito dicitur qui scit quod bonum est, sed qui diligit. Quur ergo et in nobis ipsis non et ipsum amorem nos amare sentimus, quo amamus quidquid boni amamus ?

(B) Est enim et amor, quo amatur et quod amandum non est, et istum amorem odit in se, qui illum diligit, quo id amatur quod amandum est. Possunt enim ambo esse in uno homine, et hoc bonum est homini, ut illo proficiente quo bene uiuimus, iste deficiat quo male uiuimus, donec ad perfectum sanetur et in bonum commutetur [1]omne quod uiuimus. Si enim pecora essemus, carnalem uitam et quod secundum sensum eius est amaremus idque esset sufficiens bonum nostrum et secundum hoc, cum esset nobis bene, nihil aliud quaereremus.

(C) Item si arbores essemus, nihil quidem sentiente motu amare possemus, uerum tamen id quasi adpetere uideremur, quo feracius essemus uberiusque fructuosae. Si essemus lapides aut fluctus aut uentus aut flamma uel quid huius modi, sine ullo quidem sensu adque uita, non tamen nobis deesset quasi quidam nostrorum loco-

4. per intellegibilem speciem. *Species* = *ἰδία*; hence the words signify "by means of an idea intellectually conceived." The *ἰδία* or *species* is the idea of justice; and injustice is just the privation of justice, as darkness in A.'s theory of light.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Whether we ought to love the very love itself by which we love both our existence and our knowledge of our existence, that so we may more clearly approximate to the image of the Divine Trinity.

1. omne quod uiuimus = "our whole life."

rum adque ordinis adpetitus. Nam [2]uelut amores corporum momenta sunt ponderum, siue deorsum grauitate siue sursum leuitate nitantur. Ita enim corpus pondere, sicut animus amore, fertur, quocumque fertur.

(D) Quoniam igitur homines sumus ad nostri creatoris imaginem creati, cuius est uera aeternitas, aeterna ueritas, aeterna et uera caritas, estque ipse aeterna et uera et cara trinitas neque confusa neque separata: in his quidem rebus, quae infra nos sunt, quoniam et ipsa nec aliquo modo essent nec aliqua specie continerentur nec aliquem ordinem uel adpeterent uel tenerent, nisi ab illo facta essent, qui summe est, qui summe sapiens est, qui summe bonus est, tamquam per omnia, quae fecit mirabili stabilitate, currentes quasi quaedam eius alibi magis, alibi minus inpressa uestigia colligamus; in nobis autem ipsis eius imaginem contuentes tamquam *[3]minor ille euangelicus filius ad nosmet ipsos reuersi surgamus et ad illum redeamus, a quo peccando recesseramus.

(E) Ibi esse nostrum non habebit mortem, ibi nosse nostrum non habebit errorem, ibi amare nostrum non habebit offensionem. Nunc autem tria ista nostra quamuis certa teneamus nec aliis ea credamus testibus, sed nos ipsi praesentia sentiamus adque interiore ueracissimo cernamus aspectu, tamen, quamdiu futura uel utrum numquam defutura, et quo si male, quo autem si bene agantur peruentura sint, quoniam per nos ipsos nosse non possumus, alios hinc testes uel quaerimus uel habemus; de quorum fide quur nulla debeat esse dubitatio, non est iste, sed †[4]posterior erit diligentius disserendi locus.

(F) In hoc autem libro de ciuitate Dei, quae non peregrinatur in huius uitae mortalitate, sed inmortalis semper in caelis est, id est de angelis sanctis Deo cohaerentibus, qui nec fuerunt umquam nec futuri sunt desertores, inter quos et illos, qui aeternam lucem deserentes tenebrae facti sunt, Deum primitus diuisisse iam diximus, illo adiuuante quod coepimus ut possumus explicemus.

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2. **uelut amores corporum**, etc. "The specific gravity of bodies is, as it were, their love" (Dods). Cp. "Confess.," xiii. 9. *Pondus meum amor meus; eo feror quocumque feror.* It is necessary to bear in mind the etymological connexion between *motus* and *momentum*.

3. **minor ille euangelicus filius**—*sc.* the younger son in the parable of the Prodigal Son.

4. **posterior erit**, etc. It is difficult to feel sure about the passage to which A. refers. I have given what seems to be the most probable reference.

* Luke xv. 17, 18. † xxii. 22 o.

CAPUT XXIX.

DE SANCTORUM ANGELORUM SCIENTIA, QUA TRINITATEM IN IPSA EIUS DEITATE NOVERUNT ET QUA OPERUM CAUSAS PRIUS IN OPERANTIS ARTE QUAM IN IPSIS OPERIBUS ARTIFICIS INTUENTUR.

(A) Illi quippe angeli sancti non per uerba sonantia Deum discunt, sed per ipsam praesentiam inmutabilis ueritatis, hoc est Verbum eius unigenitum, et ipsum Verbum et Patrem et eorum Spiritum sanctum; eamque esse inseparabilem trinitatem [1]singulasque in ea personas [2]unam esse substantiam, et tamen omnes non tres deos esse, sed unum Deum, ita nouerunt, ut eis magis ista, quam nos ipsi nobis cogniti simus.

(B) Ipsam quoque creaturam melius ibi, hoc est in sapientia Dei, tamquam in arte, qua facta est, quam in ea ipsa sciunt; ac per hoc et se ipsos ibi melius quam in se ipsis, uerum tamen et in se ipsis. Facti sunt enim et aliud sunt quam ille qui fecit. Ibi ergo tamquam in diurna cognitione, in se ipsis autem tamquam in uespertina, sicut iam *supra diximus.

(C) Multum enim differt, utrum in ea ratione cognoscatur aliquid, secundum quam factum est, an in se ipso; sicut aliter scitur rectitudo linearum seu ueritas figurarum, cum intellecta conspicitur, aliter, cum in puluere scribitur; et aliter iustitia in ueritate incommutabili, aliter in anima iusti. Sic deinde cetera, sicut firmamentum inter aquas superiores et inferiores, quod caelum uocatum est; sicut deorsum aquarum congeries terraeque nudatio et herbarum institutio adque lignorum; sicut solis ac lunae stellarumque conditio; sicut ex aquis animalium, uolucrum scilicet adque piscium beluarumque natantium; sicut quorumque in terra gradientium adque repentium et ipsius hominis, qui cunctis in terra rebus excelleret.

(D) Omnia haec aliter in Verbo Dei cognoscuntur ab angelis, ubi habent causas rationesque suas, id est secundum quas facta sunt, incommutabiliter permanentes, aliter in se ipsis; illa clariore, hac obscuriore cognitione, uelut artis adque operum; quae tamen opera cum ad ipsius Creatoris laudem uenerationemque referuntur, tamquam mane lucescit in mentibus contemplantium.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Of the knowledge whereby the holy angels know the Trinity in its very Godhead and perceive the causes of works in the art of the worker before perceiving them in the actual works of the artist.

1. **singulasque in ea personas,** etc. See note on xi. 24 A.
2. **unam esse substantiam**—*Unam*, although Hoffmann omits it, is indispensable.

* xi. 7 C.

CAPUT XXX.

DE SENARII NUMERI PERFECTIONE, QUI PRIMUS PARTIUM SUARUM QUANTITATE CONPLETUR.

(A) Haec autem propter[1] senarii numeri perfectionem[2] eodem die sexiens repetito sex diebus perfecta narrantur, non quia Deo fuerit necessaria mora temporum, quasi qui non potuerit creare omnia simul, quae deinceps congruis motibus peragerent tempora; sed quia per senarium numerum est operum significata perfectio. Numerus quippe senarius primus conpletur suis partibus, id est sexta sui parte et tertia et dimidia, quae sunt unum et duo et tria, quae in summam ducta sex fiunt.

(B) Partes autem in hac consideratione numerorum illae intellegendae sunt, quae quotae sint dici potest; sicut dimidia, tertia, quarta et [3]deinceps ab aliquo numero denominatae. Neque enim exempli gratia quia in nouenario numero quattuor pars aliqua eius est, ideo dici potest quota eius sit; unum autem potest, nam nona eius est; et tria potest, nam tertia eius est. Coniunctae uero istae duae partes eius, nona scilicet adque tertia, id est unum et tria, longe sunt a tota summa eius, quod est nouem.

(C) Itemque in denario quaeternarius est aliqua pars eius; sed quota sit dici non potest; unum autem potest; nam decima pars eius est. Habet et quintam, quod sunt duo; habet et dimidiam, quod sunt quinque. Sed hae tres partes eius, decima et quinta et dimidia, id est unum et duo et quinque, simul ductae non conplent decem; sunt enim octo. Duodenarii uero numeri partes in summam ductae transeunt eum; habet enim duodecimam, quod est unum; habet sextam, quae sunt duo; habet quartam, quae sunt tria; habet tertiam, quae sunt quattuor; habet et dimidiam, quae sunt sex; unum autem et duo et tria et quattuor et sex non duodecim, sed amplius, id est sedecim, fiunt.

(D) Hoc breuiter commemorandum putaui ad commendandam senarii numeri perfectionem, qui primus, ut dixi, partibus suis in summam redactis ipse perficitur; in quo perfecit Deus opera sua. Unde ratio numeri contemnenda non est, quae in multis sanctarum

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CHAPTER XXX.

Of the perfection of the number six—the first number composed of its parts added together.

1. **enarii numeri perfectionem.** Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 2-5 (ii.); "De Trin.," iv. 7 (iv.).

2. **eodem die sexiens repetito.** Cp. xi. 9 E; "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 37 (xx.).

3. **deinceps ab aliquo numero denominatae** = "so on as fractions with certain denominators."

scripturarum locis quam magni aestimanda sit elucet diligenter intuentibus. Nec frustra in laudibus Dei dictum est: **Omnia in mensura et numero et [4]pondere [5]deposuisti.*

CAPUT XXXI.

DE DIE SEPTIMO, IN QUO PLENITUDO ET REQUIES COMMENDATUR.

(A) In septimo autem die, id est eodem die septiens repetito, qui numerus etiam ipse alia ratione perfectus est, Dei requies [1]commendatur, in qua primum sanctificatio sonat. Ita Deus noluit istum diem in ullis suis operibus sanctificare, sed in requie sua, [2]quae non habet uesperam; [3]neque enim ulla creatura est, ut etiam ipsa aliter in Dei Verbo, aliter in se cognita faciat aliam uelut diurnam, aliam uelut uespertinam notitiam. De septenarii porro numeri perfectione dici quidem plura possunt; sed et liber iste iam prolixus est, et uereor ne occasione conperta scientiolam nostram leuiter magis quam utiliter iactare uelle uideamur.

(B) Habenda est itaque ratio moderationis adque grauitatis, ne forte, cum de numero multum loquimur, mensuram et pondus neglegere iudicemur. Hoc itaque satis sit admonere, quod [4]totus inpar primus numerus ternarius est, totus par quaternarius; ex quibus duobus septenarius constat. Ideo [5]pro uniuerso saepe ponitur, sicuti est: †*Septiens cadet iustus, et resurget;* id est: Quotienscumque ceciderit, non peribit; quod non de iniquitatibus, sed de tribulationibus ad humilitatem perducentibus intellegi uoluit; et:

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4. pondere = σταθμῷ (LXX).

5. deposuisti = διέταξας (LXX). *disposuisti* (Vulg.). A. quotes the text elsewhere with *disposuisti*—*e.g.*, "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 7 (iii.); and that is no doubt the true reading. Number or the theory of numbers, which played so significant a part in Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, was not without its attraction or importance for Christian theologians. A. himself says: ("De Lib. Arbitr.," ii. 32 [xi.]) that it is not clear—*utrum in sapientia uel ex sapientia numerus an ipsa sapientia ex numero an in numero sit an utrumque nomen unius rei possit ostendi.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

Of the seventh day with its mention of completeness and repose.

1. commendatur. For A.'s use of *commendo* see note on ix. 8 C. Here the meaning seems to be "is mentioned" as in xi. 32 A.

2. quae non habet uesperam. Cp. "De Gen. ad Lit.," iv. 31 (xviii.).

3. neque enim ulla creatura est = "For that rest is not any created thing."

4. totus inpar primus numerus ternarius est = "Three is the first whole number which is odd"—an odd number of the whole being, as A. defines it, one which is not, as an even number, one which is divisible by two.

5. pro uniuerso saepe ponitur. Cp. "De Doctr. Christ.," iii. 51 (xxxv.).

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* Wisd. xi. 20. † Prov. xxiv. 16.

*Septiens in die [6]laudabo te; quod alibi alio modo dictum est; †Semper laus eius in ore meo; et multa huius modi in diuinis auctoritatibus reperiuntur, in quibus septenarius numerus, ut dixi, pro cuiusque rei uniuersitate poni solet.

(C) Propter hoc eodem saene numero [7]significatur Spiritus sanctus, de quo Dominus ait: ‡[8]*Docebit uos omnem ueritatem.* Ibi requies Dei, qua requiescitur in Deo. In toto quippe, id est in plena perfectione, requies; in parte autem labor. Ideo laboramus, quamdiu §ex parte scimus, sed cum uenerit quod perfectum est, quod ex parte est [9]euacuabitur. Hinc est quod etiam scripturas istas cum labore rimamur.

(D) Sancti uero angeli quorum societati et congregationi in hac peregrinatione laboriosissima suspiramus, sicut habent permanendi aeternitatem, ita cognoscendi facilitatem et requiescendi felicitatem. Sine difficultate quippe nos adiuuant, quoniam spiritalibus motibus puris et liberis non laborant.

CAPUT XXXII.

DE OPINIONE EORUM, QUI ANGELORUM CREATIONEM ANTERIOREM VOLUNT ESSE QUAM MUNDI.

(A) Ne quis autem contendat et dicat non sanctos angelos esse significatos in eo quod scriptum est: ‖*Fiat lux, et facta est lux*, sed quamlibet lucem tunc primum factam esse corpoream aut opinetur aut doceat; angelos autem prius esse factos non tantum ante firmamentum, quod inter aquas et aquas factum appellatum est caelum, sed ante illud de quo dictum est: ¶*In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram;* adque illud, quod dictum est: *In principio*, non ita dictum tamquam primum hoc factum sit, cum ante fecerit angelos, sed quia omnia [1]in sapientia fecit, quod est Verbum eius et ipsum scriptura principium nominauit (sicut ipse **in euangelio Iudaeis quaerentibus

6. laudabo = ᾄνεσα (LXX).

7. significatur Spiritus sanctus. The reference is to Is. xi. 2, as appears from "Quaest. in Heptateuch," ii. 107; "Serm.," viii. 13 (xi.): *Septenarius Spiritus est unus Spiritus, septenaria operatione unus.*

8. Docebit uos omnem ueritatem = ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

9. euacuabitur = καταργηθήσεται.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the opinion of those who hold that the creation of the angels was antecedent to the creation of the world.

1. in sapientia . . ., quod est Verbum eius. Cp. xi. 24 A.

* Ps. cxix. 164. † Ps. xxxiv. 1. ‡ John xvi. 13.
§ 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10. ‖ Gen. i. 1. ¶ Gen. i. 1. ** John viii. 25.

quis esset respondit [2]se esse principium): [3]non e contrario referam contentionem, maxime quia hoc me delectat plurimum, quod etiam in summo exordio sancti libri geneseos trinitas commendatur.

(B) Cum enim ita dicitur: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram*, ut Pater fecisse intellegatur in Filio, sicut adtestatur psalmus, ubi legitur: **Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine! omnia in sapientia fecisti:* conuenientissime paulo post commemoratur etiam Spiritus sanctus.

(C) Cum enim dictum esset, qualem terram Deus primitus fecerit, uel quam molem materiamue futurae constructionis mundi caeli et terrae nomine nuncupauerit subiciendo et addendo: †*Terra autem erat inuisibilis et inconposita et tenebrae erant super abyssum:* mox ut trinitatis commemoratio conpleretur: *Et spiritus*, inquit, *dei superferebatur super aquam.*

(D) Proinde ut uolet quisque accipiat, quod ita profundum est, ut ad exercitationem legentium a fidei regula non abhorrentes plures possit generare sententias, dum tamen angelos sanctos in sublimibus sedibus non quidem Deo coaeternos, sed tamen de sua sempiterna et uera felicitate securos et certos esse nemo ambigat. Ad quorum societatem pertinere paruulos suos Dominus docens non solum illud ait: ‡*Erunt* [4]*aequales angelis Dei;* uerum ipsi quoque angeli qua contemplatione fruantur ostendit, ubi ait: §*Videte, ne contemnatis unum ex pusillis istis; dico enim uobis, quia angeli eorum in caelis semper uident faciem Patris mei, qui in caelis est.*

CAPUT XXXIII.

DE DUABUS ANGELORUM SOCIETATIBUS DIVERSIS ADQUE DISPARIBUS, QUAE NON INCONGRUE INTELLEGUNTUR LUCIS ET TENEBRARUM NOMINIBUS NUNCUPATAE.

(A) Peccasse autem quosdam angelos et in huius mundi ima detrusos, qui eis uelut carcer est, usque ad futuram in die iudicii ultimam damnationem apostolus Petrus apertissime ostendit dicens, quod ||Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercerit, sed carceribus caliginis inferi retrudens tradiderit in iudicio puniendos reseruari. Inter hos ergo et illos Deum uel praescientia uel opere diuisisse quis dubitet? illosque lucem merito appellari quis contradicat? quando quidem nos adhuc in fide uiuentes eorum aequalitatem adhuc

2. se esse principium. This misinterpretation of Our Lord's words (John viii. 25) has been explained in the note on x. 24 E. Dods remarks that A. might better have appealed to Rev. iii. 14: *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.*

3. non e contrario. A. completes his sentence as if the beginning of it were not *Ne* but *Si quis contendat.*

4. aequales angelis = *ὡς ἄγγελοι.*

* Ps. civ. 24. † Gen. i. 2. ‡ Matt. xxii. 30. § Matt. xviii. 10. || 2 Pet. ii. 4.

sperantes, utique nondum tenentes, iam lux dicti ab apostolo sumus: **Fuistis enim, inquit, aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino.*

(B) Istos uero desertores tenebras aptissime nuncupari profecto aduertunt, qui peiores esse hominibus infidelibus siue intellegunt siue credunt. Quapropter, etsi alia lux in isto huius libri loco intellegenda est, ubi legimus: †*Dixit Deus: Fiat lux, et facta est lux*, et aliae tenebrae significatae sunt in eo quod scriptum est: *Diuisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras:* nos tamen has duas angelicas societates, unam fruentem Deo, alteram tumentem [1]typho; unam cui dicitur: ‡*Adorate eum omnes angeli eius*, alium cuius princeps dicit: §*Haec omnia tibi dabo, si* [2]*prostratus adoraueris me;*

(C) unam Dei sancto amore flagrantem, alteram propriae celsitudinis inmundo amore fumantem; et quoniam, sicut scriptum est, ‖*Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam*, illam in caelis caelorum habitantem, istam inde deiectam [3]in hoc infimo aerio caelo tumultuantem; illam luminosa pietate tranquillam, istam tenebrosis cupiditatibus turbulentam; illam Dei nutu clementer subuenientem, iuste ulciscentem, istam suo fastu subdendi et nocendi libidine exaestuantem; illam, [4]ut quantum uult consulat, Dei bonitati ministram, istam, ne quantum uult noceat, Dei potestate frenatam; illam [5]huic inludentem ut nolens prosit persecutionibus suis, hanc illi inuidentem, cum [6]peregrinos colligit suos:

(D) Nos ergo has duas societates angelicas inter se dispares adque contrarias, unam et natura bonam et uoluntate rectam, aliam uero natura bonam, sed uoluntate peruersam, aliis manifestioribus diuinarum scripturarum testimoniis declaratas, [7]quod etiam in hoc libro, cui nomen est Genesis, lucis tenebrarumque uocabulis significatas

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Of the two diverse and disparate societies of angels, which are not inappropriately signified by the names "Light" and "Darkness."

1. typho = "pride," Greek τῦφος. Cp. *propriae celsitudinis inmundo amore flagrantem* (C below). A. uses the word *typhos* elsewhere—*e.g.*, "Confess.," iii. 3 in the same phrase as here: *Gaudebam superbe et tumebam typho.*

2. prostratus = πεσών.

3. in hoc infimo aerio caelo. For the air is regarded as the seat of the daemons (viii. 14 A).

4. ut quantum uult consulat. *Consulat* is evidently the opposite of *noceat* below. Translate "to do all the good that is in their hearts."

5. huic inludentem. Cp. xi. 15 C.

6. peregrinos colligit suos—a phrase which derives its significance from A.'s conception of the earthly life as a pilgrimage in an alien land far from the City of God. See note on 1 "Praef.," A.

7. quod etiam. The sentence is irregularly constructed; *quod* is really superfluous.

* Eph. v. 8. † Gen. i. 3, 4. ‡ Ps. cxlviii. 2.
§ Matt. iv. 9. ‖ James iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.

existimauimus, etiamsi [8]aliud hoc loco sensit forte qui scripsit, non est inutiliter obscuritas huius pertractata sententiae, quia, etsi uoluntatem auctoris libri huius indagare nequiuimus, a regula tamen fidei, quae per alias eiusdem auctoritatis sacras litteras satis fidelibus nota est, non abhorruimus.

(E) Etsi enim corporalia hic commemorata sunt opera Dei, habent procul dubio nonnullam similitudinem spiritalium, secundum quam dicit apostolus: **Omnes enim uos filii lucis estis et filii diei, non sumus noctis neque tenebrarum.* Si autem hoc sensit etiam ille qui scripsit, ad perfectiorem disputationis finem nostra peruenit [9]intentio, ut homo Dei tam eximiae diuinaeque sapientiae, immo per eum Spiritus Dei in commemorandis operibus Dei, quae omnia sexto die dixit esse perfecta, nullo modo angelos praetermisisse credatur siue *in principio*.

(F) Quia primo fecit, siue quod conuenientius intellegitur [10]*in principio*, quia in Verbo unigenito fecit, scriptum sit: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram;* quibus nominibus uniuersalis est significata creatura, uel spiritalis et corporalis, quod est credibilius, uel magnae duae mundi partes, quibus omnia quae creata sunt continentur, ut primitus eam totam proponeret ac deinde partes eius secundum mysticum dierum numerum exsequeretur.

CAPUT XXXIV.

DE EO QUOD QUIDAM PUTANT IN CONDITIONE FIRMAMENTI AQUARUM DISCRETARUM NOMINE ANGELOS SIGNIFICATOS, ET QUOD QUIDAM AQUAS EXISTIMANT NON CREATAS.

(A) Quamquam [1]nonnulli putauerint aquarum nomine significatos quodam modo populos angelorum et hoc esse quod dictum est: *Fiat firmamentum inter aquam et aquam*, ut supra firmamentum

8. aliud hoc loco sensit. A. recognises here as elsewhere the possibility of a mystic or prophetic significance underlying Holy Scripture or parts of Holy Scripture, although the writers may not themselves have realised all that was or might be implied by their own words.

9. intentio = "study."

10. in principio quia in Verbo unigenito. Cp. x. 24 E; xi. 32 A.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Of the view which some people hold that in the creation of the firmament the angels were signified by the separation of the waters and of the view which other people entertain that the waters were not created.

1. nonnulli—*e.g.*, Origen, who, by the waters above and below the firmament in Gen. i. 7, understood the good and the bad angels, according to Epiphanius in his "Epist. ad Ioannem Ierosolymitanum," translated by Jerome ("Epist." lxxii.). A. who, in "Confess.," xiii. 15, had spoken of the *spiritales aquae superiores et corporales inferiores*, afterwards withdrew or modified his words ("Retract.," ii. 6, 2) saying *res in abdito est ualde*.

* 1 Thess. v. 5.

angeli intellegantur, infra uero uel aquae istae uisibiles uel malorum angelorum multitudo uel omnium hominum gentes. Quod si ita est, non illic apparet ubi facti sint angeli, sed ubi discreti; quamuis et aquas, quod peruersissimae adque inpiae uanitatis est, [2]negent quidam factas a Deo, quoniam nusquam scriptum est: Dixit Deus: Fiant aquae.

(B) Quod possunt simili uanitate etiam de terra dicere; nusquam enim legitur: Dixit Deus: Fiat terra. Sed, inquiunt, scriptum est: *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram.* Illic ergo et aqua intellegenda est; uno enim nomine utrumque conprehensum est. *Nam *ipsius est mare*, sicut in psalmo legitur, *et ipse fecit illud, et aridam terram manus eius finxerunt.*

(C) Sed hi, qui in nomine aquarum, quae super caelos sunt, angelos intellegi uolunt, [3]ponderibus elementorum mouentur et ideo non putant aquarum fluuidam grauemque naturam in superioribus mundi locis potuisse constitui; qui secundum rationes suas, si ipsi hominem facere possent, non ei pituitam, quod Graece φλέγμα dicitur et tamquam in elementis corporis nostri aquarum uicem obtinet, in capite ponerent. Ibi enim [4]sedes est phlegmatis, secundum Dei opus utique aptissime, secundum istorum autem coniecturam tam absurde, ut, si hoc nesciremus et in hoc libro similiter scriptum esset, quod Deus umorem fluuidum et frigidum ac per hoc grauem in superiore omnibus ceteris humani corporis parte posuerit, isti trutinatores elementorum nequaquam crederent, et si auctoritati eiusdem scripturae subditi essent, aliquid aliud ex hoc intellegendum esse censerent.

(D) Sed quoniam, si diligenter singula scrutemur adque tractemus, quae in illo diuino libro de constitutione mundi scripta sunt, et multa dicenda et a proposito instituti operis longe digrediendum est, iamque de duabus istis diuersis inter se adque contrariis societatibus angelorum, in quibus sunt quaedam exordia duarum etiam in rebus humanis ciuitatum, de quibus deinceps dicere institui, quantum satis esse uisum est, disputauimus: hunc quoque librum aliquando claudamus.

2. negent quidam factas a Deo. A. himself mentions a heresy (although he does not give it a name) *quae dicit aquam non a Deo creatam, sed Ei semper fuisse coaeternam* ("De Haeres.," 75). Epiphanius ("Adu. Haer.," 53) refers to the heresy of the Sampsaeans in the words: *τετίμηται καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς θεὸν ἡγοῦνται, σχεδὸν φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν ζωὴν ἐκ τούτου.* Theodoret ("Haeret. Fab. Compend.," iv. 10) ascribes a similar heresy to the Audians or Audaeans. A. argues for the simultaneous creation of earth and water ("Quaest. in Gen.," 1, 6).

3. ponderibus = "specific gravity" as in xi. 28 c.

4. sedes est phlegmatis. So Pliny mentions *capitis pituitas* ("Nat. Hist.," xxv. 11, 141).

* Ps. xcv. 4.

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